THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON

1630-1880.

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THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON

SEPTEMBER 17, 1880.

Look upon [illegible] the city of [illegible]. — ISAIAH XXXIII [illegible]

And there was great joy in that city. — ACTS VIII. 8.

Now the city was large and great. — NEHEMIAH VII. 4.

A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. — MATTHEW V. 14.

VIEW FROM COTTON OR PEMBERTON HILL, 1816.

THE

MEMORIAL

HISTORY OF BOSTON,

INCLUDING

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

1630—1880.

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR.

LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. PART II.

SPECIAL TOPICS.

Issued under the business superintendence of the projector,

CLARENCE F. JEWETT.

BOSTON:

TICKNOR AND COMPANY

211 Tremont Street.

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MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

The Last Hundred Years.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

SOCIAL LIFE IN BOSTON: FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION TO THE GRANTING OF THE CITY CHARTER.

BY J. P. QUINCY.

IN giving some notices of manners and social life during this period, I shall speak first of usages which were characteristic of the close of the last century: most of them continued without essential modification until our city charter swept away the old landmarks, and Boston felt the impulses which mark a new epoch in her history. It is difficult to deal justly with ways of living which are not widely different from those that surround us. We miss the salient contrasts which lend themselves to picturesque description, and are tempted to look for exceptional occurrences to brighten a narrative, rather than for facts which are truly symptomatic of taste and thought. Were it possible to go back four-score years, or even a century, and mingle with those then conducting the town, we should not feel among strangers. In many respects their ways were counterparts of our own. In certain directions, indeed, we might note a narrowness of range and a contraction of outlook, while envying the vigor of speech and decisiveness of action which seemed the outcome of the limitations. When Massachusetts took her place in the sisterhood of States, the gigantic upheaval of the French Revolution had not taken place. The prophets whom her capital was to raise up to demand the redemption of human society, each with his panacea for its sad ailments, had put in no appearance. The tyranny of England had been broken by an heroic effort, and any further redemption which society might need would be provided by those who

were its natural protectors. Humanity was now marching the right way, and was not likely to deviate therefrom when officered by gentlemen of good family, good morals, and steady nerves. So it seemed in that spring of 1789, when the American Constitution went into operation, and the States-General assembled in France.

There were distinctions in Boston society which were the inheritance of old colonial and provincial relations. Although many of the gentry left the town during the Revolution, there remained a goodly leaven of prominent families who had taken the patriotic side. The population was chiefly of English descent. A type of manhood ruddier and more robust than we are accustomed to meet, was to be seen in the streets. The citizens managed to be as comfortable at sixty degrees Fahrenheit as we are at seventy, and knew little of dyspepsia and those disordered nerve-centres which occasion their descendants so much trouble. Many of the peculiarities of Puritanism had been softened, and so much of the old severity as remained supported the moral standards which the God-fearing founders of the State had raised. A few men were accepted as the leaders of the community, and lived under a wholesome conviction of responsibility for its good behavior. If the representatives of good society were in no sense cosmopolitan, their provincialism was honest, manly, and intelligent. The usages of social intercourse were not democratic, neither was the sentiment of the prominent families. If heresies were in the air which must at length modify doctrine, they might still be rendered harmless by a careful attention to discipline.[1]

Dress was an indication of superiority, and was fashioned quite as much for display as for use. As late as 1795, it is mentioned by a visitor from New York that "the broad aisle of Brattle-Street church was lined by gentlemen in wigs, with cocked hats and scarlet coats." Caps were often worn by gentlemen in the privacy of domestic life. Hancock is described as wearing "a red velvet cap, within which was one of fine linen." The blue damask dressing-gowns and embroidered waistcoats of the period are yet visible upon the canvas of Copley. As wigs were gradually laid aside, the hair was powdered and arranged with precision; and as this took more time and trouble, it served to mark even better the aristocracy of the wearer. Lace ruffles, silk stockings, polished shoes, with buckles (which, being adapted to either foot, careful persons were accustomed to alternate), were essential to the correct dress of a gentleman. The business suit was of broadcloth, generally of a light shade. But on occasions of ceremony

[1] [Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 8, in giving a picture of social life after the close of the Revolutionary War, says: "In Boston there was undoubtedly more real respectability than in any other town of its population in the British Empire;" and we find not a few side-lights upon society here in the *Voyages* of the Marquis de Chastellux, who was here in 1782, and in the voyage of Brissot de Warville, a brisk little Frenchman who landed in Boston July, 1788, and was disposed to see all the good, and who later, in 1798, as Chief of the Girondins, met his end on the guillotine. Talleyrand was in Boston in July and August, 1794. William Sullivan describes him as of middle stature, light hair, sallow complexion, and blue eyes; his body large and protuberant in front, his lower limbs small, and his feet deformed. *Public Men*, p. 93. — Ed.]

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Alligator
Boston Harbor 5th May 1791

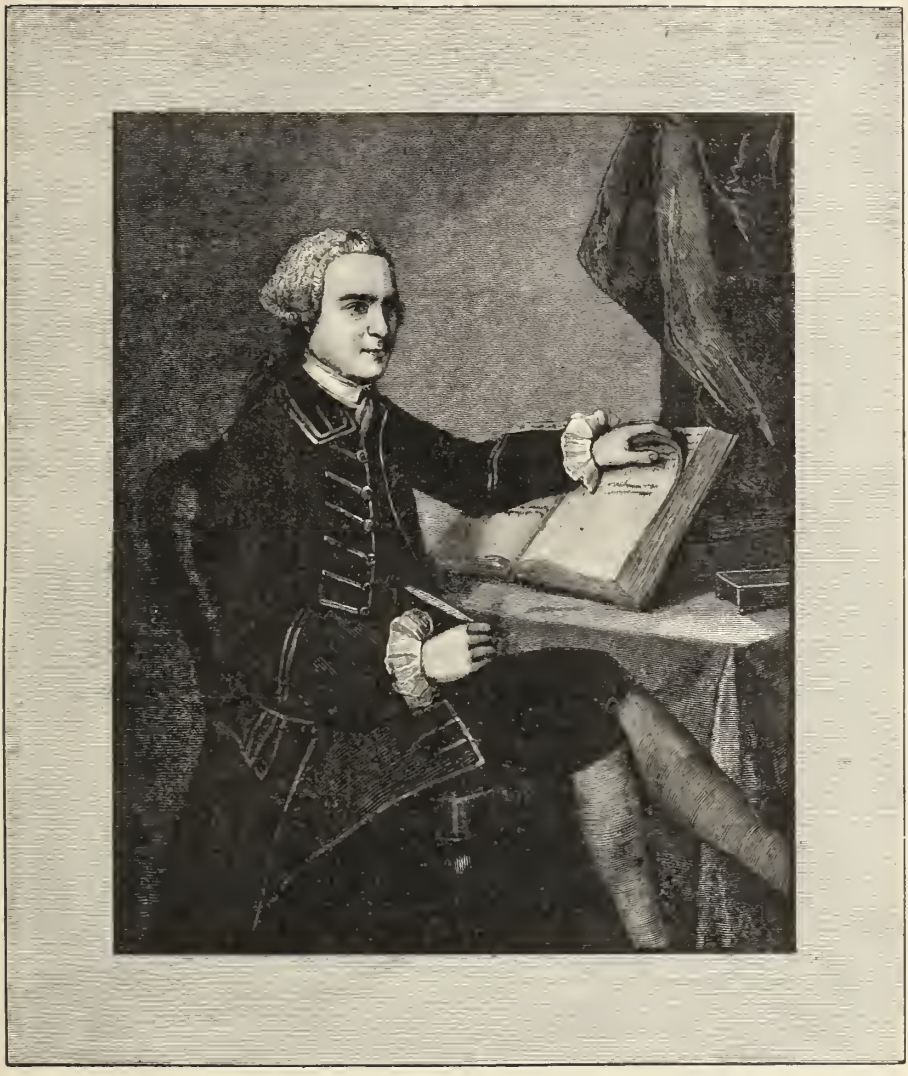
Isaac Coffin

[1] [This cut follows a portrait of Sir Isaac Coffin by Stuart, belonging to Mr. William Amory, of Boston, by whose kind permission it is engraved. Coffin was the son of Nathaniel, a collector of customs in Boston, and a Loyalist, who left the town with Gage in 1776. Isaac was born in Boston, in 1759, in a house on the east side of Rainsford Lane (Harrison

brocades and velvets of bright colors made the costumes of the gentlemen quite as various and picturesque as those of the ladies. Official personages did not always avoid peculiarities of dress. Governor Bowdoin had appeared in red small-clothes, and Judge Dana wore in winter a white corduroy surtout, lined with fur; and he carried a large muff. Crimson cloaks, white-topped boots, and cocked hats gave that pleasing color to a walk about town which is now supplied by the shop-windows. The judges of the supreme court shone in robes of scarlet, trimmed with black velvet, and only during the oppressive heat of summer exchanged this oppressive finery for the sombre dignity of gowns of black silk. At the funeral of Governor Hancock the court appeared for the last time in full dress. It has been said that the bearing of Judge Dawes, who was less than five feet in height, so detracted from the emblematic significance of the judicial trappings, that the chief-justice decided that the unadorned majesty of the law would thereafter be more imposing. But a better explanation may be found in the visits to Boston of the Federal judges Jay and Iredell, who were content to administer justice in suits of solemn black. The growing popularity of Gallic principles commended simplicity of dress to conspicuous functionaries of the State. The academic gown, nevertheless, was pretty generally resumed in the pulpit. It seems to have been discarded by the successors of the earlier divines, and looked so strange upon the clergy that it was mistaken for the surplice of prelacy, and the sneer was uttered that vanity had finally accomplished what persecution was powerless to effect. This, however, was most unjust to the ministers, whose gowns were commonly the gifts of parishioners, and who were well aware that it was poverty rather than will which had led to the discarding of this dignified drapery. And there were reasons for reviving any good customs fallen into abeyance, which had their weight, even if not distinctly recognized. Independence in political feeling tended to communicate itself to social relations, and it was prudent to strengthen barriers while there was yet time.

Notwithstanding political embarrassments, Boston society took its sober amusements with relish. It went through its stately minuets, and livelier contre-dances, and consumed its solid suppers in rooms which in winter were made so cheerful by the glow of great logs that the flickering light of candles was not objectionable. When Jefferson, at the end of the century, added argand lamps to the various illuminations associated with his name, he initiated a deterioration in social intercourse from which it is not likely to recover. So long as artificial light was provided by tallow candles, requiring constant snuffing (for it was only the wealthy who used those of

Avenue, between Essex and Beach Streets), and was educated in the Boston schools. He entered the Royal Navy in 1773, and served on the American coast during the Revolution; became a rear-admiral in 1804, and was made a baronet the same year, and died in 1839. His brother John, also born in Boston, in 1751, was on the British side at Bunker Hill, and fought later in the war against us in the Carolinas. After the war he settled in New Brunswick, where he died in 1838, ranking then as lieutenant-general. Both the admiral and the general cherished strong feelings of respect for their old home; and in later days Sir Isaac was more than once a guest of his old townsmen. Sabine's *Loyalists*. — Ed.]



I am
Your most Obed.t
John Hancock [1]

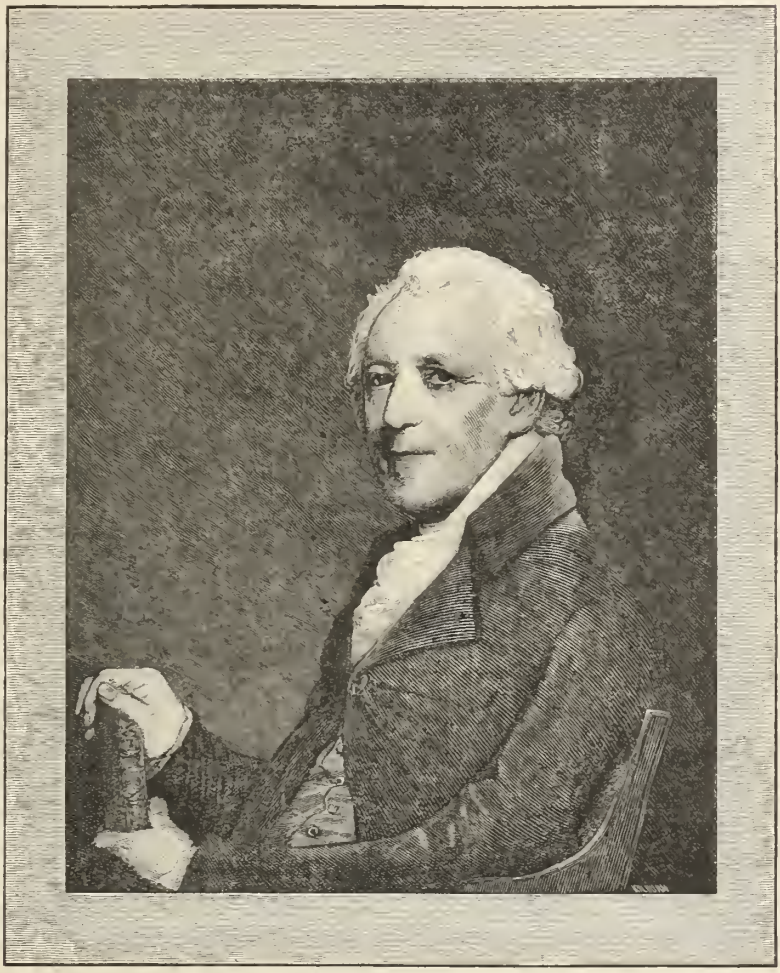
[1] [This cut follows a portrait by Copley, formerly hanging in Faneuil Hall, but now in the Art Museum. See the note to the portrait of Sam Adams, in Mr. Porter's chapter in Vol. III. Two other likenesses, owned by the family, are noted in Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 70. A portrait of Mrs. Hancock is given in Mrs. Ellet's *Queens of American Society*, p. 119, with some account of social life at the Hancock mansion. Portions of the Hancock papers are in the collections of Charles P. Greenough, Esq., and of Judge Mellen Chamberlain, and these gentlemen have kindly allowed the Editor access to them. See note in Mr Lodge's chapter. — ED.]

wax), reading or studying in the evening were difficult matters, especially for aged eyes. Under these circumstances society was the resort for rational recreation and solid instruction. Its standards were established, not by the young and frivolous, but by persons of years and experience, who from constant practice became skilled in the art of conversation. I have little doubt that social dinners or evening gatherings during the last thirty years of the town exceeded in intellectual brilliancy those which have succeeded them. The conclusions of thoughtful men upon matters of current interest, now reserved for the magazine and newspaper leader, were given in conversation. Women of talent, although limited in what at present passes for education, cultivated their natural powers; and, being shut out from so many modes of influence now happily open, they made good use of the social opportunities which were accorded them.

There was a decided first circle in the town, to which the barriers were not easily broken; though, as time went on, fortunate individuals were lifted over them with some ceremony. Manners and personal decorations were indications of superiority. William Sullivan used to say that dignified civility, based upon self-respect, was a gentleman's weapon and defence. It was peculiarly so in Boston, where the duel, tolerated or justified in other parts of the country, has always been frowned upon. From the fact that lines of social demarcation were sharply drawn, there was an ease of intercourse among different classes which came from a recognition of mutual dependence. Mr. Samuel Breck tells us of smart and intelligent tradesmen who were on terms of familiarity with their superiors in station. The shop of Balch the hatter "was the principal lounge even of the first people in the town. Governor Hancock himself would happen into this popular resort, ready for a joke or a political discussion with Balch and his company." After slavery came to an end,[1] the families of New England farmers supplied Boston with most of its domestic service. Long periods of faithful ministration made these attendants a recognized portion of the household. They were called to its councils upon important occasions, and exercised authority over the children, among whom they were often very popular. The women who came from the farms had little of the education derived from books, but a good deal of natural capacity. Their abundant resources in sickness, and their excellent cookery for those in health, were long remembered. They showed much shrewdness and tact, mingled with ineradicable prejudices; some of their sayings passed into domestic proverbs, from their aptness or oddity. Identity of religion was a bond of union

[1] [Slavery was never explicitly abolished in Massachusetts; but in the famous Jennison case, tried at Worcester in 1781, it was declared that slavery no longer existed. Governor Washburn prepared a careful review of it, which was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1857, p. 188. See also Amory's *Life of James Sullivan*, i. 114. Chief-Justice Cushing's original notebook of this trial was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1874, with valuable notes by Judge Gray. There are diverse views of the intent of the Bill of Rights to abolish slavery. See Washburn's lecture in *Massachusetts, and Her Early History*, p. 224; G. H. Moore's *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, ch. ix., and *Hist. Mag.*, December, 1866; Chas. Deane in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1874; also Vol. I. p. 488, of this History. — ED.]

between employers and employed. The same pastor directed both, and an occasional sermon to servants and apprentices was expected in the course of his ministrations.



SAMUEL ELIOT.[1]

The sharp line of division between youth and age can scarcely be realized in these days, when there is no distinct order of old people set apart for special deference. Our feelings towards others are greatly influenced by the phrases we are taught to use; and sincere respect naturally followed

[1] [This cut follows a portrait of this prominent Boston merchant of his day, by Stuart, now owned by his grandson, President Eliot, of Harvard College, by whose permission it is engraved. The President also owns the companion piece, by Stuart, — the second wife of this Samuel Eliot, Catharine Atkins, who died in 1829. Samuel Eliot, who was the son of Samuel, the bookseller, was born in 1740, and died in 1820. The earlier Samuel was one of the publishers of one of Boston's earliest magazines, — *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, — of which mention has been made in Mr. Goddard's chapter in Vol. II. pp. 409, 550. The younger Sam-

its conventional expressions. In the family of Judge Phillips,[1] which in many respects was representative, the children were required to address their parents as "honored papa," and "honored mamma," and could never enter or leave a room where they were sitting without a salutation which recognized their presence. It was proper for a young man when writing to his father to salute him as "honored sir," and to repeat this stately title at the close of what he had to say, declaring, at the same time, the duty and respect with which he humbly appended his signature. But when postage was a quarter of a dollar a sheet, letters were confined to matters of serious concern, and formalities seemed more appropriate than at present. The use of a heavy seal, stamped upon a generous quantity of wax, was sufficient to excite a feeling of responsibility for matter that was so protected. Writing a letter had something of the impressiveness of making a will or executing a deed of trust. Even the town officers were mindful of the fact that the phrase, "servants of the people," correctly defined their position. A demand for over-due taxes, necessary to pay schoolmasters and mechanics the wages they had earned, does not call for much suavity of speech; but the manners of the town treasurer towards persons who were neglecting the first duty of good citizenship could not have been bettered by Chesterfield himself.[2]

Domestic discipline had lost little of its Puritanic sternness. The primary teacher was a long rod, with a human motor at one end of it. Prompt punishment fell upon the offender. The moral law was to be vindicated without puzzling calculations concerning the responsibility of the sufferer. The discipline administered by the hands of Judge Sewall is paralleled by that of a not less honorable justice of later date. People of intelligence have so changed in their treatment of juvenile offenders, that it is worth

uel, the merchant, lived on the northerly corner of Tremont and Beacon streets, his grounds stretching up the latter street. It was the mansion house which, soon after the evacuation in March, 1776, had been occupied by John Lowell, Jr. Eliot's dry-goods shop was on the west corner of Wilson's Lane, Dock Square. (Drake, *Landmarks*, 56.) He was at one time President of the Massachusetts Bank, and he also founded the Eliot professorship of Greek literature in Harvard College. His first wife was Elizabeth Barrell, who died in 1783. His issue by his second wife connect him with prominent citizens within the recollection of the present generation. His daughters married Edmund Dwight, Benjamin Guild, Andrews Norton, and George Ticknor. His son, William H., the projector of the Tremont House, died in 1831, and was the father of Dr. Samuel Eliot, formerly President of Trinity College, Hartford, and lately Superintendent of Schools in Boston. His youngest son, Samuel A. Eliot, who married the daughter of Theodore Lyman, was Treasurer of Harvard College, and Mayor of Boston. See an account of his mayoralty in Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. His eldest son is President Eliot, of Harvard University; and his youngest daughter, the wife of Rev. Henry W. Foote. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1869, p. 339. — Ed.]

[1] [It was in the house (at the corner of Court and Tremont streets) of this Judge Phillips that Washington was received during his visit to Boston in 1789. When the General left, a piece of ribbon was tied upon the chair which he had occupied, and there remained till his death, when a band of crape was substituted. — Ed.]

[2] "The Town Treasurer presents his most respectful compliments to those citizens who have tax-bills unpaid, and requests the favor of them to pay the same to the collectors immediately, as he has large drafts from the Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor in favor of mechanics, schoolmasters, and others, to whom, especially at the present season, money would be very acceptable." — *Columbian Centinel*, Dec. 16, 1795.

while to quote a passage from Mr. Amory's interesting biography of Judge Sullivan, which gives a fair picture of former habits: —

"When one of his sons, still too young to realize very distinctly the difference between right and wrong, exchanged a knife he had borrowed of a servant for cake an itinerant dealer had tempted him to purchase, his father, learning the circumstances on his return from his office, investigated the facts, and then bade the child follow him to the stable. Selecting as he went a knotted stick, he first impressed upon the mind of the child a full sense of the injustice and criminality of his conduct, and, that he might not forget the admonition, administered a severe chastisement."

It is easy to condemn such heroic dealing with the faults of children, — easier, perhaps, than to show that those modern doctrines, which consider sin an infirmity of nerve element for which our ancestors and environments are responsible, tend to lessen the power of that unpleasant factor in this earthly life.

Funerals were occasions of much ceremony, and all associations with the close of life were of a gloomy character. The doleful sound from the tombs, to which a favorite hymn challenged the attention, was audible in all the pauses of existence. The windows of the house which death had entered were closed for a long period, and the mourners nursed their grief as if to make strongest claim for the comfort promised in the beatitude. Those who lost parents wore mourning for three years, and widows never left it off. The dead were carried by bearers, and must be borne past the town house or through a portion of the main street. Nothing was omitted from the rites of sepulture which might add a pang to the pain of separation. It is to the honor of Boston that here was initiated that system of garden cemeteries which has done so much to invest the close of life with soothing associations. The tender allusion to the gardens of Eden and Gethsemane in the poem of Charles Sprague, at the dedication of Mount Auburn, exhibits a feeling of which there is small trace in our earlier mortuary literature.[1]

As wealth increased, public amusements made their appearance. The evolution of the theatre through the "moral lecture" it is not within my province to notice.[2] Shakespeare, in shreds and patches, preceded the advent of the stage. *A Dialogue on the Horrid Crime of Murder, by Mr. and Mrs. Smith*, was the forerunner of the noble tragedy of *Macbeth*, which was played before the close of the century. For that large portion of the people who were unwilling to patronize dramatic entertainments other recreation was provided. Some of the shows of the day testify to the tastes of our ancestors, as well as to the resources of those who catered for their patron-

[1] "His word we trust! When life shall end,
Here be our long, long slumber passed;
To the first garden's doom we bend,
And bless the promise of the last."

[2] [See the chapter by Colonel W. W. Clapp in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

age. At the Columbian Museum might be seen "an elegant temple of fame," tenanted by the waxen image of John Adams, "on either side of him Liberty with staff and cap, and Justice with sword and balance." Confronting each other in the same plastic material were "the New York Beauty" and "the Boston Beauty," — the latter, it is to be hoped, presenting a suitable superiority in charms. "Sir Charles Grandison and the beautiful Miss Harriet Byron" were represented as characters well known to all acquainted with literature, — there being as yet no struggle for existence in an overpopulated world of romance. Those who found that Sunday was not long enough to exhaust their interest in Scriptural personages might gaze on "David and Goliath as large as life; Goliath being twelve feet in height." Exhibitions of animals were occasionally brought to Boston. A porcupine, a bear, a raccoon, and a rabbit were announced by their proprietor as "very great curiosities." There was an elephant which, in conformity with the habits of the day, drank "all kinds of spirituous liquors;" and the public were assured that "thirty bottles of porter, of which he draws the corks himself, is not an uncommon allowance." Neither would the proverbial "short life and a merry one" hold good in the case of this gigantic toper; spectators were informed that "he will probably live between two and three hundred years," — an announcement which shows that the effect of alcohol upon animal tissue was not then so well understood as it is thought to be at present. After witnessing these exhibitions our ancestors might refresh themselves at Vila's, the Shakespeare Coffee-house in Water Street, or the more aristocratic restaurant of Julien. If ladies were of the party, they may have visited a confectioner's shop on Newberry Street, where ice-cream was to be had. It seems strange that this refreshing article was seldom or never seen at private parties during the period of which I have to treat. But there was no system for storing the abundant product of New-England winters, and the age of essences was yet to come: we find the dealer in ice-cream using the newspaper to remind his patrons that "the fruit-flavors of raspberry, strawberry, currant, and pineapple" could be furnished only in the seasons of those productions.

In writing of life in Boston during the closing decade of the last century, it is impossible to omit some reference to the convulsion in France which so deeply affected the course of history in America, as well as throughout the civilized world. The opening acts of the French Revolution had excited general satisfaction, and it was confidently expected that our generous allies were to enjoy a system of liberty as rational as our own. If the cooler heads were sceptical upon the subject, they could not protest against the hopeful current of public opinion; and, notwithstanding some untoward events, that current received little check until it culminated in the civic banquet of 1793. Two days after the execution of Louis XVI. a festival was held in Boston to celebrate the reign of righteousness which the revolutionists of France had inaugurated on earth. A New-England January

is not the most favorable time for feasting in the open air; but the enthusiasm was warm enough to disregard the thermometer. An ox of one thousand pounds' weight had been roasted whole. The horns of the animal having been gilt, it was lifted upon a car twenty feet high; and, posing as "a peace-offering to Liberty and Equality," was drawn by fifteen horses through the principal streets. Two hogsheads of punch, each drawn by six horses, and a cart bearing a generous quantity of bread, made up the procession. A table was laid in State Street[1] from the Old State House to near Kilby Street, and about this board the friends of Gallic liberty were to express their feelings over the beef and punch. I copy the words of a correspondent of the *Centinel*, as giving such a picture of the proceedings as the newspapers of the day saw fit to publish: —

"While the streets, houses, yea, even the chimney-tops, were covered with male spectators, the balconies and middle stories exhibited bevies of our amiable and beautiful women, who by their smiles and approbation cast a pleasing lustre over the festive scene."

It is unpleasant to add anything to this gracious record of the occasion, but it is nevertheless ascertainable that the banquet terminated in an uproar; that pieces of the ox were thrown into the air, and were even directed towards those bevies of beautiful women whom the reporter had beheld so lavish of their smiles. While the multitude were feeding or rioting in State Street, a select minority of the friends of Equality, to the number of nearly four hundred, partook of a more elaborate dinner in Faneuil Hall. Here Citizen S. Adams acted as president, and Citizen Waters furnished the decorations. Among the devices of this latter gentleman appeared an obelisk bearing in front a figure of Liberty trampling upon crown, sceptre, mitre, and broken chains, a cherub holding wreaths and palms with appropriate inscriptions, and above all "the benign eye of Providence" contemplating with satisfaction the proceedings below. In the course of the commemoration a committee from Charlestown was introduced to announce that the citizens of that place would drink the health of the citizens of Boston at four o'clock, "whereupon it was voted that the citizens of Boston should return this compliment at a quarter past four, under a discharge of artillery." For why should not the heavens bruit again the rouse of democrats as well as that of royalty? The descendants of the Puritans seem to

[1] [The lower view on the next page gives State Street very much as it must have looked at the time of the jubilation in honor of the French Republic, seven or eight years earlier. The picture is in oils, and was painted by J. B. Marston about 1801; and it is now in the Historical Society's rooms, — *Proceedings*, Feb. 1878, p. 38. It is also interesting as one in a series of views of the Old State House, showing the changes in its appearance. The earliest seems to be the contemporary copper-plate of the Boston Massacre (east end), reproduced in Mr. Porter's chapter on the "Beginning of the Revolution." Then there are the engraving given in this History, Vol. II., 507; the copper-plate (west end), also from the *Mass. Mag.*, July, 1793, and reproduced on the next page and given in heliotype in the *Evacuation Memorial;* that in Shaw's *Description of Boston*, 1817, also in Hales's *Survey of Boston*, 1821, giving the east end; that in Snow's *Boston*, 1825, p. 280 (east end); and Salmon's view, 1832 (east end), with flames bursting from the building. The present French roof on the building is a recent modification. — Ed.]

OLD STATE HOUSE, WEST END.

STATE STREET IN 1801.

have borrowed the temperament of the French as well as their symbols. Cloudless was the outlook for humanity, as the flowing bumpers were drained on that auspicious day. A bad omen was not to be tolerated; the resources of exegesis must make it a good one. When a balloon refused to bear heavenward a scroll proclaiming Liberty and Equality, it was happily suggested that, as the denizens of the air needed not these precious watch-words, they had graciously remained to bless the inhabitants of the earth.[1]

But the time for reason and reaction must necessarily arrive. The news of the regicide was at length blown over the ocean; confusion had made its master-piece; and the conservative leaders of the town began to be heard from. They believed that a poison had been introduced into the body politic which threatened to paralyze its members. The ideal of human brotherhood, still incandescent before a portion of the community, seemed to those who had hitherto directed its opinion to have become a flimsy sentimentalism. It assailed those degrees and etiquettes of society which give it grace as well as stability. The Federal party which struck its roots so strongly in Boston comprised, with scarcely an exception, the men of wealth, learning, and influence. The example of France seemed to them to show that the rule of the people must end in that of the basest of demagogues. They could not accept, for better or for worse, the tide of democracy which was setting in.[1] It has been said that next to the noblest type of innovator, and scarcely inferior to him in usefulness, comes his high-minded opponent. It is certainly true that, because so much good work was done by the Federalists, the ideal of the American democrat may ultimately be practicable. It concerns me here to repeat — since the fact colors the manners of the time — that, notwithstanding the fine feelings proclaimed at the festival, the ruling opinion of Boston did not cordially accept the freedom and equality of the industrial classes. It is not the printed matter of the day which furnishes the best evidence of this sentiment, though even here indications of its existence are to be found. One example will suffice. The *Centinel*, in its issue for July 25, 1798, published an oration by Master Reed, a pupil of the Latin School. The young gentleman's subject was true and false patriots, and after instancing Washington and several classical personages as examples of the former, he disposes of the latter in such terms as these: "We meet them at every turn; we read their productions in every democratic newspaper. False patriots are the street orators and Coffee-House politicians of every large town; they are the *Ciceros* of the mob. They harangue the gaping Mechanic and the admiring Truckman; . . . they are the vapors of putrefying democracy." Such expressions of course amount to nothing as the utterances of a boy; but they become significant when they pass the watchful scrutiny of the master, and are delivered and printed with his approval. The contemptuous slur upon mechanics and truckmen, whose poorly requited labor made possible the holiday audience which Master Reed addressed, suggests

[1] [See Mr. H. C. Lodge's chapter. — Ed.]

the reason why Jefferson, with all his faults, better expressed the collective will of the nation than did the true and honorable Federalists who laid its foundations.

With the opening of the present century a season of prosperity for Boston had fairly set in. Her industries received an impulse, and the enterprise of her merchants was laying the foundations of fortunes which were as generously used as they were honorably won. French influence was modifying social forms. Jefferson was inaugurated, and the term "French airs" was applied in mockery to the scant skirts and *coiffure à la liberté* with which the ladies were replacing the hooped petticoats and towering head-dresses in which they had welcomed George Washington to the town. Monsieur Alexandre Lavigne arrived from Paris, and was ready to arrange feminine locks "in the Greek, Flora, or Virginia fashions," while he would cut the hair of the gentlemen "*à la* Brutus," or "*à la* Titus," as their tastes might dictate. Breeches and stockings were gradually giving place to pantaloons, fitted close to the leg and passing into the shoes. Boots with yellow tops were worn by men of advanced years, while the younger portion of society affected half-boots made of elastic leather. The toe was pointed or flat, according to the age of the wearer; and "old square-toes" furnished the slang epithet which will always be wanted to deride the conservatism of the decline of life in its objectionable manifestations.

A satirical communication upon "Beaux," which appeared in the *Centinel* for April 23, 1800, despite obvious exaggerations, preserves some curious traits of the fine gentlemen of the period. According to the writer "the Frenchified American beau," as he was to be met in the streets of Boston, wore shaggy hair upon his head and a spotted linen kerchief about his neck, while his green coat ended behind in a mathematical point. It was his habit to drink brandy in the morning, while his conversation, even upon the exchange, ran upon Parisian opera dancers. "The dapper beau" appeared with close-cut hair, the remaining stumps being twisted into curls. "His hat is about the size of Aunt Tabby's snuff-box, and is stuck upon the very crown of his head. In his hand he commonly carries a stick of wood, which seems to weary him very much, especially in summer." The writer had met "the college beau" in the vicinity of the Old State House, and perceived that he exhibited that state of inanition which is not uncommon in young gentlemen who are fed by academic contractors. The cakes and ale, which an expression of Shakespeare has made typical of youthful indulgence, the visitor from Cambridge seems to have craved in the narrow letter. He is represented as devouring the former in the shape of gingerbread, while "he guggles down a glass of ale at the old woman's basket." His costume is not particularized, but his hair is "plastered" and "well whited over with Virginia flour." But democracy has entered upon the scene, and neither triflers of leisure nor students of learning shall claim monopoly in the matter of social fascinations. The account of "the shopkeeper beau," who is characterized as "the politest man alive," is well worth quoting entire: —

"He will spring at one leap over a counter four feet high to pick up a lady customer's handkerchief; he makes the most handsome bow, says the most civil things, and talks surprisingly fast and sensibly about the odor of a roll of pomatum, or the vulgarity of wearing our own hairs. In the day-time he is fully employed in displaying his drawers, boxes, bottles, needles, and pins; but in the evening you may find him dancing a minuet with the lady whom he cheated of a half-penny a few hours before. 'Chaos has come again!' Among his ancestors he numbers many of the noble profession of Vulcan, and his mother was a dealer in yarn; but he has long since forgotten his parentage."

Chaos has come again! So it seemed to the respectable sentiment of the town. That unguarded exclamation measures the distance we have travelled since the author of those generalities of perennial glitter was seated in the presidential chair. Snobbishness, indeed, is likely long to be with us; but, like vice, it has been taught to seek a decorous concealment. It dares not write to the papers because shopkeepers, "fully employed" during the day, and descended from men and women who did the hard work of the world, refresh themselves with a dance in the evening, and assume no position of inferiority in respect to the customers they have served.

As wealth increased, the noted hospitality of the town received a fresh impulse. Gentlemen and ladies from the South, — there was then no West, — who took Boston on their return from the Springs, were welcomed with cordiality. Mr. Craigie, of Cambridge, sometimes entertained over a hundred guests at the brilliant Commencement festival, and a few families who had country seats in the vicinity gave dinners and receptions with great liberality. But visits to the country were by no means essential; for Boston, — a town of gardens with the privilege of the sea, — was in itself a watering-place. The boarding-houses were comfortable places of resort for travellers. Indeed, some of the finest mansions in the place, residences of the provincial magnates, had come to this use. "Boston continues to be thronged with strangers," says a letter bearing date Aug. 20, 1800; "Mrs. Carter rejects twenty or thirty a day, yet still keeps the moderate number of sixty in her family. After the warmth of the day is over, we form animated groups; we had quite a romantic one last evening, sitting on the grass by moonlight, with the accompaniment of a guitar and singing." Fishing parties were constant during the warm season. "The gentlemen, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes in company with ladies," writes a visitor, "spend the day partly on the water and partly on some of the islands in this very delightful harbor. I have been at one of these parties, and assure you we had a high degree of social and friendly conviviality."

Under the influence of French thought and customs came occasional protests against the rigor of the Sunday laws, notwithstanding the fact that the Puritan observance of the sacred day had already suffered curtailment. In the assembly of 1782–83 the country members had been strenuous for a Sabbath of thirty-six hours; but those from the larger towns were mercifully disposed to limit it to eighteen, and the latter carried their point.

From midnight of Saturday till six o'clock the next day [1] it was unlawful for any hired carriage to leave or to enter Boston, while during service no vehicle could move faster than a walk. By a statute enacted ten years later, travelling and all secular employments, save those of necessity and mercy, were prohibited. It is doubtful whether these laws were fully enforced, though there is a story that Governor Hancock was once fined for taking a turn in the mall on his way home from church. In 1802 the selectmen proposed to enforce the edict against Sabbath-breakers upon certain persons who were in the habit of bathing at the foot of the Common, and other places where the sea could be reached. The practice may have been objectionable for secular reasons; but of these nothing is said, and the inference was not unnatural that the law was evoked to deprive those who were confined to labor during the week of a refreshment which persons more favorably situated need not lack. A rhyming protest which appeared in the *Centinel* is characteristic of the undercurrent of thought, as well as of its methods of expression.[2] After sunset the restraints of the sacred day were relaxed; the children might put away their testaments and catechisms, and their elders frequent social tea-tables to discuss the sermons and the news. The ministers were at home to their parishioners, and there were informal receptions at the houses of prominent men. Caucuses and political gatherings were held on Sunday evening, a time which seems to us inappropriate to these purposes. Let us never cease to respect the good Puritan sentiment of which the custom was a relic. Our forefathers held that their duty to the State was only one degree less solemn than their duty to the Church, and that when the house of prayer was not wanted for the worship of God, it could be put to no better use than to hold a town-meeting.

As money flowed into the town, lotteries put forth their attractions as methods for investment. They were duly authorized by the authorities, and held to be an unobjectionable way of increasing the funds of churches, colleges, and academies. If speculation in chances was in itself innocent, it was not thought necessary to prohibit it on account of demoralizing tendencies. And so it came to pass that when capital was to be caught, no means were spared to popularize the lotteries and display their allurements. At a time when pictorial illustrations in the newspapers were almost unheard of, the advertisement of a new lottery was made seductive by such art as could be commanded. A representation of Fortune blindfolded, and balancing herself upon a wheel, caught the eye of the most hasty reader. One hand of the goddess held a cornucopia, from which a stream of coins was pouring into the hat of an improvident young person who was reduced to that single article of clothing; in the other, the fickle lady brandished a

[1] [See Vol. II. pp. 7, 195, 215, 233, 467, 493. — Ed.]

[2] "In Superstition's days, 'tis said,
Hens laid two eggs on *Monday*,
Because a hen would lose her head
That laid an egg on Sunday.

Now our wise rulers and the law
Say none shall wash on Sunday;
So Boston folks must dirty go,
And wash them twice on Monday."

scroll bearing the inscription "$10,000." Sometimes managers would avail themselves of that humorous exaggeration which has become characteristic of American fun; and a note will show that its capabilities, as applied to advertising, is no recent discovery.[1]

"The General Court teems with petitions for new turnpikes and toll-bridges; the spirit of improvement may be said not only to exist, but to rage." Such is the contemporary testimony to the impetus from prospering finances. New inlets were opened to the town, and water-carts were demanded, "notwithstanding the great expense." Boston was surely rich and public-spirited enough to lay the dust in the principal streets. And now was revived the project of opening a canal through Cape Cod, which for a century past had been advocated as a practicable means for promoting the prosperity of the town. "The threefold cord of Humanity, Interest, and Patriotism," writes a promoter of the scheme in the florid rhetoric of the time, "strengthens our obligation to the utmost exertion, and powerfully draws us to employ every means in our power which may facilitate and hasten the accomplishment of so desirable an event." Alas! nothing but the unforeseen is certain to happen. We can picture the contemptuous incredulity of this enthusiast, could he have listened to a prophecy that capital would be forthcoming to bring the Pacific within a week's journey, and to furnish instant communication across the stormy leagues of the Atlantic, ere it would divide the sandy promontory in the interest of the commerce of Boston.

Property was now so generally diffused that the law limiting the suffrage to those holding goods to the amount of $200 was scarcely felt as a grievance. It is worthy of notice that in an appeal to electors in 1802 the *Centinel* recites the statute, not as restrictive, but as making the responsibility for good government well nigh universal. "We ask, What free citizen who has any habits of industry has not this property? Not one perhaps in thirty; for he must be poor indeed, and indolent to a proverb, whose whole effects will not be valued at this sum." No wonder that strangers enjoyed a visit to Boston during those halcyon days. The place was thoroughly prosperous, and its distinctive characteristics and local type of manners were seen at their best. Few were troubled by a vision of the time so soon to come, when public soup-kitchens must be opened, and a crowd of sailors, bearing the flag at half-mast, would visit the governor to demand bread.

Social gossip is always pleasantest when animated by feminine intelligence, and I feel sure that the reader will esteem it a privilege to look at

[1] "A curious machine has lately been advertised which will *churn*, *scrape potatoes*, *rock a cradle*, and *darn stockings!* However curious and useful this may appear, there is another *machine* (old invention) which not only performs *all* these things, but even more, — *it enables us to* OBTAIN *them!* This last machine is in the form of a lottery-wheel; and if any dispute its superiority over the *new* invention, let them purchase a TICKET and try the experiment." — *Columbian Centinel*, April 13, 1802.

some of the gayeties of Boston through the eyes of a gifted lady, from whose letters I am permitted to make the following extracts: —

"Jan. 2, 1807. In the regions of fashion dancing still continues the rage. Private balls are numerous, and little cotillon parties occur every week. The dancing disease having gradually ascended till it reached the middle-aged, now begins to descend on the other side of the hill, and attacks the old. At a late party Mrs. —— and Mrs. —— danced cotillons. . . . The public balls were quite neglected, except the last, which, being the first of January, was crowded and brilliant, — though not, say the fashionables, very genteel. The Theatre begins to be in vogue, because one Mrs. Hanley is the subject of discussion and dispute in every circle, being pronounced by some people of taste the most accomplished actress that ever trod the stage, and by others of equal taste as impudent, affected, and intolerable."

"Feb. 12, 1807. The night before last, as my cold was better, I ventured to Mrs. James Perkins's, who gave a ball to more than two hundred people. The company though large was not mixed, but consisted of all the respectable people in town, with their children, and in some cases grandchildren. It was very pleasant, well conducted, and perfectly satisfactory to all tastes. They had dancing for the young, cards and conversation for the old, and for those who love eating, an excellent collation of solid good things in the side-board style. If it were not too much in Colonel Caustic's vein, I should say that there were very few handsome women there, that the young ladies were some of them too much caricatured in their dress, and that the beaux were not so gallant as those of the old school. But we know that a prospect appears different when seen from different eminences; so the fault may be in my situation, not in the objects I saw."

"Nov. 24, 1809. Notwithstanding the gloom of our political horizon, the spirit of gayety seems to be awake among us. We seem determined to imitate our present allies and future masters by dancing away our cares. Mr. Samuel Welles's ball was splendid and tasteful; it was honored by the presence of the most brilliant collection of beauties that has appeared in public for many years. The ladies were dressed with much taste; the degree of light was adjusted with happy skill to suit their complexions. Transparent paintings, and lamps decorated with flowers whose bright hues were reflected from mirrors, gave lustre to the scene. The supper was highly elegant; the table was covered with the luxuries of every clime and every season. Summer was robbed of its flowers and autumn of its fruits to embellish this winter *fête*. Fine peaches blushing with the glow of September, and a variety of melons, were preserved with great care and expense for this gallant occasion. The Turkish band in their elegant costume shared the honors of the night, and divided with the ladies the tribute of approbation. The grace of Peter in playing the cymbals and of Mrs. —— in dancing cotillons received equal applause. Mr. Welles acquitted himself with great propriety, and all went off with *éclat*, except the toasts, which were rather flat. The gentlemen were not prepared to be either witty or sentimental, and impromptus suit the genius of the French better than that of the English or their American descendants. Mr. Otis alone was happy on this occasion; his wit is ever ready. Some things a little novel distinguished this *fête*, — such as a song in falsetto by Mr. Welles's servant, whether tender or humorous nobody could tell, as it was Italian; but we are to conclude the latter, since it made everybody laugh. Another novelty was our friend S——, acting as manager with a *chapeau bras* under one arm, flirting a lady's fan, picking up her

handkerchief, and presiding at supper. In this new character he, however, acquitted himself well, except for a little mistake which defeated the gallantry of Mr. Welles in one of his arrangements. The tables, which were laid to accommodate three hundred persons, were ornamented with a profusion of flowers. Besides the natural ones, large vases were filled with the most beautiful artificial flowers that could be procured, consisting of bouquets, wreaths, etc. After supper the ladies were requested to select these flowers and wear them. It was intended as a sort of compliment, and to preserve the memory of the evening a little longer. As soon as this request was made, some very pretty girls began to ornament themselves with apple-blossoms, roses, etc., when S——, who thought the natural flowers alone could be meant, called out in his own style, 'Look here now, this will never do!' Finding his exclamation not attended to, he jumped up, 'By George, this is not right!' and replaced the vase on the pyramid. This checked the whole business, and Mr. Welles had the mortification of seeing the flowers which he had selected as ornaments for so many fair damsels left for the servants, and poor S—— got heartily laughed at."

A party given for Miss Buckminster, by Mr. and Mrs. Isaac P. Davis, is described in the same letter: —

"We had our usual circle, with the addition of the Miss Storers and one or two others. Some of the scenes would have amused you; but they would lose their spirit on paper. A sortie of the fair Miss —— soon after the entrance of the Reverend Dr. ——, and a dialogue between him and the same lady, and another with Mr. Buckminster, were quite original. Mr. Davis invited —— (an English gentleman then residing in Boston), for which his wife scolded him, and I seconded her; but he said the gentleman was sick and could not come. However, in the middle of the evening he lounged in. . . . One thing he would do, in spite of all the cold monosyllables with which his observations were received, and that was talk to me. Although I never saw him but once before, and never was introduced to him, he walked across Mrs. D.'s large room, and finding no vacant chair stood up before me, and insisted upon knowing my opinion of a variety of characters and books about which he conversed very fluently, — though, I thought, very superficially. He embellished his observations with passages given in such a manner that, if remembered, they might pass for quotations; if not, they would be considered as bright flashes of his own genius. The most striking thing to me in his conversation was the address with which he practised this art. He appears, however, to have studied human nature with some success; he is, I suspect, more profound in the knowledge of the heart than any other science, and flatters most dexterously. The confident expectation he seemed to have of making me one of his warm admirers provoked me, and I was very glad when he had exhausted the stock of materials which he had evidently got up for the occasion. I had some conversation with Mr. Buckminster and William Tudor, which I enjoyed more highly. Dr. —— also attacked me upon the orthodoxy of my sentiments. I told him that as he did not know my sentiments, it was rather an unfair attack. However, if it was being too orthodox to believe that *faith* as well as good works were necessary, and that we should not rest entirely on them, but on the merits of our Saviour, for eternal happiness, and that the aid of God's Holy Spirit is necessary to enable us to resist temptation, I must plead guilty. I added that it had become the fashion to charge upon all who believed these serious truths the extravagant opinions of Hopkinsians

and Methodists. The good Doctor then made some distinction rather too nice for 'my poor head,' as Sir Hugh says, which not perfectly understanding I could only answer by asking a rather simple though serious question; and this the Doctor not being prepared to answer, he cut short the argument by walking away."

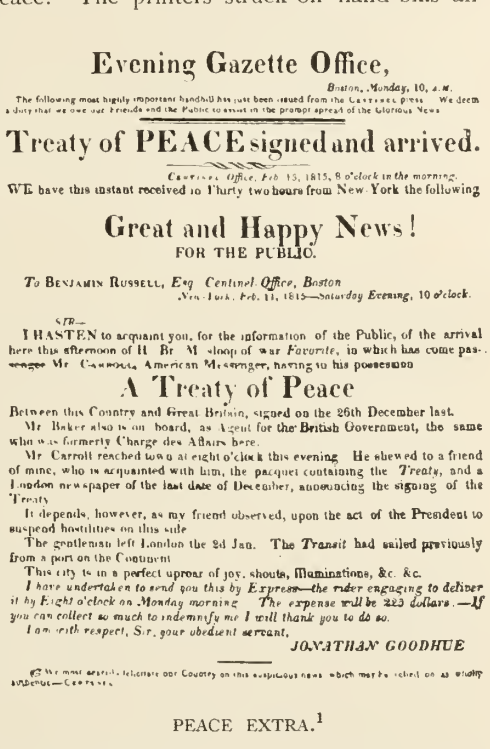
Thus the forms of social life were continued in Boston, while the Embargo filled the town with sullen rage, and the passage of the Enforcing Act caused a pretty general expression of the opinion that the end must come either in despotism or civil war. Of the deplorable consequences of these measures, and of the war with England which succeeded them, it is not my province to speak.[1] But I cannot deny my readers a glance at the happy days which succeeded these events, and this they shall take through the eyes of a young lady in her teens, — from whose diary I am permitted to copy. On the evening of Sunday, Feb. 12, 1815, the writer describes a social meeting which had just taken place at the house of her parents. Noah Webster the lexicographer, Judge Dawes, then of the Municipal Court, and Mr. Wainwright (afterwards Bishop Wainwright) were the callers. When such men met, the distressing topic of the time was not to be avoided. The chances of peace were discussed and rediscussed, till at last it was agreed with sad unanimity that no prospect of an end to the war with England was to be discerned. What happened the next day shall be told in the words of the contemporary record: —

"Monday, February 13, 1815. — After breakfast all the bells began to ring. I asked mamma what it meant, and she said that she supposed it must be a town-meeting. Suddenly —— burst into the room, exclaiming, 'Do you know what the bells are ringing for? Peace! Peace!! Peace!!!' We thought her out of her senses, and papa went out to learn the truth. He soon returned and told us that it was indeed true, and that the whole town was in an uproar about it. We felt that we could not stay at home; so we ordered the sleigh and set forth. First we went through Cornhill, then past the Common, and through the main street down to the North End. The streets were crowded: in State Street you might have walked upon the people's heads. Almost every house had a flag on it, and in some places they were strung across the streets. We then rode again over the town, and met several companies of soldiers. In the main street we met a company followed by three sleds, each drawn by fifteen horses. A man was in the front of each, with the word *Peace* printed in large capitals on his hat. These sleds were full of sailors who, just as they came up, gave a most tremendous huzza, which was echoed by the immense crowd about us. The ladies were running about the streets as if they did not know what they were doing; the gentlemen were shaking hands and wishing each other joy. All this time bells were ringing, cannons firing, and drums beating. I never saw such a scene. The joy of the poorer classes, who had suffered so much, was quite affecting. When my father came home he said that the gentlemen had concluded to defer the public celebration, illumination, etc., until official accounts were received from Washington.

"February 23, 1815. — The Oratorio in celebration of peace was performed yester-

[1] [See the chapters by Gen. Palfrey and Mr. Lodge. — Ed.]

day morning at the Stone Chapel. We obtained seats near the altar, and were joined by Mrs. S. G. Perkins and her two daughters. The church was crowded; and the presence of several British officers in full uniform gave ocular demonstration that peace had come. After the services we went to the balcony of the house of Mrs. Lowell, senior, in Common Street, to see the procession. Representatives of all the trades were drawn on sleds, with appropriate insignia, and carrying their tools. The brick-layers were building a house; they broke their bricks and worked busily. The carpenters were erecting a Temple of Peace. The printers struck off hand-bills announcing 'Peace!' and threw them among the crowd. The bakers, hatters, paper-makers, and others had each their insignia. At six o'clock in the evening we drove in the sleigh over the town to see the illuminations of all the public edifices and of many private houses. The fireworks consisted of rockets thrown from the roof of the State House, which was decorated with transparencies. On each side of the pediment was a pine-tree, and a star in the centre all formed of fireworks; and as the star exploded the word 'Peace' appeared. The celebration passed off without accident, and was highly successful.



Evening Gazette Office,

Boston, Monday, 10, A.M.

The following most highly important handbill has just been issued from the Centinel press. We deem a duty that we owe our Friends and the Public to assist in the prompt spread of the Glorious News

Treaty of PEACE signed and arrived.

Centinel Office, Feb 13, 1815, 8 o'clock in the morning.

WE have this instant received in Thirty two hours from New York the following

Great and Happy News!

FOR THE PUBLIC.

To Benjamin Russell, Esq Centinel Office, Boston

New-York, Feb. 11, 1815—Saturday Evening, 10 o'clock.

SIR—

I HASTEN to acquaint you, for the information of the Public, of the arrival here this afternoon of H. Br. M. sloop of war *Favorite*, in which has come passenger Mr. Carroll, American Messenger, having in his possession

A Treaty of Peace

Between this Country and Great Britain, signed on the 26th December last.

Mr. Baker also is on board, as Agent for the British Government, the same who was formerly Charge des Affairs here.

Mr. Carroll reached town at eight o'clock this evening. He shewed to a friend of mine, who is acquainted with him, the packet containing the *Treaty*, and a London newspaper of the last date of December, announcing the signing of the Treaty.

It depends, however, as my friend observed, upon the act of the President to suspend hostilities on this side

The gentleman left London the 2d Jan. The *Transit* had sailed previously from a port on the Continent

This city is in a perfect uproar of joy, shouts, Illuminations, &c. &c.

I have undertaken to send you this by Express—the rider engaging to deliver it by Eight o'clock on Monday morning. The expense will be 225 dollars.—If you can collect so much to indemnify me I will thank you to do so.

I am with respect, Sir, your obedient servant,

JONATHAN GOODHUE

☞ We must cordially felicitate our Country on this auspicious news which must be relished as highly as any—Centinel.

PEACE EXTRA.[1]

The bodice of white satin was also trimmed with the same ribbon. I wore white lace round the neck, a bouquet, gold ornaments, chain, etc. My hair was arranged in braids, bandeau, and curls. The building was illuminated within and without, and was decorated with flags and flowers; the effect was beautiful. The band, stationed in a balcony above, was playing as we entered. A platform surrounded the floor of the hall, and upon this we secured seats with Mrs. R. Sullivan and Mrs. S. G. Perkins and her daughters; we had much amusement in observing the

[1] [We are obliged to Colonel W. W. Clapp for permission to copy this little broadside, somewhat larger than our fac-simile, which made the announcement of peace. Goodhue was an eminent merchant of New York; and the express had come through in the incredibly short space of thirty-two hours. Josiah Quincy, who was at this time a member of the Massachusetts Senate, moved that morning resolutions of thanksgiving; and was made chairman of the committee for the celebration, which was fixed to be made on Washington's birthday, as described in the diary quoted in the text, and which included a dinner at the Exchange Coffee-House, at which Harrison Gray Otis presided. (Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 360.) The victory of Jackson at New Orleans, gained before news of the treaty reached him, was not known in Boston until a fortnight later, and the Legislature passed their vote of thanks to the victorious general Feb. 28. See Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 228; Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. 420. — Ed.]

company. Several British officers in full uniform were actively employed in flirting and dancing, not in the most graceful manner: they seemed favorite partners among the young ladies. The hall being built chiefly for a ball-room, the floor had a springing motion I never saw equalled. I danced several cotillons, contrary to my expectation, as I was acquainted with few of the beaux; and towards the end of the evening Colonel Sumner, one of the managers, requested my hand in a contre-dance. To dance with a manager was a distinction; he could place his partner at the head of any contre-dance he selected. The Colonel, who was a tall man, and had something of flourish in his manner, led me through all the sets just formed to the further end of the hall, where we placed ourselves at the head of a dance, and went down it with great animation. We then left our associates to perform the walking part of the figure at their leisure. This was probably not much to their satisfaction; but the manager must be obeyed. I was escorted back to my party, and after supper returned home, having passed a most amusing evening."

Further on in this diary it is noted that the excitement upon the restoration of peace by no means subsided with the celebration; and that Mr. Channing actually preached a sermon to remind his hearers that, though peace had come, there would remain an amount of evil quite sufficient to encourage the virtues of self-denial and forbearance.

The limits to which I am confined compel the omission of much which is illustrative of the subject, and a few remarks of a general character must conclude the chapter. Social life in the town of Boston, during the last forty years of its existence, was affected by the rapid expansion of thought which characterized the time. New beliefs refused to do courtesy to respectable customs, and those who had a position to maintain must be alert to deal with them as they appeared. "It is our lot to have been born in an age of tremendous revolution," exclaimed the sensitive Buckminster, "and the world is yet covered with the wrecks of its ancient glory, especially of its literary renown." The authoritative barriers of thought had indeed been carried, and sober men had a natural anxiety about what might follow. It was impossible for the wisest to foresee the conservatism and patience which have been characteristic of American democracy. The advent of a national literature was delayed, because every intellectual man seemed to be wanted for some active function in a State where so many alarming elements were to be found. The best work was to be done in directing, if not in opposing, the new forces that were born into the world. But the good literature which our city has contributed to the present century has its roots in the old town. The seed from which it developed was faithfully sown by the pulpit, as well as by contributions to the newspapers from such men as Fisher Ames, Benjamin Austin, John Lowell, and others who were fully their peers. The standard of morals recognized in the town was in some respects different from our own. Justice was more conspicuous than humanity in the treatment of offenders. Executions were not only public, but were accompanied by a ceremonial which was meant to be impressive, but which we should

not hesitate to call cruel and offensive.[1] Four pirates, who were executed in 1818 in the presence of twenty thousand spectators, were the conspicuous objects in a procession which moved through the principal streets of the town and over a route previously advertised, in order that no citizen might lose the gratification of the wretched spectacle. Social penalties, always important aids to good living, were administered under rules somewhat different from those which now obtain. Drunkenness did not connote the vices of character with which it is now associated. Scenes were occasionally witnessed at the tables of good and honorable gentlemen which would now be impossible among those to whom these adjectives could apply. A degree of license was permitted to men in their relations with women of an inferior caste; but the moment the conventional limit was exceeded a wholesome public opinion outlawed the transgressor. "A man may repent, and God may forgive him; but his fellow-sinners never will!" bitterly exclaimed one who had felt the ostracism of his generation for an offence of this nature. The speaker was a man of large wealth, much of which was left for public uses. Offenders to-day, whose financial position is so favorable, need not despair of obtaining condonement. The plainness or coarseness of speech which was permitted among our ancestors had little bearing upon morals. We are not called upon to assume airs of superiority because Judge Parsons thought *Tom Jones* a suitable book to present to a lady, or because the most courtly of Moderators convulsed a town-meeting with a jest of which these types can furnish no adumbration. If either of these excellent gentlemen could visit their descendants, they would be startled at our tolerance of customs which would seem to them in the highest degree objectionable.

The gradual extinction of that conception of the clergy which separated them as a caste pledged to austerities which their parishioners were not expected to imitate, has in many ways raised the standards of right living. Christian gentlemen, who saw no harm in taking their families to witness the performance of Shakespeare's plays, would have been greatly shocked had their ministers assumed the same privilege. But this arbitrary separation in matters innocent or indifferent was too easily enlarged to excuse laxities which touched the foundation of morals. Few self-respecting men at present feel that such relaxations as they may temperately enjoy are to be condemned in their ministers; and the converse of the proposition, which requires from laymen the purity of life and devotion to high ends which characterize the clergy, must tend to become equally evident. It is only upon a superficial view that we can regard the beneficent influence of the sacred profession upon social life in the old town as greater than it is at present. No doubt it was different, and more easily to be measured; no doubt that as authoritative expounders of theology the influence of the clergy has been steadily upon the wane: but if the conspicuous leadership

[1] [The records of the Navy Yard, for instance, show that it was customary on such occasions to suspend work. — ED.]

of our religious teachers has been lessened, their service in the ranks has become more important. The growth of the community and the complexities of modern life have brought with them temptations of which our ancestors knew little; but we should be much worse off than we are if there had been any real decline in the moralizing influence of our ministers in secular affairs. And because this influence is now subtile and unseen, and brings no special honor with its exercise, it should be acknowledged by those who know its value in strengthening the moral fibre of the community.

A devotion to the higher interests of its inhabitants characterized the later years of the town of Boston. It was rich in individuals who looked beyond the pursuits whose end was self-aggrandizement, and sought to discover the pressing wants of their fellow-citizens, that they might labor to supply them. Our honorable institutions of religion, charity, and learning bear testimony to their zeal. We owe to them an inheritance which requires us merely to maintain, not to create, a reputation for public spirit and private munificence. They held a high conception of the duties of citizenship, and, according to their light, were prompt to fulfil them. The bitterness of their political animosities testifies to the honesty and positiveness of their convictions. The intelligent Democrat of to-day must reverence the noble twelve years' work of the Federal party, and honor its vigorous and useful protests during the earlier part of this century. First, an honest opposition; then, a passive acquiescence; finally, a joyous sympathy,—this is the necessary sequence by which what is best in the old modifies and renders possible the ideal of the new. The Boston of a healthy Democracy, which our descendants may one day perfect upon the cherished site, will be deeply indebted to the good old Federal town that preceded it.

Josiah Phillips Quincy.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY AND LANDMARKS OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY EDWARD STANWOOD.

AT the close of the Revolutionary period, Boston was topographically what it had been from the beginning.[1] Its three hills were as Nature had made and left them. None of the numerous coves and inlets that once indented the shores of the peninsula had been obliterated. The last century has been the witness of all the great physical changes which have wrought upon Boston such a transformation as no other great city of the world has ever undergone at the hands of man. Not a trace of the original coast-line remains. The levelling tendency of the age has been a literal fact, so far as Boston is concerned, for its hills have been cut down and its low land raised. The area of dry land has been much more than doubled, and Boston proper is no longer, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, a peninsula.

In studying the physical history of Boston, we have first of all to consider what Boston was when the changes began. The inhabited part of it was a true peninsula, almost exactly a square mile in area, connected with the main-land by a neck which was at one point extremely narrow, and widening as it approached the Roxbury line. The superficial area of the Neck, and the land which lay south of it, was not far from one fourth of a square mile. The whole original area of Boston proper is put at 783 acres. The latest survey makes the area of dry land in original Boston 1,829 acres.

Boston has grown in area not only by reclaiming land from the sea, but by absorbing neighboring territory, — first, by the annexation of parts of the domain of adjoining municipalities; and latterly, by taking the whole, — extinguishing the separate municipal existence of the cities and towns absorbed. In this way South Boston (or Dorchester Neck as it was then called), Washington Village, Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, Brighton,

1 [Compare the original peninsula, as indicated on the map at the beginning of Vol. I., with Page's map of 1775, as given in Vol. III., and Carleton's map of 1797, given herewith. See accounts of these in the Introduction to Vol. III. In 1789 the number of buildings in Boston is put down at 2,639; and in 1791 the dwellings alone numbered 2,376, with 18,038 inhabitants. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 249; and second series, ix. 204. — ED.]

and West Roxbury have united their fortunes with their metropolitan neighbor; so that at present the area over which the city government has jurisdiction is nearly 23,700 acres, or thirty-seven square miles.

The first extensive improvement undertaken during the period now under consideration was the building of a bridge to Charlestown. Boston could be reached by the inhabitants of towns lying to the north and west only by circuitous land routes. As early as 1720 there was some discussion of the subject of connecting Boston and Charlestown by a bridge, but more than sixty years elapsed before the idea of this enterprise was revived. In March, 1785, a company was chartered to build the Charles River Bridge, John Hancock heading the list of incorporators. The company was empowered to collect tolls (which were to be doubled on the Lord's Day) for a term of forty years, on condition of paying two hundred pounds annually to Harvard College, to compensate that institution for the loss of the ferriage between Boston and Charlestown. Subsequently the right to take tolls was extended for thirty years, on account of the charter granted for the building of the West Boston Bridge; but the double Sunday toll was abolished. The capital of the company was fifteen thousand pounds, in shares of one hundred pounds each. The work was begun and prosecuted with great energy, and the bridge[1] was opened to public travel on June 17, 1786, with as imposing a parade and ceremony as were possible in those days. A national salute of thirteen guns was fired at dawn from Breed's Hill, and answered from Copp's Hill, while the bells of both towns rang merry chimes. A procession, consisting of the corporation-officers of the town of Boston and most of the State officials and members of the Legislature, escorted by military, was formed at the Old State House, and marched to and upon the bridge amid the firing of cannon. The draw had been raised; but at a signal given by the president of the company it was lowered, and the procession passed over, to the music of the shouts and applause of twenty thousand spectators. The line of march was through the Square to Breed's (popularly Bunker) Hill, where a dinner "fit for the gods," as one chronicler declares, was served to about eight hundred people; and the occasion of "festivity and sobriety" was protracted until six o'clock in the evening. The enterprise was financially successful, and continued to be so until the Warren free bridge was built in 1828. Soon after that time the draw of Charles River Bridge was permanently raised, and the use of the highway was discontinued. In 1840 the State bought the franchise and property for $30,000, and re-established tolls for the purpose of keeping the two Charlestown bridges in repair. They both afterward passed into the hands of the municipalities of Boston and Charlestown jointly, and are now free highways maintained by Boston alone.

The West Boston, or Cambridge, Bridge[2] was next built, by a company chartered in 1792, and was opened to travel Nov. 23, 1793. It cost £23,000,

[1] [A contemporary view of the bridge is given in Mr. Edes's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [A view of this bridge, taken not long after its completion, is in a manuscript note-book by

CARLETON'S PLAN OF BOSTON, 1797.

and was an unfortunate speculation for its projectors. The Canal Bridge, now known as Craigie's, was built by a company incorporated in 1807, and opened to travel on Commencement Day, Aug. 30, 1809. Both of these bridges were sold in 1846 to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation. At the end of January, 1858, tolls were abolished on both, and the occasion was duly celebrated by the city authorities and people of Cambridge.

Beacon Hill is still the most conspicuous landmark of Boston, although the last hundred years have witnessed a complete change in its form and aspect. What Beacon (or Sentry) Hill was originally, the readers of the first volume of this work already know, — a steep, rugged eminence, having three summits, the highest of which was surmounted by a beacon, which gave its name to the hill. It is to-day, although still the highest ground in old Boston, merely a gentle elevation, crowned upon its single summit by the State House, and thickly covered with private dwellings and boarding-houses. In the interval it has been shorn of nearly half its height and all its picturesqueness; but no district of Boston has a more interesting history, and by no means the least attractive part of this history is that of the period since the Revolution.

A century ago the beacon still stood upon the top of the hill. A part of the land forming its sides was owned by private citizens, and the rest was, or was supposed to be, the property of the town. At all events it was used as common pasture-ground. The beacon was blown down by a gale in November, 1789.[1] The idea had already occurred to Mr. Charles Bulfinch, then but lately returned from Europe, where he had been prosecuting his studies in architecture, to remove the unsightly beacon, and to erect a handsome monument in its place. Accordingly, by means of subscriptions procured by himself it is supposed, he caused to be erected a pretentious structure, which was completed in 1790. It was a Doric column, resting on an appropriate pedestal, and surmounted by an eagle, the emblem of the new nation. It was built of brick and stone, encrusted with cement. The eagle was of wood, gilt. The entire height of the structure, from base to summit, was fifty-seven feet. On each side of the pedestal was a tablet, bearing an inscription.[2]

Robert Gilmor of Baltimore, preserved in the Public Library. It is taken from the Cambridge end, and shows the newly erected State House on Beacon Hill. See Isaac Livermore's *Account of some of the Bridges over Charles River*, 1858. This Gilmor note-book contains other views of interest, namely, — of Boston, from Dorchester Heights; Beacon Hill Monument; the State House; the Mall, from the State House; Roxbury, from the Mall; Charlestown, from the west end of Cambridge Bridge. — Ed.]

[1] [It would appear that from about 1760 to 1768, views of the town lacked the accustomed beacon on its highest eminence. In the latter year it was re-erected, and remained till 1775, when Gage removed it in making a fort. After repossessing the town, the authorities replaced the beacon on the hill, fixing it in the centre of the British fort. Here it remained till blown down. — Ed.]

[2] Those upon the north and west sides consisted of a catalogue of the events which led to the Revolution and of the war, while upon the south and east sides were carved the following felicitous sentences, the authorship of which has been attributed to Mr. Bulfinch himself. There is reason to believe, however, that Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap had a hand in fashioning them. He says he was consulted on the subject. See *Belknap Papers*, ii. 233. The honor

This monument, upon the completion of which no public celebration took place, although the event was briefly referred to in the newspapers, was not destined to stand long. The hill was already doomed. Excavations had been made some years before at the northern base of the hill by an avaricious proprietor.[1] In 1795 the work of building the State House was begun, and the preparation of the foundation rendered it necessary to make another unsightly[2] excavation in the hill-side. From that time on, events tended to the destruction of the hill. In 1804 the Mill-pond Corporation obtained from the town the right to remove gravel from it to be used in filling the pond. A few years later the protracted litigation between the town and the Hancock estate terminated in favor of the latter; and about the same time it was decided by the Supreme Court that an owner of land upon a hill-side had a right to excavate upon his own property without being liable for damages in the consequent destruction of any building erected by the owner of adjoining land. In 1811 the town, being in debt, voted to sell the land it owned at the top of the hill, which was fast becoming inaccessible by the removal of gravel from the sides. The sale was accordingly made for $9,300 to Samuel Spear and John Hancock,[3] and the

is also claimed both for Judge Dawes and Governor Bowdoin: —

(South side.)

TO · COMMEMORATE
THAT · TRAIN · OF · EVENTS
WHICH · LED
TO · THE · AMERICAN · REVOLUTION
AND · FINALLY · SECURED
LIBERTY · AND · INDEPENDENCE
TO · THE · UNITED · STATES
THIS · COLUMN · IS · ERECTED
BY · THE · VOLUNTARY · CONTRIBUTIONS
OF · THE · CITIZENS
OF · BOSTON
MDCCXC.

(East side.)

· AMERICANS ·
WHEN · FROM · THIS · EMINENCE
SCENES · OF · LUXURIANT · FERTILITY
OF · FLOURISHING · COMMERCE
& · THE · ABODES · OF · SOCIAL · HAPPINESS
MEET · YOUR · VIEW
FORGET · NOT · THOSE
WHO · BY · THEIR · EXERTIONS
HAVE · SECURED · TO · YOU
THESE · BLESSINGS.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 520. — Ed.]

[2] The appearance of the hill at about this time is described by "T. B." in a letter to the *Transcript*, Sept. 24, 1855, drawn out by one of the "Gleaner" papers: "At my earliest recollection the appearance of the hill was this, — a grassy hemisphere, so steep that one could with difficulty mount its sides, descending with a perfectly regular curve to the streets on the south, west, and north. On the east it had been encroached upon, and the contour was broken. Just opposite the end of Coolidge Avenue, on Derne Street, there was a flight of wooden steps, ten or fifteen in number, leading part way up the hill. After that, one had to climb the rest of the way by aid of the footholds that had been worn in the surface, along a wide path worn bare by the feet to the top, where there was also a space of some fifty feet square, worn bare of sod. In the midst of this space stood the monument. Descending by the south side, one followed a similar rough gravel path to another flight of plank steps, leading down to the level of Mount Vernon Street, and terminating at about the position of No. 13 Mount Vernon Street, the first house of those facing south. The sport of batting the ball up the hill, and meeting it again on its descent, was played by some; but it was not so easy a game as one would at first suppose, on account of the difficulty of maintaining one's footing on the hill-side, which was so steep as to require some skill even to stand erect on it."

[3] The divisions subsequently made of the Spear and Hancock estates are among the most remarkable real estate transactions on record. Mr. Bowditch narrates in one of his "Gleaner" papers that a brother conveyancer made it a rule, from which he would depart on no consideration, never to examine a title that came through anybody named Spear. In fact, all the Hancock titles were more or less cloudy; but the heirs were willing to take what they could get. In 1819 a partition of Beacon Street lands was made between the seven children of Mr. Spear

monument was taken down. The eagle was placed over the Speaker's chair in the Representatives' Hall, and the tablets were inserted in the easterly wall of Doric Hall, where they still remain. The excavation then proceeded with fresh vigor, but progress was slow as compared with that of similar enterprises at the present day; and it was only in 1824 that the hill was levelled to about its present height, and the streets laid out substantially as they now are.

Each of the other hills, or summits, was afterward the basis of a large and successful speculation in real estate. Pemberton (or, as it was formerly known, Cotton) Hill became, by purchases from three owners between 1801 and 1824, the property of Mr. Gardiner Greene, the wealthiest citizen of his time, whose estate was one of the glories of Boston in the early years of the present century. Mr. Greene having died in 1832, his estate was sold a year or two later to Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, who purchased also several other estates lying on Beacon Street and Tremont Street (then known as Tremont Row from Howard to Beacon streets), and caused the whole to be graded and laid out. The material removed followed that from Beacon Hill proper, into the mill-pond.

The owner of the estate which included the western of the three summits during the Revolutionary period was John Singleton Copley, the distinguished artist. His land was little if any short of eighteen acres in extent. It was bounded by Beacon Street on the south, and by the water, which then came up to Charles Street, on the west. In 1795 it was sold to Jonathan Mason and H. G. Otis by Copley's son, afterward Lord Lyndhurst, who came over from England with a power-of-attorney from his father for the purpose. Subsequent purchases by Messrs. Mason, Otis, and their associates in the speculation, made the "Mount Vernon Proprietors" the owners of all the land inclosed within a line starting near the corner of Beacon and Charles streets, and following the line of Beacon, Walnut, Mount Vernon, Joy (at first called Belknap), and Pinckney streets, as now laid out, to the water, including the flats west of the estate. Extensive improvements were undertaken. The hill was cut down, and the material used in converting the flats into upland. Charles Street was laid out, on made land, in 1803. The speculation was a highly profitable one to those who were engaged in it.

The first acquisition of territory beyond the original limits of the town was South Boston, known at the beginning of the present century as Dorchester Neck. Although separated from Boston by a channel only a few hundred yards wide, there was no communication between the two peninsulas except by means of occasional row-boats, which could ply only at high tide; but as there were only ten families then residing on the Neck,[1]

by one of his wives, and the share of each was one two hundred and fifty-second part of the estate, and to each was conveyed a strip fronting eighteen inches on Beacon Street, and eighty feet deep.

[1] Simonds's *History of South Boston*, p. 80.

these were all-sufficient for the purpose. The total valuation of estates was but $139,200, all real. The town of Dorchester was extremely reluctant to give up this part of its territory, but it must be admitted that the value of it was not suspected until the proposition to take it away was made.

The annexation had its origin in a real estate speculation. Mr. Joseph Woodward had removed from Tewksbury, bought a large tract of land on Dorchester Neck and settled there, believing that Boston was destined to become a great commercial city, that it had not room for growth, and that this was the easiest and most natural acquisition. He persuaded some of the leading citizens of Boston — William Tudor, Gardiner Greene, Jonathan Mason, Harrison Gray Otis, and others — to adopt his views, and to imitate his example so far as to purchase lands upon the Neck. When once the scheme had been originated, it was carried through to execution with great promptness and energy. The transfer to Mr. Tudor was made toward the end of the year 1803, and the act of annexation was signed on March 6, 1804. The legislation was, however, not procured without determined resistance from the despoiled town of Dorchester. Numerous meetings were held, and the selectmen were instructed to use all their efforts to prevent the annexation. At one stage of the proceedings the town was offered the vast sum of $6,000 on condition that it would not further oppose the bill, and but for the opposition of an influential citizen the proposition would probably have been accepted. Subsequently the offer was increased to $20,000, but this too was rejected; and finally the bill was passed by the General Court, — the town losing its land without receiving any compensation whatever.[1]

Immediately upon the passage of the act land rose enormously in value. On the same day that the annexation was decreed by the General Court an act was signed authorizing the construction of a bridge to South Boston, as it at once began to be called. The corporators of the bridge company were William Tudor, Gardiner Greene, Jonathan Mason, and Harrison Gray Otis; of whom the two latter were the leading members of the association just mentioned under the name of the Mount Vernon Proprietors. The bridge was completed in the summer of 1805, and opened with a grand military display on October 1 of that year. Although it was located at the point where the distance between the two peninsulas was least, it was one thousand five hundred and fifty-one feet in length,[2] and cost $56,000. There had been a contention as to the location of the bridge from the first, and the line was unfortunately chosen. Population was not attracted to the newly annexed territory, which could be reached only by a bridge connecting with Boston at the Neck. An agitation was begun at once in favor of a second bridge. This was resisted, of course, by the proprietors of the first bridge, and a wrangle ensued that only came to an end twenty years later. A charter for a free bridge was granted in 1826; the new (Federal Street) bridge was

[1] [See Mr. Barrows's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Shaw says one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight feet.

built and opened in 1828, and in the same year it was conveyed to the city. Its construction rendered entirely unproductive the property of the South Boston Bridge Corporation, which had never paid a return to its stockholders, and in 1832 the old bridge was sold to the city for $3,500, and opened free to travel.

The early growth of South Boston did not by any means meet the expectations of the projectors of the annexation. In 1810 the census showed but three hundred and fifty-four inhabitants on Dorchester Neck. In 1825 they only numbered one thousand nine hundred and eighty-six. At this time, however, the city began locating reformatory institutions upon it, and this, with the construction of the second bridge, gave South Boston a new impulse. In 1830 the population had increased to two thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and since then its growth has been rapid and steady.[1]

The first systematic and co-operative enterprise having in view the enlargement of the limits of Boston by making new land, was the Front Street[2] improvement. An act chartering the Front Street Corporation was passed in 1804, as one of two companion acts to that annexing Dorchester Neck (South Boston) to Boston. The corporation was mainly or wholly composed of persons owning estates bordering on the water east of Washington Street and south of Beach Street. The improvement consisted of the construction of a street generally parallel with Washington Street; and the owners of the flats enclosed thereby were left to fill in the intervening space, each on his own land. The street was begun in May, 1804, and completed in October, 1805. It was accepted in March, 1809. The cost of the improvement was about $65,000, which was paid by the persons whose estates were enclosed. About nine acres of land available for building purposes were thus added to the area of the town.[3]

[1] South Boston has not always been contented under the municipal government of Boston, and one manifestation of discontent deserves mention in this place as a part of the history of annexation, or as a sequel to it. In 1847 a memorial (signed by Cranston Howe, S. G. Howe, Larra Crane, D. Nickerson, H. Montgomery, Samuel S. Perkins, C. J. F. Allen, Isaac Adams, Seth Adams, and Joseph Smith) was presented to the mayor and city council, demanding that "there should be a change either in its municipal relation with the city of Boston proper, or in the policy which has hitherto characterized that relation." The memorial was couched in very vigorous language. It set forth the area, population, valuation, the number of public and private buildings and their importance, and the fact that South Boston had "not only the capacity, but the actual material necessary for a separate and independent municipal existence." It asserted that the union with Boston was purely artificial, and that there could be no good reason for its continuance except reciprocity of advantages. South Boston, they complained, derived no advantage from the union, but had been treated merely as an appendage from which profit might be derived by the central government, — "a Botany Bay," for the location of almshouses, prisons, and small-pox hospitals. The memorialists proceeded to recite their grievances at length, and to urge that a larger sum than had been appropriated by the city should be devoted to improving and lighting the streets, and to other objects for which no doubt expenditures were urgently needed. Whether this memorial, or the growing political power of South Boston itself, effected a change need not here be investigated; but certainly in recent years that division of the city has had no just reason to complain that its interests were neglected.

[2] Now Harrison Avenue. The name was changed soon after the death of President Harrison.

[3] The agreement of owners to build no structure less than ten feet from the line of the street was probably the first instance of a restriction

One of the most striking features of old Boston was the mill-pond at the north end of the town. Like so many other landmarks of the original peninsula it has disappeared completely. The proprietors of the mills and adjoining lands obtained an act of incorporation from the General Court in March, 1804, as the Boston Mill Corporation; and proceeded at once to belie their name by obtaining from the town the right to cut down Beacon Hill, and to use the material in filling up the pond, agreeing to give for this privilege one eighth of all the land filled in twenty years. The process was a slow one, and twenty-five years elapsed before it was finished. Blackstone Street, which follows the line of the mill-creek, through which at one time boats and small vessels could pass from the harbor to Charles River, was not laid out until 1833. All the stations of the railroads leading out of the city in a northerly direction — the Fitchburg, Lowell, Eastern, and Maine railroads — stand upon land filled by the Mill Corporation. It should be added that Copp's Hill was also drawn upon and mutilated for the purpose of this improvement, in 1806 and subsequent years; and Pemberton Hill was also transferred to the mill-pond. The area filled was about seventy acres, of which fifty acres were available for building purposes.[1]

The event which more than any other determined the future of Boston, and which ultimately led to a complete change in its physical conformation, was the act of the General Court, in 1814, granting a charter to the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation. The projector of this, as it was justly described at the time, "gigantic enterprise" was Mr. Uriah Cotting, who deserves the title given to him by Mr. Bowditch in the "Gleaner" papers, of Chief Benefactor of Boston. At this day we can look back upon the building of the Mill-Dam and see that the train of consequences which have followed its construction have alone made it possible for Boston to become a great city. The importance of the subject is a sufficient excuse for treating it at length, and — disregarding for the time all other improvements — for bringing the history of the Mill-Dam and the Back Bay down to the present time.

When the charter was granted, there was but an expanse of water and salt marsh from the foot of the Common to the uplands in Brookline. The only communication between the two towns was by way of Roxbury and the Neck. There was ample room in Boston for all the population then residing here, and nothing seemed to be more unlikely than that there would ever come a time when all the land which could be reclaimed from the Charles River basin would be eagerly sought after for building purposes. Nothing was further from Mr. Cotting's plans than to bring about such a result. The improvement which led to the changes we see to-day was undertaken solely from commercial motives. The Mill Corporation was authorized to build a dam from the end of Beacon Street, at Charles Street, to Sewall's

upon real estate in Boston which had in view the symmetry and appearance of a street when fully built upon. Later restrictions have concerned the size and materials of buildings.

[1] [The condition of this territory, as filled in but not built upon, is shown in a view from the dome of the State House, in 1826, in Snow's *Boston*, p. 316. — ED.]

Point in Brookline; and a cross-dam from Gravelly Point in Roxbury to the main dam. It was empowered to make a roadway of each dam, and to levy tolls for the use of it; also to build a road from the western end of the main dam to the Punch-bowl Tavern in Brookline. It had authority to confine tide water within the area bounded by the Mill-Dam and the uplands, and to build mills to be run by the water-power so created, or to lease the water-power.[1]

The original proposition of Mr. Cotting and his associates was to construct such a dam for the use of tide-water on the other side of the town, and to overflow the South Boston Flats. The Back Bay project was, like many a subsequent scheme, sprung upon the Legislature in the last days of the session, and the bill was passed by the House of Representatives when there were less than fifty, out of more than five hundred, members present.[2] But in spite of opposition the charter was granted, the bill having been signed by Governor Strong on the last day of the session. The enterprise was a stupendous one for those days.[3] The work of construction was begun under the direction of Mr. Cotting, but he did not live[4] to see it completed, and Colonel Loammi Baldwin succeeded him as engineer. The Mill-Dam was finished in the early summer of 1821, and opened for travel[5] on

[1] [The annexed plan has been reproduced from a copy belonging to Dr. John C. Warren of Boston (there is another in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library), measuring 14¼ × 18¾ inches, and four colors were used in printing it, — blue for water, now appearing like a tea-green; yellow for marsh, now a light brown; red for the roads; and black for the lettering, etc. The scale is "eighty rods, or one quarter of a mile, to an inch." It is called "PLAN OF THOSE PARTS OF BOSTON AND ITS VICINITY with its Waters and Flats adjacent, which are immediately or remotely connected with the contemplated design of PERPETUAL TIDE-MILLS. This Vast Design, in the Wide Range of its Utility, will undoubtedly exceed any Undertaking hitherto accomplished in this Quarter of the World. Printed and coloured Typographically by BENJAMIN DEARBORN, in his new-constructed LETTER-PRESS. THIS PLAN is probably the FIRST EVER PRINTED in a similar manner, as the Common Printing Press cannot be thus applied. Gentlemen desirous of having works printed in Colours, either Plans or other Drawings, can be accommodated at the Balance-Factory, where appropriate Design and Engravings can be handsomely executed. Boston, February, 1814." The line of the Jamaica Plain aqueduct is traced on it. In the heliotype the yellow is the darkest tint, the blue is the medium tint, representing the water. See also Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 345. — ED.]

[2] A protest was addressed to the citizens through the convenient medium of the newspapers. A communication in the *Daily Advertiser* of June 10, 1814, signed "Beacon Street," begins as follows: "Citizens of Boston! Have you ever visited the Mall; have you ever inhaled the Western breeze, fragrant with perfume, refreshing every sense and invigorating every nerve? What think you of converting the beautiful sheet of water which skirts the Common into an empty mud-basin, reeking with filth, abhorrent to the smell, and disgusting to the eye? By every god of sea, lake, or fountain, it is incredible." Although it was many years before the prophecy was verified, it was at last true enough; and it was because the Back Bay became such a nuisance as to be no longer endurable, that the improvement was rendered possible.

[3] It is related that on the day the books for subscription to the stock were opened, the street was blocked by the throng of persons eager to make an investment, so strong was their faith in Mr. Cotting's project. One determined person is said to have gained access to the room, where the signatures were received, by way of the window, and thereby to have incurred the ill-will of those whom he had outwitted. Yet the corporation did not pay a dividend for forty years.

[4] He died in 1819 of rapid consumption.

[5] "The road over the Boston and Roxbury Mill-Dam was opened for passengers for the first time yesterday morning, when a cavalcade of one hundred citizens and upwards, headed by General Sumner and Major Dean, passed over. . . . General Sumner in a pertinent address took occasion to advert to the magnitude of the un-

July 2, of that year, without great ceremony. Mills were erected in process of time to use the water-power which had been created. In 1824 the mixed character of the business of the corporation led to a division of it. The Boston Water-Power Company was chartered for the purpose of purchasing and holding any part of the water-power owned by the Mill Corporation, or any land contiguous thereto. The new company was organized by the stockholders of the old, and at the beginning each shareholder had an equal proportional interest in each. The actual transfer of property to the Water-Power Company did not take place until 1832, when that corporation took possession of the city mills, of the entire water-power, and of all lands lying south of the main dam. The Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation retained the roads and all property north of the dam. Meantime a controversy had arisen between the Mill Corporation, the city of Boston, and other owners of uplands bordering on the basin, involving the extent of the right of flowage by the company, and the right of owners of marshes covered by the tide at high water to fill in their land and thus exclude the flowage. It was terminated by a compromise in 1826. A boundary line was established, — the Mill Corporation relinquishing the right of flowage above it, and the land-owners giving to the company all the lands below the line as far as their rights extended. Some owners declining to accept the compromise, a suit at law was brought, and the rights of the Mill Corporation were fully established by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1832. The compromise with the city, as will presently be seen, placed Boston at a disadvantage in pressing its claim to a share of the Back Bay lands when the grand scheme of filling them was about to be undertaken.

The Boston & Providence, and the Boston & Worcester Railroad companies were both incorporated in 1831. The line of each road was laid out across the water basins of the Water-Power Company. It was foreseen that the construction of these roads would largely diminish the area to be flowed for mill purposes, and there was a depreciation of one half in the stock of both the Mill Corporation and the Water-Power Company in consequence. These corporations endeavored to prevent encroachment. Having received a legislative grant of privileges for public purposes, they refused to admit that those privileges could be taken away even for other public purposes; but in 1839 the contending parties came to an agreement which secured to the railroad companies all they desired. The concession to owners of the right to fill their lowlands, and the crossing of the territory by the railway lines were of the nature of direct injuries to the interests of the Water-Power Company for the purposes indicated by its title, and served to transform it

dertaking the completion of which they were met to celebrate. . . . He reverted to the position of Boston thirty-four years ago when there was only one passage from the peninsula to the main. 'It was then,' he said, 'our town resembled a hand, but it was a closed one. It is now open and well spread. Charlestown, Cambridge, South Boston, and Craigie's Bridges have added each a finger, and lately our enterprising citizens have joined the firm and substantial *thumb* over which we now ride.'" — *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1821.

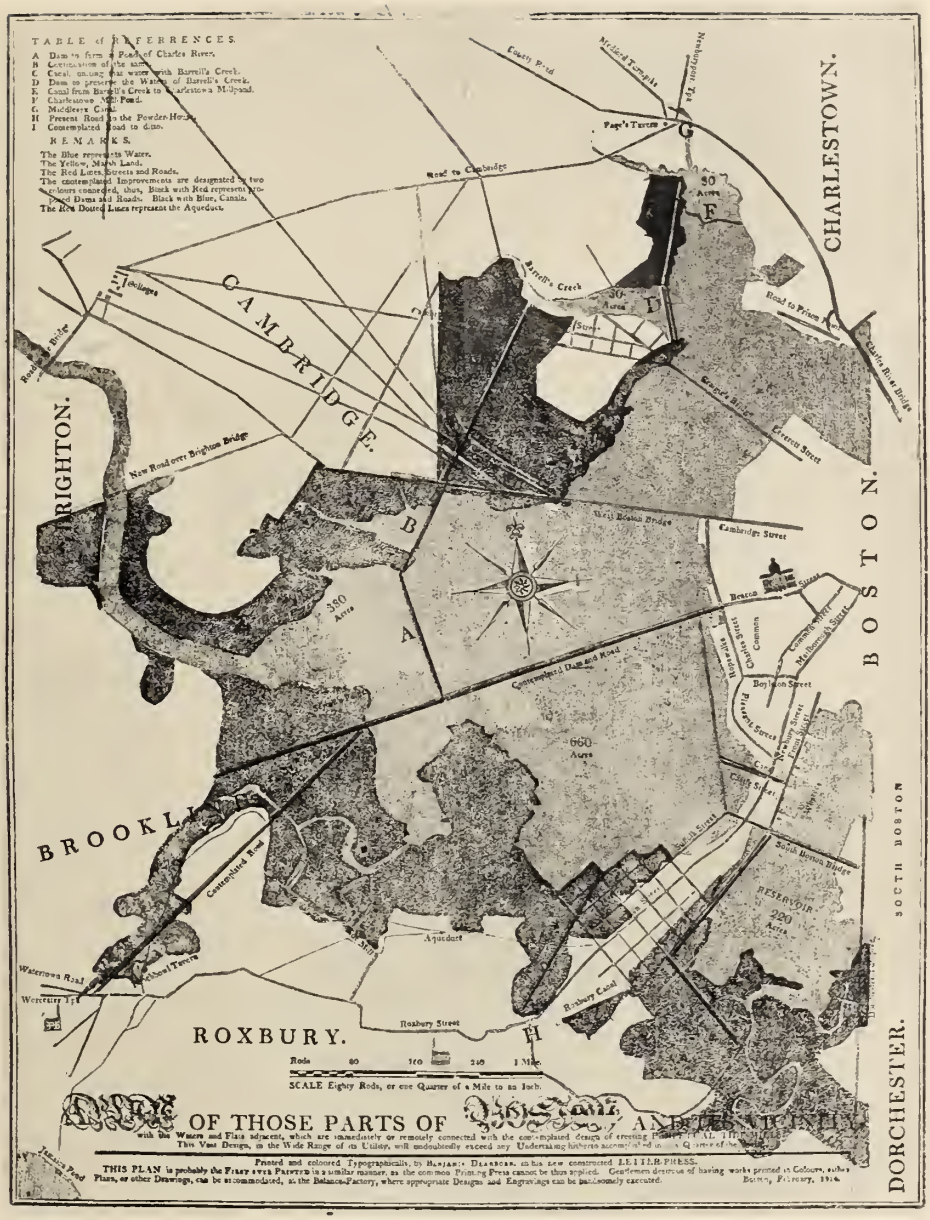


TABLE of REFERRENCES.
A Dam to form a Pond of Charles River.
B Continuation of the same.
C Canal, uniting that water with Barrell's Creek.
D Dam to preserve the Waters of Barrell's Creek.
E Canal from Barrell's Creek to Charlestown Mill-pond.
F Charlestown Mill Pond.
G Middlesex Canal.
H Present Road to the Powder-House.
I Contemplated Road to Milton.
REMARKS.
The Blue represents Water.
The Yellow, Marsh Land.
The Red Lines, Streets and Roads.
The contemplated Improvements are designated by two colours connected, thus, Black with Red represents proposed Dams and Roads. Black with Blue, Canals.
The Red Dotted Lines represent the Aqueduct.
CAMBRIDGE.
BRIGHTON.
CHARLESTOWN.
BOSTON.
BROOKLINE.
ROXBURY.
DORCHESTER.
SOUTH BOSTON
Road to Cambridge
Barrell's Creek
Road to Prison
Charles River Bridge
Craigie's Bridge
Leverett Street
West Boston Bridge
Cambridge Street
Beacon
Charles River
Boylston Street
Broadway
Chesnut Street
Common
Mount Vernon Street
Hancock Street
Pinckney Street
Chesnut Street
South Boston Bridge
Road to Milldam
New Road over Brighton Bridge
Contemplated Dam and Road
Contemplated Road
Aqueduct
Watertown Road
Worcester Turnpike
Roxbury Street
Roxbury Canal
Neck
380 Acres
660 Acres
220 Acres
30 Acres
50 Acres
RESERVOIR
Rods 80 160 240 1 Mile.
SCALE Eighty Rods, or one Quarter of a Mile to an Inch.
OF THOSE PARTS OF
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Boston, February, 1814.

The Back Bay and Milldam.

into a land company, and to render inevitable, on sanitary grounds, the filling-in of the whole space.

In 1849 there was an elaborate report to the city council on the question of drainage, the mayor and aldermen, as a Board of Health, having declared the condition of the Back Bay "to be one of nuisance, offensive and injurious to the large and increasing population residing upon it." The abominably filthy state in which it was, — an open cesspool, receiving the sewage of a large community, — together with the claims made to the land and to jurisdiction over it by the cities of Boston and Roxbury, by owners of the shores, and by the Water-Power Company, attracted the attention of the State authorities. A commission was appointed, consisting of Simon Greenleaf, Joel Giles, and Ezra Lincoln, by whom the whole subject in all its bearings was thoroughly considered. In their final report, made in 1852, after an able review of the whole history of the Back Bay and of the vested rights established, and after showing the amount of filling already done, the uncontested conveyance of lands by the corporations both north and south of the Mill-Dam, and the building which had already taken place upon these lands, the commissioners suggested that the following principles should be sanctioned by the Legislature: —

1. The corporations should be permitted to hold and use their property for land purposes, and abandon their business as mill and water-power owners. 2. All filling within the tide-water basin should be done with clean gravel. 3. Provision should be made for perfect drainage. 4. The streets to be laid out on the made-land should be wide and ample. 5. The Mill-Dam, or Western Avenue, and all other roads within the territory, should eventually be made free highways. 6. The filling should be done in such a manner that the scouring force of the water should not be diminished, and the harbor not be injured. 7. The flats north of the Mill-Dam should be included in the improvement. 8. The receiving basin should be filled up and laid out, and so disposed of as "to secure for it a healthy and thrifty population, and, by inherent and permanent causes, forever to prevent this territory from becoming the abode of filth and disease." 9. All this should be done by authority and under the direction of the State.

The commissioners also discussed at length the question of riparian rights, coming to a conclusion which the General Court during the same year (1852) adopted, when, by a solemn declaratory act, it asserted the right and title of the Commonwealth as owner of all flats "lying below the ordinary line of riparian ownership." The General Court also adopted so much of the commissioners' system as was necessary to be acted upon at the time. A resolve was passed appointing commissioners to determine the respective rights of the parties claiming an interest in the flats, and to secure those of the State; which commissioners were empowered to sell or exchange the lands owned by the Commonwealth, and were instructed to devise a plan for filling and laying out the new lands. The corporations were, as the former commission had advised, authorized to change the purpose of their associations from mill to land holding and dealing. The new commissioners

set about their work with diligence. They made an agreement with the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation by which the title of the company to the lands north of the Mill-Dam, claimed by it, was confirmed unconditionally, and the corporation came under an obligation to make all its toll-roads free to public travel in a specified time A contract was made with the Boston Water-Power Company in which a line of division running from the uplands westward was substituted for the line representing the limit of riparian ownership. Thus the Commonwealth became possessed of all the unfilled lands north of an east and west line starting near the present station of the Providence Railroad, and south of the Mill-Dam, while the Water-Power Company took the rest of the flats.

The city of Boston was not a party to be so easily managed as were these corporations. The history of municipal obstruction to an enterprise which was to be of such vast benefit to the city is one of the least creditable chapters in the record of Boston. The commissioners first proposed to the city to extend Boylston Street to the cross-dam (Parker Street), and to lay out a street at a right angle with the Mill-Dam, from that road to Tremont Street. The space enclosed by Beacon, Boylston, and the new street was to be given to the city, on condition that the city should fill its own land, build one half the surrounding streets, add the land to the Public Garden, and engage that it should never be built upon. The land so proposed to be given was about half a million square feet. The offer was rejected. Another, nearly similar to it, was made in 1853, and was also rejected. At this time, as before, there was a strong party in the city council in favor of selling the land of the Public Garden as it then was. An elaborate report was made sustaining the legality of such a sale and advocating the measure on economical grounds; but it was more than hinted in public and private that the controlling reason in favor of such a disposition of the land was not economy but selfishness. Many of the city fathers were mechanics, who saw a chance for good building-jobs in case the land were sold.

In 1854 a third proposition was made to the city, which the council intimated it would accept if the State would convey to the city the land lying westward of the Public Garden, — about three and a half million square feet. Of course the commissioners would not listen to this condition. In their report to the Legislature they expressed their minds pretty freely as to the course of the city government. Touching the assumption by that government that it ought to own the lands to be reclaimed, they showed very clearly that the city had long before expressly resigned and made over to the Water-Power Company all the rights it possessed over these flats. In fact, a large part of the very land to which the city of Boston laid claim was actually within the municipal limits of Roxbury. With the intention of disposing completely of the city's assumption, the commissioners wrote: "The city of Boston is not now the owner of any lands or flats in the Back Bay, nor does it possess any proprietary or municipal right in or over the waters or flats of the Back Bay that can in any way limit or control the

power of the Commonwealth or of its assigns, touching the mode of filling up, laying out, draining, or occupying its lands and flats in the Back Bay." [1] Another argument employed by the city fathers was somewhat sarcastically answered thus: "It may be true that the city would be able to use that valuable property with very great advantage to the municipal treasury; but the Commonwealth is quite as able to use it for the benefit of the State treasury." And in reference to the assumption by the city that it would be best able to judge how the territory should properly be drained, the commissioners say: "The city has used and now uses the Back Bay as a cesspool."

A fourth report was made to the General Court in 1856. The city had proceeded, in disregard of the commissioners' plan for laying out the new lands, to sell its own land already filled; and this land had been built upon in such a way that some of the proposed new streets were out of the question. At the same time the city persisted in its refusal to come to terms with the commissioners, or rather neglected to take any action in regard to the matter. The time for beginning the work had come, however, and after renewed effort by the commissioners an agreement was reached in December, 1856, a few months before the work was actually begun, between the State, the city, and the Water-Power Company, and by a formal vote of the citizens the Public Garden was forever devoted to park purposes, and the city council was forbidden to erect upon it, or to allow to be erected, any building except a City Hall, or such structures as would be appropriate in a public pleasure-ground.[2] Under the law as it then existed, no appropriation having been made for the expense of filling the flats, the commissioners asked for authority to make contracts for filling, to sell the land as fast as it was made, and to use the proceeds in continuing the work. This authority was granted in 1857. Private individuals advanced money to the contractor, Mr. Munson; the land filled was promptly sold; and the State was never called upon to advance a dollar.

It had been a long struggle.[3] The practicability of such extensive filling had been called seriously in question. The desirableness of the land when filled was doubted by many. The city of Boston, by its government, had played a part of obstruction and of arrogance. The city of Roxbury had disputed the jurisdiction over a major part of the flats, with Boston; but through it all there were many men whose faith in the enterprise never faltered, and who pressed it upon the public attention with dogged perseverance. They long ago had their reward in the brilliant success of the scheme; and many of them were wise enough early to become large purchasers of the filled land, which they afterward sold at a handsome advance.

[1] The city council was advised to the same effect by Mr. Peleg W. Chandler, the city solicitor during a part of the time when this controversy was going on. Mr. Chandler was one of the earliest and most persistent advocates of the Back Bay improvement.

[2] [See further on the history of the Public Garden in Colonel Wilder's chapter in the present volume on "The Horticulture of Boston and Vicinity." — Ed.]

[3] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

The filling has been going on for more than twenty years, and is now nearly completed. A few acres only of "the beautiful sheet of water" which once skirted the Common are now covered by the tide, and every day sees that little area diminished. The improvement has given to Boston its West End, its fashionable quarter, and has put millions of dollars in the State treasury.

East Boston, now one of the most important divisions of the city, was, only half a century ago, a barren and almost treeless island, having upon it but a single farm-house,[1] and being inhabited but by a single family. The improvement of Noddle's Island had long been a favorite project of General William H. Sumner, and its accomplishment was due very largely to his sagacity and persistence. His mother was a part owner of the island; and as early as the death of his father in 1799, although he was then only nineteen years of age, he conceived plans for improving the estate. He made an unsuccessful attempt to secure the location of the turnpike road from Boston to Salem by way of Noddle's Island; and made a pilgrimage to Washington in 1801 to obtain a reversal of the decision to locate the Navy Yard, then about to be established at Charlestown. Although he failed also in this plan he did not despair, and lived to see the fulfilment of his boy's dream of a city on the then barren island. Five years after his mother's death, in 1810, a division of the estate by lot gave the share in Noddle's Island to one of his sisters, greatly to his disappointment. Although he acted as agent for this sister, and had still much at heart the object of improving the island, it was many years before the opportunity came to set energetically about carrying through the enterprise to completion.

It was in or about 1825 that the project began to take form, but no progress whatever was made for several years. By 1830 the number of people who had more or less interest in the property was quite large, and the task of uniting them all in one company, having for its object the development of the island, appeared to be hopeless. Nevertheless, General Sumner set about it. He interested several large capitalists in his plans, bought the interest of some of the owners outright, and engaged the co-operation of others by paying them part in cash and part in stock of a company to be formed. Finally, all difficulties were cleared away, the East Boston Company was chartered in May, 1833,[2] and the corporation succeeded to the ownership of the whole island by a clear title.

East Boston at that time consisted of six hundred and sixty-three acres of upland and marsh, and several hundred acres of flats, which had been declared[3] by the General Court to belong to the island by a special act of

[1] [A view of this house is given in Sumner's *East Boston*, p. 460. — Ed.]

[2] It is interesting to note that when the question of incorporating the company was first brought before the Legislature, it was proposed to call it the North Boston Company; but on the motion of Lot Pool, an influential member of the House of Representatives from Charlestown, "East" was substituted, — Mr. Pool remarking that he wished to reserve the designation "North" for Charlestown when it should be annexed to Boston.

[3] "It is declared that the flats round about Nodle's Island do belong to Nodle's Island to

May 13, 1640. To illustrate the lack of faith in the land enterprise of one who should have been enthusiastic over it, General Sumner relates that the single inhabitant of the island, Mr. Williams, who had lived there forty years and had grown rich as a tenant farmer, was offered an acre of land for nothing if he would build a house upon it. The offer was contemptuously declined.

The charter of the company provided that land, not exceeding four acres in all, should be set apart for public purposes, — for sites for school and engine-houses, and burial-ground. In accordance with this provision of law, the mayor (Mr. Wells) and aldermen of the city visited Noddle's Island in company with the directors, May 4, 1833, to select the public lots. This was the first time that any officers of Boston had ever visited the island in a capacity which implied that the municipal jurisdiction extended over it. The first dwelling-house was erected that year by Mr. Guy C. Haynes, and was occupied by him in September. The enterprise being now fully started, a public sale of lands was held, which with the proceeds of previous private sales netted the sum of $86,000, or $6,000 more than the company had paid for the whole island. From that time onward the history of East Boston was one of almost uninterrupted prosperity. At the end of 1833 only eight persons were living on the island, of whom five were temporary residents who moved away soon afterward. The valuation of the whole property in the same year was only $60,000. The growth was so rapid that in 1835 the population had increased to six hundred, and the taxable valuation was $806,000. The location of the Eastern Railroad terminus at East Boston the next year, the erection of the Maverick House, and the establishment of the Cunard Line to Liverpool in 1840 made the future of the island sure. Its further history is merged with that of the city of which it so quickly became an important part.[1]

The South Cove improvement is a good illustration of the energy and enterprise of the Bostonians of half a century ago. It was devised as an auxiliary and supplement of the Boston & Worcester Railroad enterprise, to give a terminus and yard room for the railroad. The originators of the scheme, who were known as the South Cove Associates, were incorporated

the ordinary lowe water marke." —*Massachusetts Records*, i. 291.

[1] East Boston was, in 1834, the scene of a novel experiment in railroading. This was in the very infancy of the railroad system, when as yet neither the Worcester nor the Providence Railroad, chartered in 1831, was in operation, and less than ten years from the opening of the first railroad in the world. Colonel Henry Sargent, having invented a suspension railroad, solicited permission from the East Boston Company to make his experiment on their land. This was readily granted, although no great confidence was felt in the invention, as it was supposed that the novelty of the affair would bring people across the ferry and make the island a place of resort. The peculiarity of the road was that it had but one rail. The car was hung in the middle, and was kept in position by lateral wheels. The wags likened the affair to saddle-bags. The experiment met with but little success, and the trains were after a short time discontinued. The incident is interesting at this time from the fact that a railroad on this plan, with a very slight modification, was proposed in 1881 for the projected elevated system in the Boston streets, as something new under the sun.

as a company in 1833. The capital subscribed amounted to $414,500, in $500 shares. The company obtained from the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company an agreement to buy a large amount of land, and to establish and maintain the terminus of the road upon the reclaimed land forever. The South Cove company bought two million three hundred and seventy-five thousand feet of flats, at an average price of twelve cents a foot. This purchase, together with some pieces of other property which the company was forced to take in order to secure the flats, and a tract of marsh and upland in Roxbury, cost $316,084. Other estates were subsequently added, until the property in the South Cove, in 1836, amounted to more than three million square feet, or seventy-three acres.

The filling was carried on at an extremely rapid rate, considering the limited facilities; but it was only in November, 1839, that it was completed. In a little more than six years the company had reclaimed fifty-five acres of land from the dock tide-waters, and had added seventy-seven acres in all to the area of the city. The material was brought chiefly in boats from the company's gravel pit in Roxbury and from Dorchester, but a part of it was obtained in Brighton and transported by the railroad. The amount of such material was but little less than a million and a half cubic yards. In addition to the work of filling, the company built a sea-wall three hundred and eighty feet in length. The new streets added to the city had an aggregate length of fifteen thousand three hundred and fifty feet, or nearly three miles.

The enterprise made ultimately a financial success; but it saw many dark days. Soon after the land was ready to be put into the market, the financial crash of 1837 interfered to postpone the realization of many hopes. The construction of the United States Hotel, too, an enterprise in which the corporation directly engaged, was so serious a drag upon the resources of the company that at one time failure seemed to be inevitable. The hotel was, when constructed, the largest in the country.[1] Finally the two undertakings were divorced, and both were eventually successful. The Old Colony Railroad Company, when first built, made use of what was until lately the inward station of the Albany Railroad; but afterward bought land of the corporation and erected station buildings upon it. The company paid for the land in its own stock, at par; and the South Cove Corporation distributed one share of railroad stock for each share of its own stock, as a dividend, making a twenty per cent dividend.

The annexation of Roxbury to Boston was a measure of great importance in itself and in its consequences. The subject was agitated many years before anything resulted except agitation. At first the idea was

[1] The freight station of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company was also said, at the time, to be the largest structure of the kind in the country. Mr. Francis Jackson, agent of the South Cove Corporation for fifteen years or more, argued, in his report for 1838, that the United States Hotel was not likely to be too large, and gave as one evidence of the growth of Boston that "the Worcester Railroad now transports about one hundred passengers daily."

favored by only a few people, and though they were persistent in their presentation of the matter before the Legislature, they were treated with little patience and scant respect at the State House. In a city document of Roxbury, of the year 1852, it is mentioned that the question of annexation was then before the Legislature for the third time.[1] There was a protracted hearing that year before the committee on towns, the matter being brought up on the petition of Isaac T. Allard and others. The committee reported their conclusion "that although Boston at some future period may include within her limits not only Roxbury, but all the towns and villages within a circuit of four to six miles," yet the exigency had not arrived when Roxbury could advantageously unite her destinies with Boston; that the respective wants of the two cities could be as well met without annexation as with it; that it did not appear that a majority of the people of Roxbury desired the union; and consequently that the petitioners should have leave to withdraw.

The next serious attempts to carry through the project were in 1859 and 1860, in both of which years reports were made by committees in favor of the union; but the bill submitted was in each case stifled in the House to which it was reported. Previous to this time the city government of Roxbury had submitted the question to the legal voters, with the result of showing but two hundred and sixty-two persons in the city favorable to the project of annexation. In 1865 it came up again, and this time it was deemed of sufficient importance to be referred to a select committee, who made a unanimous report in favor of the union. The report was made in the Senate, and remained on the table of that body a long time before action upon it was taken. Finally it came on for discussion, and, on a division, was refused a third reading by eighteen to fifteen. Subsequently the rejection was reconsidered and the bill was amended, after which it was again refused a third reading. A second motion to reconsider was lost by a tie vote. The bill provided for a submission of the act to the voters of the two cities, and it was not to have force unless it was accepted by a majority of the voters of each city. Of course it never reached the House of Representatives.

In April, 1866, the city council of Boston passed an order providing that whenever the municipal authorities of any city or town adjoining Boston should give notice of a desire to be annexed, it should be the duty of the mayor to appoint three commissioners to meet an equal number of commissioners from such city or town, and to make a full report to the city council upon "the financial, industrial, and sanitary condition of the city or town applying for annexation, with such suggestions as they may think proper regarding conditions which would make annexation desirable." The city council of Roxbury during the same year adopted an order pro-

[1] The occasion was the severance of West Roxbury from Roxbury, after the grant of a city charter. West Roxbury was originally opposed to the change, and claimed and obtained a separate town charter in 1851, five years after Roxbury became a city.

viding for a conference, and under its provisions William Gaston, Theodore Otis, and James Ritchie were made commissioners; and the mayor of Boston appointed William Gray, Moses Kimball, and A. S. Wheeler to meet them. The commissioners reported to their respective city councils the next year, — those for Boston on Feb. 18, 1867, and those for Roxbury two or three weeks later. The reports were unanimous in each case in favor of the union. The Boston commissioners entered largely into statistics, comparing the area, population, debt, taxes, valuation, schools, and other facts regarding the two cities. The proposition "that a large additional territory will soon become a necessity for the healthful growth of Boston" was argued at some length. The report concluded as follows: —

"We are led, by our investigation of this subject, to the conviction that immediate annexation is equally important to Boston and Roxbury. If Boston would be the gainer by the addition of vacant territory, she will be the greater gainer by annexing a territory already occupied and improved by a people who have accompanied her own in the progress which they have already achieved. We are satisfied that in all material respects the two communities are nearly equal in the advantages which each offers to the other; and we believe that the welfare of both will be greatly promoted by the early consummation of annexation."

The Roxbury commissioners likewise discussed the subject in all its bearings. The chief argument employed was that the sanitary condition of a part of Roxbury, which could not be efficiently protected from filth and disease, except by such a comprehensive system of drainage as Boston alone could supply, demanded the union; but the commissioners further expressed the opinion that annexation was inevitable sooner or later, and that the time was opportune on many accounts. "The few local and temporary interests which oppose it must yield to the pressing demands and wants of a great people. The interests of both cities, and to a large extent the interests of the Commonwealth, are involved in it, and these must soon overwhelm all opposition."

There was opposition, but it was slow in manifesting itself, and was at a disadvantage from the start. The project had gained great headway. Both city governments were in favor of it, and the reports referred to above greatly strengthened the movement. A meeting was held in Roxbury, and a committee was appointed to advocate the union before the legislative committee. The county of Norfolk, however, prepared to resist being robbed of the most important community within its limits. The local opponents pointed out the weak spots in the commissioners' reports. The one great need of Roxbury was an additional water supply, and the strongest argument among Roxbury people in favor of annexation was based upon that need; but water was the one thing which Boston, by the admission of her own commissioners, could not supply with existing facilities. Moreover, it was urged that Boston was then about to enter upon a number of large improvements within the city proper, which would call for

heavy appropriations and increased taxes upon Roxbury, were the union to take place. The hearing at the State House was held at the end of March and early in April. The petitioners introduced a great number of gentlemen representing a large variety of interests, all of whom warmly advocated the union. The opponents offered no testimony; but Mr. Safford, chairman of the Norfolk County commissioners, made a long and able address, in which the argument against annexation was forcibly presented.

During all the preliminary discussion it had never been suggested by anybody that the Legislature should take the matter into its own hands absolutely, and marry the two cities without formally consulting their wishes. Many old opponents of the annexation had withdrawn from resistance so far as to express a willingness that the question should be submitted to the people of the two cities, and decided by their votes. The *Norfolk County Journal*, edited by Mr. George H. Monroe, who was personally an opponent of annexation, had hardly noticed the progress of the measure further than to print the reports and accounts of the hearing. Great, therefore, was the surprise, indignation, and consternation of the opposition, when the committee reported to the Senate, in May, a bill providing for a summary union of the cities. The unanimity of the committee, the strong Boston influence in favor of the absorption of Roxbury, and the activity of a well trained lobby, left the opponents very little reason to hope that their rights, as they regarded them, would restrain the Legislature from consummating the union.

The debate in the Senate was not a long one. An amendment to the bill, providing for a submission of the question to the voters of the two cities, was rejected by twenty-four votes against four, and the bill was ordered to a third reading by twenty-six to three. It was afterward passed to be engrossed without a division; and a reconsideration being moved, was refused by a tie vote, — thirteen against thirteen. In the House of Representatives the submission amendment was brought forward, and was there also rejected, but by a close vote; ninety-three being in favor of it, and one hundred and three opposed. Among the prominent men in the House that year may be mentioned the Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, Francis W. Bird, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and John S. Potter, who voted for submission; and Daniel L. Harris, Harvey Jewell, and Moses Kimball, who voted against it.[1] The

[1] It is interesting to notice the reasons urged by the advocates of the summary annexation for refusing to allow the voters of the two cities to decide the matter. The opponents of annexation taunted the other side with being afraid to trust their measure to a popular vote. They maintained that the sentiment in favor of union, as indicated by the action of the city governments, was fictitious, and that a popular vote would show it to be so. To this it was replied that the State had full power over the boundaries of cities and towns, and might obliterate them altogether; that there was a grave question if the General Court might make the enactment of a law dependent upon the votes of citizens; that it was a part of the deep game of the "Antis," having secured the submission clause, to maintain before the Supreme Court the proposition that the act was unconstitutional; and, finally, that the question of union was not one concerning the people of the two cities alone, but that other cities and towns,—all the people of the State, in fact, — were interested in the government of the chief city and should, equally with Boston and Roxbury, be allowed to vote on the question.

bill was ordered to a third reading on May 28, without a count. The next day numerous amendments were proposed, but were all rejected, and the bill was passed to be engrossed without a division. The enactment of the bill was resisted, but it was carried, and the bill was laid before the Governor. It was promptly vetoed, and returned to the Senate June 1, the very day of prorogation. The message of Governor Bullock[1] was a calm and temperate criticism of the high-handed act which the Legislature had attempted to commit. His Excellency did not try to conceal his opinion that the union itself was a measure of questionable wisdom. But he protested against its being accomplished without consulting the people of a municipality which had had a corporate existence for two hundred and thirty-seven years, as to their willingness to be absorbed by their greater neighbor; nor those of the city of Boston, who might be decidedly averse to undertaking jurisdiction over new territory, and to assuming the Roxbury debt. On the reconsideration required by the Constitution, the Senate voted to pass the bill, notwithstanding the objections of the Governor, twenty-five to nine. The House rejected it, not even a majority supporting it. The ayes were eighty-three; the noes, one hundred and twenty-one. A new bill was immediately introduced, being the vetoed bill with the submission clause added, which was passed through all its stages, under a suspension of the rules, in both branches, and was signed by Governor Bullock, the whole process having been gone through in a few hours.

The question was thus remitted to the people. At first there seemed to be a chance that the measure would be successfully opposed; but the advantages of union were too apparent long to leave the hope of such an issue. Some efforts were made to arouse the opposition, but they did not effect much. The campaign was conducted languidly, and appeals to the pride and pockets of Roxbury men met with no response. Even before the vote was taken, the most strenuous opponents of annexation began to reconcile themselves to the inevitable. The election was made September 9. Every ward of both cities voted for union, and, with one exception in each city, by more than two to one. The vote of Boston was four thousand six hundred and thirty-four for annexation, and one thousand and fifty-nine against it. In Roxbury it was one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two in favor, and five hundred and ninety-two opposed. The contest was ended; and Roxbury was, to use a witticism of which the author has doubtless repented long ago, *Suffolkated*. The verdict of the people was instantly accepted with the best of feeling by all, and every trace of bitterness disappeared as if by magic. It had been complained that after union Roxbury would not have her due proportion of representation in the city council; but on a further examination the complaint was

[1] The message was accompanied by a long opinion by Attorney-General Charles Allen, in which the view that the General Court might submit such an act to the voters, and make the enactment dependent upon their decision, was maintained; and precedents were cited to sustain this position. This view of the matter has obtained ever since.

discovered to be unfounded. The voters of Roxbury participated in the city election in December, and the union became complete at the beginning of January, 1868.[1]

It is most convenient to add here the brief details of the later annexations. The movement in favor of adding Dorchester to the city began very soon after the union of Boston and Roxbury. It met with strenuous opposition, however, in the old town. An act was passed by the Legislature of 1869, and approved June 4 of that year, submitting the question to a vote of the people in the city and town. The election was held June 22. Boston voted more than six to one in favor of annexation, the numbers being three thousand four hundred and twenty ayes to five hundred and sixty-five noes. Dorchester agreed by a small majority, — nine hundred and twenty-eight votes being cast in favor of the union, and seven hundred and twenty-six against it.[2] Four years later, in 1873, the project of annexing several municipalities in the neighborhood was taken up in earnest. In Charlestown, in fact, the idea was an old one, having been brought forward at various times in the previous twenty years; and for some years before 1873 the annexation question had been the leading issue before the voters of that city. As a result of the agitation the Legislature submitted the question of annexation to the voters of Charlestown, Brighton, Brookline, and West Roxbury, the consent of the people of each place, and of Boston, being required for each separate annexation. The voting took place October 7. Boston agreed to accept all the new responsibilities offered to it, and only Brookline refused its consent to be absorbed.[3] No annexations have taken place since 1873.

The creation of new land by filling, and the cutting down of Beacon Hill gave opportunities for the laying out of streets in a regular system, such as was never thought of in the original planning of old Boston; but great inconveniences grew, as Boston increased in size, out of the narrowness and crookedness of the old streets. Some enterprises of much importance, considering the times and the wealth of Boston, were undertaken, as occasion seemed to require, at the public expense, after the organization of the city government; but the aggregate amount expended in the widening and extension of streets from 1822 to 1866, a period of forty-four years, was but $4,418,283 in the city proper; $75,980 in South Boston; and

[1] [See the chapters by Mr. Bugbee and Mr. Drake in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Between the time of this vote and the actual union with Boston, Dorchester made sure several internal improvements by liberal votes at town-meetings, the money to carry them out being raised by loans which became, in January, 1870, a part of the debt of Boston. [See Mr. Barrows's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] The voting was as follows. As to Charlestown, Boston voted, — ayes, 5,860, noes, 1,863; Charlestown, ayes, 2,240, noes, 1,947. As to Brighton, Boston voted, — ayes, 5,629, noes, 1,933; Brighton, ayes 622, noes, 133. As to West Roxbury, Boston voted, — ayes, 6,110, noes, 1,663; West Roxbury, ayes, 720, noes, 613. As to Brookline, Boston voted, — ayes, 6,205, noes, 1,516; Brookline, ayes, 299, noes, 706. [Brookline had been taken from Suffolk County and added to Norfolk County in 1793. It will be remembered that it was originally a grant to Boston men. — Ed.]

$4,742 in East Boston, — the total being barely more than $100,000 a year on an average.[1]

The year 1866 marks the end of the period of economy in street improvement, and a season of lavish expenditure set in. The next year the demolition of Fort Hill was begun. This district, which was at one time[2] covered with magnificent residences, had been invaded by a class of inhabitants so little to the taste of the people who lived there that it had been abandoned altogether to the new comers. Business had stretched its arms all around the territory, and the hill itself was crowded with tenement houses inhabited by throngs of persons of foreign birth. The renovation of the district was undertaken both for sanitary reasons and because the land was greatly needed for commercial purposes. The territory involved was about twenty acres in extent, and was bounded by Pearl, Milk, and Broad streets. In 1867 and the following years an average reduction of twenty-five feet was made in the grade of the whole district. The hill at its highest point was fifty feet above the present level. The material was largely employed in filling for the extension of Albany Street, between Troy Street and the Dover Street bridge, and in the Suffolk Street district.

The Church Street improvement was undertaken almost wholly as a sanitary measure. The district lying between the Boston and Albany Railroad, where it crosses Tremont Street, and Columbus Avenue was hardly above the tide level, and in some places was below it. In 1868 a commission, appointed for the purpose by the authority of the city council, was directed to raise all the street grades to a height of eighteen feet above mean low-water, and back yards and cellars to twelve feet. The work was completed in October, 1869. In making this improvement two hundred and ninety-six brick buildings were raised and set on new foundations from ten to fourteen feet above their former situation; seven streets were widened; and Columbus Avenue was extended through to Boylston Street. The total cost of the undertaking to the city was more than one million dollars.[3]

The companion improvement, that of the Suffolk Street district, was begun in September, 1870. This enterprise involved the raising of the territory between Dover, Tremont, Pleasant, and Washington streets, — an area of about thirty-one acres. In this work nearly one quarter of a million cubic yards of filling-material were used, a part of it being transferred from Fort Hill. Of seven hundred and forty-nine buildings on the territory when the change was begun, about one hundred and fifty were demol-

[1] The largest sum expended on any one street was $394,163 upon Devonshire Street. The gross expenditure upon Washington Street was only $291,025 for the whole time. The North End received much the largest share of the improvement funds, — Blackstone, Commercial, Court, Friend, Hanover, North, and Union streets having had the sum of $1,142,234 expended upon them; and numerous other streets small sums, amounting to very much in the aggregate.

[2] [The annexed cut represents the view from the slope of Fort Hill about 1806, following an original painting owned by William H. Whitmore. — Ed.]

[3] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III.—Ed.]

FROM FORT HILL, 1806.

ished, and the rest were raised to grade. Extensive alterations were made in street lines. Suffolk Street itself was extended through to Tremont Street, and became the northern end of Shawmut Avenue. The total cost of the improvement was not far from two and a half millions. The work was substantially finished in May, 1872.[1]

The filling in of the water spaces between wharves, for the formation of Atlantic Avenue, was the most costly improvement of the kind ever undertaken by the city. The work was mostly done between the years 1868 and 1870, and the total cost of the avenue to the year 1880 was more than $2,400,000, making it the most expensive street in the city, with the exception of Washington Street, and but little less than that. This enterprise gave a broad way along the water front, which has proved of the greatest value to the commerce of Boston.[2]

Boston has been many times visited by destructive fires, several of which, including the worst of all, have occurred within the last century. On April 20, 1787, a fire broke out in Hollis Street Church, which speedily communicated to other buildings, and was not extinguished until more than one hundred structures, including sixty dwelling-houses, were consumed.[3] Six years later, in 1793, the square from Pearl Street to the water was swept bare; six or seven rope-walks and about one hundred stores and residences were destroyed.[4] In 1824 a fire originating near the corner of Charles and Chestnut streets, spreading to Beacon Street, destroyed sixteen valuable buildings, and inflicted the (for that time) great loss of $150,000. Flying cinders set fire to many houses at a distance, but fortunately the flames were extinguished. On Fast Day, in 1825, fifty stores were burned in Central and Kilby streets, involving a loss of a million dollars. In November of the same year ten buildings on Court Street, in which were many lawyers' offices, were destroyed. On May 18, 1835, a fire destroyed about forty buildings in Blackstone, Pond, and Salem streets, turning more than one hundred families out of doors.

The most destructive fire which ever occurred in Boston broke out shortly after seven o'clock in the evening of Saturday, Nov. 9, 1872, in the four-story granite block numbered 83, 85, and 87 Summer Street, at the corner of Kingston Street. Before the flames were extinguished, a space of sixty-five acres, thickly covered with brick and stone warehouses, had been completely burned over, involving a loss of property valued at seventy-five million dollars.[5] At the time the fire occurred almost every horse in the city was still sick, or was just recovering from the strange disease which, for want of a better name, was called "the epizoötic," and which practically disabled them. It has always been a question, however, if the engines were any longer than usual in arriving, and the blame is believed to rest partly

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter. — Ed.]

[2] [The previous water front of Broad and India streets had been laid out in 1808–9. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. III., Introduction, p. vii. — Ed.]

[4] [Ibid., p. viii. — Ed.]

[5] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter. — Ed.]

upon those who gave the alarm. At all events when the engines arrived it was already a dangerous fire, and another alarm was sounded at once. An open elevator, or lift, lined with wood, had communicated the flames to every story, and in a short time the interior of the building, from cellar to attic, was a mass of roaring fire. Still, it may be questioned if any person who saw even that first brilliant sight felt any apprehension of a dangerous extension of the fire.

The appreciation of danger came gradually, but it came irresistibly. The intense heat of the flames passed through the partition walls and communicated with the next building. The fire passed up and down the street. The building on the opposite corner of Kingston Street caught. Summer Street also was crossed at about the same time, and the whole district was doomed. Alarm had followed alarm in quick succession, and had brought to the scene not only the entire fire department of the city, but a vast throng of citizens. As soon as the extremely dangerous character of the fire was recognized, despatches were sent to all the suburban cities and towns, imploring the help of their engines and firemen; but by this time not only was the fire beyond the control of any force of firemen which could have been employed, but there was a scarcity of water, without which all effort must be ineffectual. This district, formerly covered with residences, had been newly appropriated for business purposes, and the water pipes had not been enlarged since the change was made. They were too small to carry the enormous quantities of water required; and they were fitted with hydrants of an old-fashioned pattern and ill adapted to the purpose. The flames spread in all directions. They advanced steadily up Summer Street, on both sides, towards Washington Street; they moved southward towards the Albany station; eastward towards the water; and northward into the very business heart of the city,—and in the latter direction most rapidly of all. It was an enlarging circle of fire. To attack it methodically seemed to be, and probably at that stage of its progress was, out of the question. Scarcely an attempt was made to stop its movement towards the wharves. Resistance was more effectual on the south side, where the buildings were not high, and by midnight it was practically checked in that direction; but by that hour the fire was close upon Washington Street. A most gallant and determined effort was made to hold the line of that street, and though it required such energy and fortitude as have rarely been demanded of firemen, it was successful.

The path of the fire was now fan-shaped. It extended in breadth the whole length of Summer Street, and advanced northward with inconceivable fury along the whole line from the harbor front to Washington Street. The streets were narrow and the buildings high. There was no point where a stand could be made. An engine stationed anywhere near the fire could not be got in working order before it became necessary either to remove it with all haste or to abandon it. Those who saw that terrible sight will never forget it, and the sounds were almost as fearful as the sight. The night sky

was grandly illuminated, and a wild shower of burning brands and cinders was passing over the district which was shortly to be devastated. The crash of falling walls became an almost continuous roar. The streets were filled, as they were rarely filled at midday, with men and teams carrying away all portable goods to a place of safety. Perhaps there was no single point where the amazing power of the fire was so well observed as from the empty space where Fort Hill had been. The hill had been cut away but not built upon. Between it and the flames was Pearl Street, solidly built with handsome granite stores, where the shoe trade of the city had its headquarters. It happened that the fire attacked the whole street at once. Hardly five minutes elapsed after the appearance, to those watching from the Fort Hill space, of the first spark in one of the stores, before the whole block was a mass of roaring fire. The great warehouses were converted into so many furnaces, and the heat and light were so intense that at a distance of several hundred feet it was painful to face the fire many minutes at once. In almost as little time as it requires to read the account, the walls grew red-hot, the floor timbers began to fall against the walls, and the great structures tottered and fell like a house of cards, but with a thundering crash.

The fire raged until Sunday afternoon. The firemen, having succeeded in holding the line of Washington Street, undertook to gain on the enemy by narrowing its path at Milk Street. The Old South Church and the new Post-Office were used as barriers, and success was achieved. Point after point was gained by the weary but plucky men, thanks to the division of the fire by the vacant Fort Hill district, and at last it only remained to save single buildings from destruction, leaving those which had taken fire to burn. When this had been done, there was an opportunity to look around and see the extent of the desolation.

The city was in a deplorable condition. The wild excitement of that terrible night and day had unstrung the nerves of the strongest. Thousands upon thousands of people had seen their property consumed, or had been thrown out of employment, for how long nobody could guess. All the open spaces in the city, and even many in suburban towns, together with hundreds of private houses, were filled with merchandise hastily removed and in the utmost confusion. The lawless had taken full advantage of their opportunity, and many men not habitual criminals had been tempted too strongly by the chance to pilfer. The whole community was on the verge of panic. No time was lost in taking measures to reinforce the police, who were not numerous enough for the emergency. A whole brigade of militia was called out for active duty. A cordon of guards was stationed completely around the burnt district, and companies were located in various parts of the city, provided with arms and ammunition, to be ready for marching at a moment's notice. The Old South was again devoted to military purposes, and became a barrack for militia. Guards patrolled the streets at night. In short, until the danger of disorder had subsided,

the city was under military rule. Happily the precaution was sufficient to prevent a breach of the peace.

The boundaries of the district burned over were, — beginning at the foot of Summer Street, taking both sides of that street, — Summer, Washington, Milk to the rear of the new Post-Office and around it, Devonshire, Water (both sides), Congress, Lindall, and Oliver, to the water front. One could stand at the corner of Washington and Franklin streets, and see the masts of the shipping in the harbor. Seven hundred and seventy-six buildings, of which all but sixty-seven were of brick or stone, were consumed. Fourteen lives were lost, seven being firemen. Comparatively a small number of dwelling-houses were destroyed. The poor suffered rather from the loss of employment than from being rendered homeless. Measures of relief were organized at once, but the assistance which was freely and generously tendered by the people of other cities was declined. The sum of $341,913.68 was collected, but it was not all needed, and about $20,000 were returned to the donors.[1] The emergency seemed to be sufficiently pressing to render a special session of the Legislature desirable, and at the request of the city council Governor Washburn summoned the General Court at once. The insurance companies of the State, nearly every one of which, having risks in Boston, had been bankrupted, were authorized to reorganize. A building-law was passed to enable the city authorities to prevent the erection of structures which would, like those destroyed, only serve to speed the flames. An act was also passed legalizing an issue of Boston city-bonds to provide a fund loanable to real estate owners upon mortgages of their property, to enable them to rebuild. This latter act was unsatisfactory to the originators of the scheme, and was amended at the regular session soon after held. Before any action had been taken under this act, the Supreme Court put a veto upon the dangerous precedent by pronouncing the act unconstitutional.[2]

Private enterprise was, however, equal to the necessities of the case. The work of rebuilding began almost immediately, and was prosecuted energetically. The earliest structures were solid, but plain architecturally. That was, nevertheless, not to be the general fashion. An increasing tendency to picturesqueness of style and higher ornamentation was observed; and in the course of two years the whole district had been rebuilt in all respects better than before the fire. Advantage was taken, meanwhile, of the opportunity to improve the avenues. Numerous changes were made. Summer Street was widened, and so were Washington, Hawley, Milk, Devonshire, Oliver, and others. Post-Office Square was laid out. Pearl, Franklin, and other streets were extended. The expense of these changes[3] was very

[1] [The chief authority for the history of this fire must be the *Report* of the committee of the city council to investigate its cause and progress; but an excellent summary will be found in Mr. James M. Bugbee's paper in the *North American Review*, cxvii. The newspapers of the day, and several hasty narratives by Coffin, Conwell, and Frothingham, are of doubtful service. — Ed.]

[2] [See Governor Long's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] The expense of the most important improvements in street lines made at this time was

great, but it was wisely incurred. The gain in convenience, in appearance, and in security was worth all the money expended. It would be impossible for a fire to cross the wide streets which now intersect the wholesale district of Boston and divide it by limits which must circumscribe the area of devastation. At the same time that the streets were remodelled, as it were, new and larger water-pipes were laid, and improved hydrants were fitted to them. At present, as for a number of years past, the "burnt district" makes itself known to the observer only by the more spacious streets which run through it, and by the more elegant structures which adorn it.

Within a few months after the great fire of 1872 there were several others, which at another time would have been regarded as calamitous. Within a very few days, in fact, a threatening fire broke out in the high, narrow, triangular building which then stood opposite the head of Washington Street, dividing it from Cornhill. The building was so much weakened that it was of necessity taken down, and the opportunity was seized for pressing through to consummation the long-talked-of plan of extending Washington Street northward to Haymarket Square.

On May 30, 1873, Decoration Day, a fire broke out in the furniture warehouse of Haley, Morse, & Co. on Washington Street. It quickly extended across the street and consumed the Globe Theatre, Chickering's piano-forte warerooms, Chauncy Hall School, and other buildings. Two acres of land were burned over, and the loss of property was estimated at one million dollars. Ten persons who had been burned out in the fire of November 9 previous were again sufferers by the Decoration Day fire. The improvement, by widening, of Washington and Beach streets, made the only permanent topographical changes which resulted from this fire.

During the last eight years no important improvement, involving a great change in the topographical features of the city, has been undertaken either by public or by private enterprise, unless the project of a Back Bay park deserves to be mentioned as such. The proposed park is really but a part of the extensive filling which has been going on for many years, and which has already been described at length. The work, which is still going on, has rendered necessary an important change in the channel by which the waters of Muddy River, in Brookline, reach the Charles River, in crossing the Back Bay and Beacon Street.[1]

as follows, as estimated in the auditor's report: Washington Street, widened, $338,000; Summer Street, widened, $294,000; Congress Street, widened, $515,000; Federal Street, widened, $342,000; Pearl Street, extended, $170,000; Milk Street, widened, $297,000; Franklin Street, extended, $170,000; Oliver Street, extended, $131,000; Hawley Street, widened, $278,000; Arch Street, widened and extended, $335,000; Water Street, widened, $212,000; Post-Office Square, laid out, $112,000. The total estimated cost of these and other changes exceeded three and one half million dollars.

[1] From the time of the city charter, 1822, to May, 1880, the expenditures by the city in the extension and widening of streets amounted to nearly twenty-seven million dollars. The streets upon which more than half a million dollars each was expended, with the amounts, were: Atlantic Avenue, $2,404,000; Broadway extension, $919,000; Columbus Avenue, $524,000; Congress Street, $1,224,000; Devonshire Street, $1,518,000;

Having now mentioned the more important events which have had their influence, greater or less, in transforming Boston — a small, irregular, rugged, and hilly peninsula — into a great city with many square miles of territory, at the same time converting the ancient town into a broad and spacious tract of comparatively level ground, let us turn our attention to such of the structures, ancient and modern, as call for notice in this chapter. These are not numerous. The last one hundred years have seen most of the earlier buildings disappear; and of the modern edifices, many of the most interesting are more appropriately described in other chapters of this work. In the latter class may be mentioned the churches and most of the public buildings; while of the former, many were described in the second volume.

The North End offers but little that is interesting at present. Its glory has departed. It was long ago abandoned as a fashionable, or even as a respectable, quarter for residences, except in a few small districts.[1] The old buildings have gone to ruin from neglect, and have taken on, even in their outward aspect, something of the seedy and degraded air of those who inhabit them. Copp's Hill burying-ground, Christ Church, and Faneuil Hall are almost the only memorials of the past in this quarter of the city which are still worth visiting, and the first two are now substantially as they were a hundred years ago. Faneuil Hall is still one of the most attractive objects in the city to the stranger. It was not only the scene of those stirring meetings in which the latent patriotism of the Revolutionary fathers was aroused, but it has continued to be the headquarters of every popular movement in which the interest of Boston has been excited. Within its walls have been discussed the various burning questions of the Embargo, the Tariff, Slavery, Secession, and Paper Money. Lafayette, the Prince de Joinville, Lord Ashburton, and other guests of the city have been entertained here. Webster, Everett, Sumner, and other representatives of Massachusetts in the Senate or House of Representatives have from the old rostrum given an account of their stewardship. The wrongs and sufferings of Greece, Ireland, and other unfortunate countries have been told; the rights and demands of labor have been urged; the claims of parties have been set forth; political victories have been celebrated. Faneuil Hall has not always spoken with the voice of Boston, but nothing which has profoundly agitated Boston for more than a hundred years has found the old hall silent.

Adjoining the Cradle of Liberty stands Faneuil Hall Market, which, owing to the use that is made of it, is already taking on a venerable aspect. The construction of this great market-house was, at the time it was undertaken, the most important enterprise ever assumed by Boston, and its history has been told in another chapter.[2]

Hanover Street, $1,651,000; Oliver Street, $607,000; Tremont Street, $717,000; Washington Street, $2,517,000; Water Street, $564,000,—total for these ten streets, $12,645,000. The aggregate mentioned is exclusive of the cost of the Fort Hill, Church Street, and Suffolk Street improvements, and of course does not include the cost of new streets on the Back Bay.

[1] [Shurtleff traces the decline of the North End to a time just succeeding the Revolution. — *Description of Boston*, p. 138. — Ed.]

[2] [Mr. Bugbee's, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

Upon and near Causeway Street stand four of the railroad passenger stations. Not only the land, but the system of which these structures are the visible reminders, are the creation of the present century. Only one of these stations possesses any interest whatever apart from its connection with the railroad of which it is the terminus. The Fitchburg station is not only an imposing structure architecturally, but it is memorable as the scene of Jenny Lind's first appearance in Boston, in October, 1850. The Swedish songstress at that time gave two concerts in the great hall over the station, to audiences numbering more than four thousand each.[1]

The district of which State, Court, and Cambridge streets is the very crooked backbone, is by far the most interesting part of the town in its possession of memorials of the past. Some such monuments have been but recently removed. Upon all the old maps of Boston, up to about 1850, there was represented a row of buildings separating Court Street from Tremont Row. These buildings stretched from near the head of Tremont Street to Hanover Street. With one exception they were of wood, and at the Hanover Street end were very thin and narrow. About thirty years ago these latter were taken down, and "Scollay's Buildings" were changed from plural to singular. The last building of the row was removed about ten years ago, and the whole space was thrown open. Not one of the buildings possessed the slightest historical interest; but the removal of them has not only effected an important street improvement, but has left one of the most remarkable cases of confusion in street nomenclature which is anywhere to be found. The open space is known as Scollay Square, although it is in fact the most irregular of triangles. Two of the sides, and those two which form almost a right angle with each other, are in Court Street, and the third is Tremont Row. At the corner of Court and Tremont streets still stands the old building which was Washington's headquarters; but it is threatened[2] with early destruction. Another building, quite famous in its day, has but just disappeared. Joy's Building stood, until the present year, on the site of the second and third[3] houses of worship of the First Church. The land was sold to Benjamin Joy by the society of the church in 1808, and the building just taken down was then erected. It has been replaced by a handsome marble structure. The church in Brattle Square, dedicated in 1773, was sold and demolished in 1871. The society removed to a fine new structure on Commonwealth Avenue; but that building has now been sold, and the society is extinct. The Old State House, crowned with a mansard roof,

[1] Mr. Barnum paid Jenny Lind $1,000 for each concert. His agent sold a thousand more tickets to the second concert than could be accommodated in the hall, and was obliged to refund the money next day to the unfortunate holders who were excluded. But although the doors were shut on so many ticket holders, the hall was densely crowded, many ladies fainted, and at one time there was serious danger of a panic. The wonderful notes of the singer, however, had a magical effect in restoring order and quiet.

[2] We may, however, remark that it is not threatened for the first time. In 1841 the Legislature incorporated the Columbian Hotel Company, the projectors of which contemplated the erection of a tavern on this site; but, as the *Boston Almanac* for 1842 remarked, "no preparations are yet discoverable for erecting an edifice."

[3] [This is shown in Vol. II. p. 219. — Ed.]

still stands, in its conglomerate architecture, a type of the present and the past. Lager beer is dispensed from one end of the basement, while at the other end are telegraph and despatch offices. Above, where once assembled the fathers of the State and the wisdom of the city, the dusty old rooms are occupied by lawyers, insurance agents, and architects. A determined effort was made during the present year to remove the building, but it failed.[1]

The Old South Church still stands, after many vicissitudes and dangers, but has been wholly diverted from its original use. Up to the time of the great fire of 1872 it was used by the society for purposes of worship; but at that time, after a most heated controversy both within and without the church, it was leased to the United States government, and converted into a post-office until the new building on Devonshire Street was ready for occupation. After being almost miraculously saved from destruction by fire, it was "desecrated" by being devoted to the mail service. On its being surrendered by the Government, there was a revival of the old project of selling the church to be taken down. The sentimental spirit was, however, so strong in the descendants of the Revolutionary fathers that it was rescued. Funds were raised in various ways, the building was purchased by an association, to be preserved; and since that time it has been open to strangers, on the payment of a small fee. The interior has been converted into a sort of museum of New England antiquities.[2]

State Street is now, as it has been for a long time, the financial centre of the city. In 1837 there were thirty-five banks in Boston, of which twenty-two were located on this street. The proportion is not much smaller to-day; but State Street is much less than it was once the meeting-place of merchants. The Exchange Coffee-house was erected with the idea of its becoming a headquarters for business. The first building of this name was erected about the beginning of the present century. It was an immense speculation, which was floated for a time by means of the issue of worthless bills by a Rhode Island bank. Having cost the projectors and the public about half a million dollars, disaster overtook the enterprise; but it was ultimately finished.[3] Hardly, however, had the final alterations been made, when the great structure was destroyed by fire, in 1818.[4] Another hotel bearing the same name, but neither so large nor so pretentious, was put up

[1] [See p. 11 of the present volume for a note on the different views of this building. — Ed.]

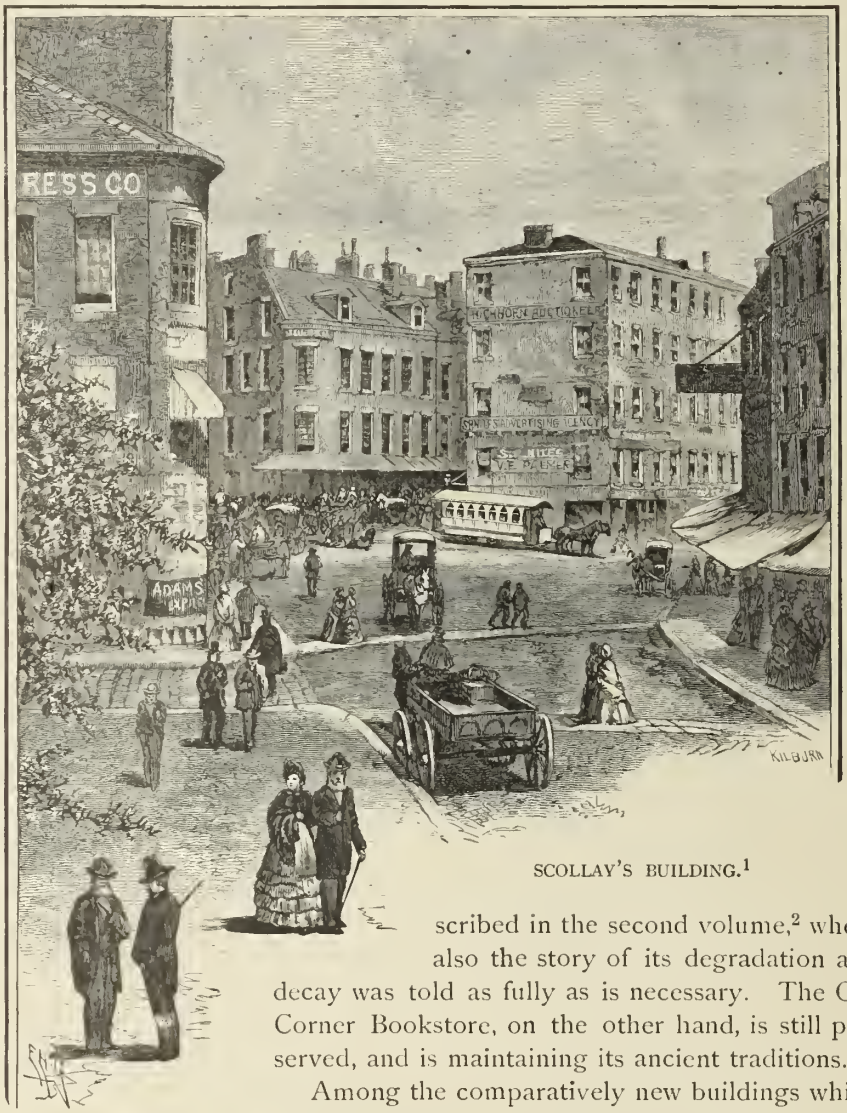
[2] [See view in Vol. II. p. 515. — Ed.]

[3] When opened for business it was much the largest public house in the country. It covered an irregular tract of ground measuring 12,753 square feet, and was seven stories in height. It was highly ornamented, but not with good taste, on the exterior, and within was spacious and elegant. There were a great hall for the meetings of merchants, a dining-room capable of seating three hundred persons, a great ball-room, and a Masonic hall above.

[4] November 3. Its end was not without significance to those who believed in retribution upon inanimate things for the wrong doing of sentient persons. One of them remarked after the fire that the building "was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, but it is now purified by fire." Captain Hull made the Coffee-house his headquarters when he was at Boston during the war of 1812, and President Monroe was entertained here at a public dinner in 1817. Business appointments with strangers were usually made at this house, which was also the terminus of most of the stage-coach lines.

on the same site, and stood until 1853, when it was taken down. The glory of the latter house was not equal to that of the former.

Another building, the Province House, which bore a famous part in the history of Boston for a much longer time than the Coffee-house, was de-



SCOLLAY'S BUILDING.[1]

scribed in the second volume,[2] where also the story of its degradation and decay was told as fully as is necessary. The Old Corner Bookstore, on the other hand, is still preserved, and is maintaining its ancient traditions.[3]

Among the comparatively new buildings which may become famous landmarks two or three generations hence, there are several which deserve mention. The new Post Office is the largest of these, and the most costly public building in New England.[4] The corner-stone was laid in 1871, President Grant being present

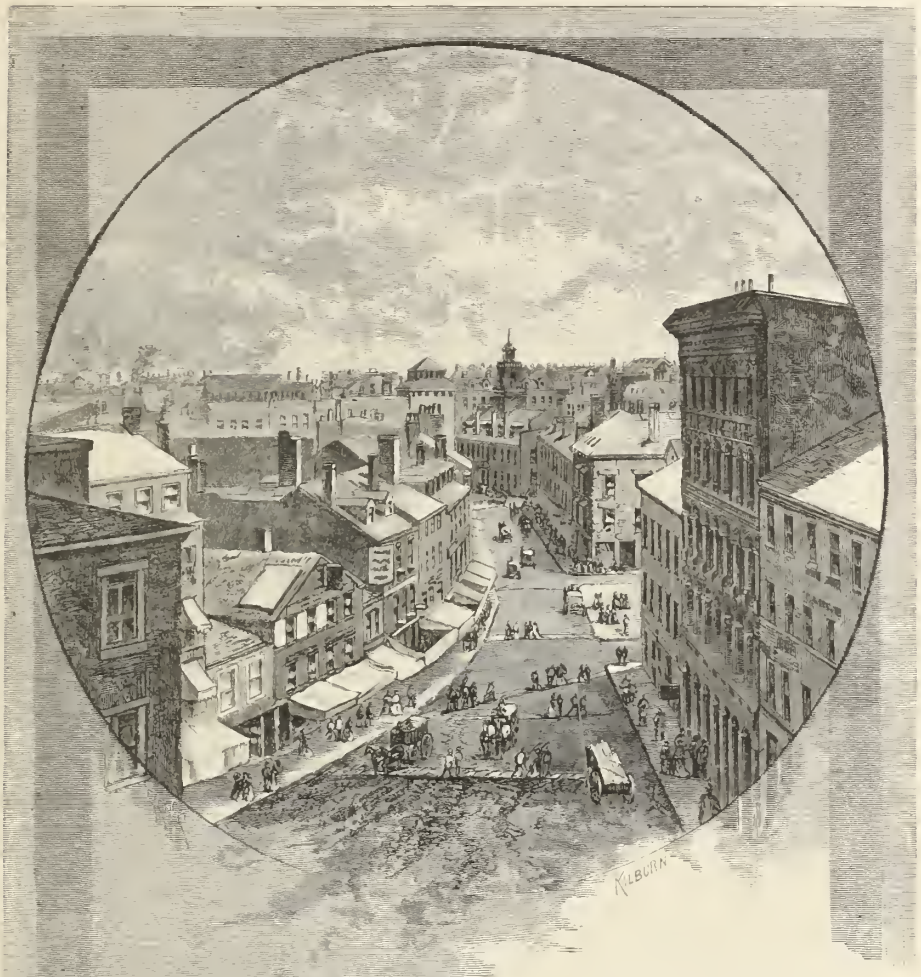
[1] [This view is taken from in front of the Court House on Court Street. Scollay's Building is beyond the horse-car. — ED.]

[2] [See view in Vol. II. p. 89. — ED.]

[3] [Ibid., p. 505. — ED.]

[4] [It stands on the original shore line. — ED.]

on the occasion, which was made one of great parade; but at that time the walls of the first story were already completed. The Devonshire Street half of the building was completed in 1874, and occupied on December 19 of



DOWN COURT STREET.[1]

that year. The other half, fronting on Post-Office Square, has been several years in building, and is not yet finished. The appropriations made by Congress for land and building up to March, 1880, have amounted to but little less than six million dollars. The post-office has been a migratory institution. The present building is the

[1] [This view is down Court Street from near Scollay's Building, seen on the left. The tall building on the near right is occupied by the Adams Express Company, and marks the site of the Brattle Square Church parsonage. The Old State House is in the middle distance. — Ed.]

first ever occupied by the department in Boston which was owned by the Government. At times there have been hot controversies over the location, — one of which was occasioned by the removal of the office by the postmaster to Summer Street. For eleven years before the fire of 1872 it was in the Merchants' Exchange building in State Street, then for a short time in Faneuil Hall, then in the Old South meeting-house, and finally in the present structure.

The Custom House was authorized by Congress in 1835; the building was begun in 1837, and it was occupied in 1848. The exterior, even to the

EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE; DESTROYED IN 1818.[1]

roof, is of granite.[2] The building is in the pure Doric style of architecture, and cost more than a million dollars.

Two of the oldest places of public amusement are within this district, — the Museum and the Howard Athenæum. The former of these has had a history almost unique in the theatrical history of the country. It has continued for more than forty years to be the property and under the general management of one of its original owners. Mr. Moses Kimball opened the Museum at the corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets in 1841. So great was the success of the venture that in 1846 the present Museum building

[1] [This follows a cut in Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 330. There is in the Public Library a view looking up State Street, painted by Salmon in November, 1832. It represents the old State House on fire, with the fire department of that period at work. — ED.]

[2] It is said that there is about as much granite, cubic contents, in the Custom House, as in Bunker Hill Monument. The work was done in the most solid and substantial manner, no less than three years being devoted to the matter of securing a proper foundation

was erected and occupied, and Mr. Kimball is still, as he has been for many years, the sole owner, having previously been the chief proprietor.[1]

Let us pass now to the adjoining district, which embraces Beacon Hill, the Common, and the surrounding territory. Upon this area stands no building that was erected one hundred years ago. The last to disappear was the old Hancock mansion on Beacon Street, of which an account has already been given in another place.[2]

But, in spite of the fact that all the buildings in this district are comparatively modern, pages of interesting sketches of famous houses, and of the people who have lived in them, might be written. This is particularly true of the houses on Beacon and Park streets, where have resided, for three quarters of a century, many of the men and women who have been leaders in the social and literary life of Boston, and the great merchants and capitalists whose acts have stood for the enterprise of the town, — but it is impossible to give the details here. Among the most conspicuous are the building at the corner of Beacon and Somerset streets, built by David Hinckley about sixty-five years ago, which was at the time the finest dwelling-house in Boston, and which, having been occupied by many distinguished persons, fell into the hands of the Somerset Club, and finally of the Congregational Association;[3] the building at the corner of Park and Beacon streets, described elsewhere;[4] the present Somerset Club-house, erected by David Sears; and the building next west, where lived and died Harrison Gray Otis.

Of more modern and more public buildings, that of the Boston Athenæum deserves the first notice. The Athenæum was incorporated in 1807, and at first occupied quarters in Congress Street; it received from Mr. James Perkins, in 1821, a gift of his new house in Pearl Street, and removed thither, where it remained until the present building, begun in 1847, was occupied in 1849.[5] The Music Hall, which is a landmark, although only a glimpse of a part of its exterior can be had, was built by an association, and opened in 1852; it contains one of the finest organs in the country.[6] The Tremont Temple occupies the site of the old Tremont Theatre, and contains one of the largest halls in the city; it was burned in 1879, but has been rebuilt and improved. Horticultural Hall, architecturally one of the ornaments of Tremont Street, was built and is owned by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.[7]

[1] This is not the only remarkable fact in its history. Mr. William Warren became a member of the company during the second season of the theatre, and with the exception of one year has been so ever since. The veteran actor is still as capable of delighting the lovers of the drama as ever, and his perennial youth is occasionally demonstrated by his assumption of the part of "Tony Lumpkin." Another veteran, Mr. R. M. Field, the manager, has nearly completed a score of years in that capacity. [See Colonel Clapp's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. xlv. — Ed.]

[4] [See a view of it, with description, in Mr. Bugbee's chapter on "Boston under the Mayors," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[5] [See the chapter on "Libraries" in this volume. — Ed.]

[6] [See Mr. Dwight's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[7] [See Colonel Wilder's chapter on "The Horticulture of Boston and Vicinity," in this volume. — Ed.]

The Common is, in many respects, a more interesting landmark than any one of the buildings in this district. This park, which is so well-known a feature of Boston, has been shorn of its proper dimensions in one direction, since it originally extended to the line of Beacon Street from Charles to Tremont Street; but at the other end it has been enlarged. A field south

THE TREMONT STREET MALL.

of the Common was bought by the town in 1794 and added to it, and the mall was then extended to Boylston Street. Charles Street, laid out at the beginning of this century, cut off a small piece which now forms a part of the Public Garden. No material change in the dimensions of the Common has taken place for about eighty years. Until 1830[1] the original use of the tract as a common grazing

[1] [When the elder Quincy became mayor in 1823, he found one man keeping thirteen cows on the Common and selling the milk. The mayor caused every cow to bear a label with the owner's

ground for cattle was continued; but long before that the malls on Park[1] and Beacon streets had been laid out by direction of the town. This improvement, which was made in 1815, was carried out partly with the proceeds of the fund raised a few years before for the defence of the town. Further important improvements were made in 1823–24 under Mayor

THE FROG POND.

Quincy the elder, who laid a stone curb and transformed the Frog Pond into a sheet of water which no longer deserves the name which, in spite of official action to the contrary, still clings to it. In 1836 the old wooden fence which formerly surrounded the Common was removed, and an iron fence placed around the enclosure, the owners of neighboring estates paying a part of the cost. The subsequent changes have been for the most part the work of landscape gardeners of the elected sort, — men who think

name on it. The pound for stray cattle was on the Common, near the junction of Charles and Boylston streets. See Lowell's description of Boston in Mayor Quincy's time, in *My Study Windows*, p. 95. There are views of the Common of about this date in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, 1829; and in his *New Guide to Boston*, 1830. — Ed.]

[1] [Park Street, previously known as Centry Street, first appeared as Park Street on the Directory-map of 1789. See the "Introduction" to Vol. III. — Ed.]

inequalities of surface are to be removed, who enjoy a straight path more than a crooked one, who regard black asphalt as an appropriate material for a park walk, who like to line paths with fence rails painted green, who make trees picturesque by sawing off the limbs in such a way as to make the mutilation most conspicuous. Notwithstanding all this, the Common was too beautiful to be spoiled by years of official disfigurement. But the grand

INTERSECTION OF WASHINGTON, WINTER, AND SUMMER STREETS.[1]

Old Elm[2] has succumbed to old age, and the vigorous plant which stands where the ancient tree stood so long must see a century more of growth before it can be an acceptable substitute.

Paddock's Elms, too, in whose grateful shade have waited hundreds of thousands of intending patrons of the horse-cars, are gone. They were watched over in their extreme youth by Adino Paddock, who planted them, and who darted out from his shop opposite to shake a boy who had shaken one of them. In their full vigor, they fell under the displeasure of city foresters who cherish the theory that trees need no moisture for their roots.

[1] [This cut follows a water-color owned by Mrs. S. H. Swan, of Cambridge, representing the scene about 1843, and by her kind permission is here reproduced. Another reproduction of the same original is owned by Mrs. E. S. Dixwell. — ED.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 21 of the chapter on "The Flora of Boston," by Dr. Asa Gray. — ED.]

Branches which spread too far were chopped off remorselessly, and when at last the entire removal of the once magnificent row of trees was demanded in the name of progress, the amputated stumps were unable to plead for themselves to be spared longer.[1]

The landmarks in other parts of the city, including the annexed districts, call for no special mention in this place, as all the more important features are noticed in this and other volumes. The changes in the topographical character of old Boston have been so important in the last one hundred years, that all the other changes are made insignificant in comparison. By them have been brought about two distinct migrations of population. A century ago the society of Boston was to be found at the North End, and upon and near Beacon Hill. The tendency at that time was toward the Fort Hill and Pearl Street district. Summer, Franklin, High, and neighboring streets became lined with fine residences, surrounded by neat lawns and flower-gardens. When business threatened to dispossess the dwellers in this district of their pleasant homes, there was some question whither they should remove, and where was to be the great residence-district of the city. Some people predicted that South Boston would become the fashionable quarter of the town;[2] but about that time the creation of the South End, by widening the Neck, diverted population thither, and the movement was hastened by the introduction of the horse-railroad system.[3] For fifteen years after 1855 the South End was the growing part of the city. Meanwhile the fashionable quarter, so-called, had been extending down Beacon Street, and broadening over the district lying west of the Public Garden. As the filling proceeded, the land in this part of the city became the most desirable as well as the most available; and it has been covered with buildings of a class which would do credit to any city in the world.[4] The

[1] [It was under these trees, in the early years of this century, that the hay-market was kept; and when it was removed to Charles Street (laid out in 1803), near the pound, the wood-market took its place along the front of the Granary Burying-ground. — Ed.]

[2] See an article in the *Boston Almanac* for 1853, by Dr. J. V. C. Smith, in which the writer urged the filling of the South Boston flats as a measure of which Nature had given a strong hint in the manner in which the flats had been formed. He also prophesied that South Boston was destined to become the magnificent portion of the city, in respect to costly residences, fashionable society, and the influences of wealth.

[3] Soon after the introduction of horse-railroads in New York, efforts were begun to establish the new mode of rapid transit in Boston. In 1852 a petition for a charter was presented to the Legislature, and more than three thousand persons signed petitions in aid of it. The first company, the Metropolitan, was not, however, chartered until May 21, 1853. A few days later the Cambridge Horse-Railroad Company was chartered. The Broadway, Dorchester Avenue, and Chelsea companies were created in 1854. The construction of each and all the lines authorized was made dependent upon the consent of the municipal authorities through whose streets they were to be laid. Strong opposition was made by the omnibus companies. The Cambridge company was the first to overcome the difficulty, which it did by buying the omnibus franchises, and the line to Cambridge was built and opened in 1856. The Dorchester Avenue line was opened in October, 1856; and the first Metropolitan line, from the Granary Burying-ground to the Guildhall in Roxbury, was finished a little later in the same month. All these lines were immediately successful.

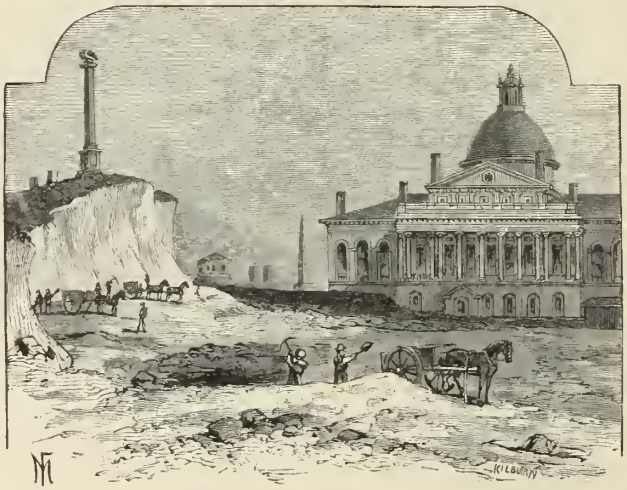
[4] Quite different from those which were built between 1840 and 1870. The "swell-front" abomination was then in full control of all the architects, as the mansard-roof affectation was a few years later in the suburban towns. Dr. Smith, in the article in the *Boston Almanac* for 1853, already referred to, discusses the prevailing style of architecture with characteristic vigor.

movement is, however, both in location and in style of building, of quite recent origin. In 1870 there were not many buildings west of Dartmouth Street, and the area between that street and the Public Garden was by no means fully built upon. The future movement must inevitably be in the same direction, and one need look forward but a few years to reach the time when the new Back Bay Park will be surrounded by elegant and costly dwelling-houses and churches.

Edward Stanwood

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

A series of five views of Beacon Hill, of which three are herewith given considerably reduced, were drawn about 1811–12 by Mr. J. R. Smith, an artist who had come to America about 1808. They are valuable memoranda of the condition of the summit of the hill just before the final disappearance of it. The original sketches (now in the Public Library) are slight and scant in detail; but under the skilful hand of Mr. G. G. Smith they were turned into attractive pictures in chromolithograph, which, being issued in 1855, under the title of "Old Boston," are thought to have been the first drawings reproduced by that art in Boston. They are given by heliotype, but much decreased in size, in Wheildon's *Sentry Hill*, 1877. The new State House, which is so conspicuous an object in them, was taken possession of Jan. 11, 1798, the Government, in the Representatives' Chamber, listening to the Rev. Dr. Thacher's prayer of dedication.



STATE HOUSE AND THE MONUMENT.

The Thurston House, shown in one of them, was not long after taken down, and, as rebuilt, is now No. 1 Beacon Hill Place. See an account of this house in W. W. Wheildon's *Sentry Hill*, p. 94.

A near view of the column, said to follow a painting by Sully, is given in Dennie's *Portfolio*, November, 1811, and has been reproduced in Wheildon's *Sentry Hill*, p. 65, and elsewhere.

Beacon Street and the Common.

(1804–1811.)

It is claimed to have been the first monument ever erected to commemorate the war of the Revolution; but Mr. Wheildon could find no reference to it, during its building, in any of the public prints of the day. The *Massachusetts Magazine*, December, 1790, announces the completion of the brick-work, but says that the "white cement" will not be put on till Spring, when it will be topped "by an eagle of wood, gilt." Mr. Wheildon could not find any mention of the contributors to it, except of Mr. Thomas Russell.

The annexed reduced heliotype follows a water-color found by the late Andrew Ritchie in a shop in Paris, and now owned by his son, Colonel Harrison Ritchie. It represents the Common and neighborhood somewhere between 1804 — when the Amory House, seen and still standing on the corner of Beacon and Park streets, was erected (see view of Park Street, in Vol. III. p. 232.) — and 1811, when the monument seen over the stable of the Hancock House was taken down. The mansion of the first governor under the Constitution ranges in the line of the Capitol; and the trees in front of it are probably the ones referred to in a letter of Theodore Lyman, Sept. 25, 1815, when he writes about the great gale of that month to Edward Everett, his classmate, then in Germany: "How many lamentations has poor Madam Scott made over that beautiful row of elms opposite her house, which, with about fifteen of the largest trees in the mall, have been levelled." — *Memoir of Theodore Lyman, Jr*, p. 11; also see Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 321. The widow of Hancock had married one of Hancock's sea-captains, Captain James Scott, and was still living in the house.

THE MONUMENT, FROM THE CORNER OF TEMPLE AND DERNE STREETS.

The Editor is indebted to Miss E. S. Quincy for reminiscences of other houses seen in the picture. That on the extreme left was built by Mr. John Phillips in 1804–5, and long occupied by him. It is still standing, with the entrance changed to Walnut Street, which was cut through on its upper side, and the house is spoken of in a communication by Mr. Wendell Phillips, given in a note to Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. It was purchased in 1824, and greatly improved, by Lieut.-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop (father of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop), who died in it. The large house next on the right was built about 1805, by Thomas Perkins, and fronted on Mount Vernon Street. The block on that street, just west of Joy Street, now occupies its site. The garden is at this day covered by the houses with deep front yards, which are on the westerly side of Joy Street. The house with columns was built by Dr. Joy, with a garden in front of it. A traveller, a few years earlier (1792), had described this house: "The front is among the

THE MONUMENT AND THE THURSTON HOUSE, FROM BOWDOIN STREET.

neatest and most elegant I have seen. It is two stories high, overcast, and painted a kind of peach-bloom color, and adorned with semi-columns, fluted, of Corinthian order, the whole height of the edifice."—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1871, p. 61. This house was removed about 1835 and rebuilt at South Boston.

A view of the Common in 1817 is given in Shaw's *Description of Boston*.

The view of 1825, in Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 323, is without the trees before the Hancock house, and in the interim the single wooden

July 11, 1875; *With a Historical Sketch of the Great Tree*. Boston, 1875.

The annexed view of the Faneuil-Phillips house, which stood on the hill-slope opposite the King's Chapel burying-yard, follows a water-color by George L. Brown, painted in 1836, now in the rooms of the Boston Antiquarian Club. Another view of the same house, by Brown, painted in oil in 1835, is owned by John C. Phillips, Esq. A third view is given in Vol. II. p. 523. Mr. Phillips also owns a water-color of the Bromfield House, without name or date,

BOSTON FROM BREED'S HILL.

fence bounding the Common had given place to parallel fences, skirting the mall without and within. The old single wooden fence was built about 1784, and it was so much injured in the 1815 gale that the new double fence was built, the one in the new mall, or Beacon Street mall, being built under Abraham Babcock's direction in 1820. Shurtleff, *Boston*, p. 317.

The shape of the hill, as seen from the north before its destruction had begun, is shown in the accompanying reproduction of "Boston from Breed's Hill," as given in the *Mass. Mag.*, June, 1791.

The view from the summit of Beacon Hill is given in the *Mass. Mag.*, November, 1790, showing the great elm on the Common, the Tremont Street mall, the south part of the town, the Back Bay, the Neck, with Dorchester Heights in the distance. It has been heliotyped in J. W. Hamilton's *Memorial of Jesse Lee and the Old Elm: 85th Anniversary of Jesse Lee's sermon under the Old Elm, Boston Common, held Sunday evening,* of which another view has been given in Vol. II. p. 521.

In the rear of the Faneuil-Phillips house, and approached up the declivity through a paved court and the garden, was a tall tower, which is shown in Hammett Billings's sketch of Quincy Market, given in Vol. III. p. 228. A similar view is in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, 1829. This tower was of brick, with three floors, reached by a staircase within, while the upper windows opened on a balcony. The Faneuil "grasshopper" surmounted the roof, which did not much overtop the neighboring summit of the Gardiner Greene garden, so much higher was the hill in that direction.

A view of the town and harbor from the hill in the rear of Mr. Greene's house, where Pemberton Square now is, but from a point seventy feet above the existing level of the hill-top, serves as a frontispiece to the present volume. It follows a large picture painted by Salmon in 1816, and owned by W. H. Whitmore. (*Gleaner Ar-*

ticles, p. 55.) There are better views of the Greene mansion than the frontispiece affords. One of them is in the mayor's office at the City Hall. The building was of wood, three stories in height, four large rooms on each floor, with an L. The wood-work of the drawing-rooms was elaborately carved, and in this respect it differed from the Faneuil house, which had plainer ornamentation. Mr. Greene had resided in Demerara for many years after 1774, and had

A southeast view of Boston is given in the *Mass. Mag.*, November, 1790.

The note-book of Robert Gilmor, in the Public Library, has a view of Boston from Dorchester Heights, taken not far from 1795. A view of Boston from the old fort in Roxbury, where is now the Cochituate stand-pipe, was painted by Thomas Cole in 1820. A view of Boston from Chelsea Hill is given in Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, and in his *Guide to Boston*.

THE FANEUIL-PHILLIPS HOUSE.

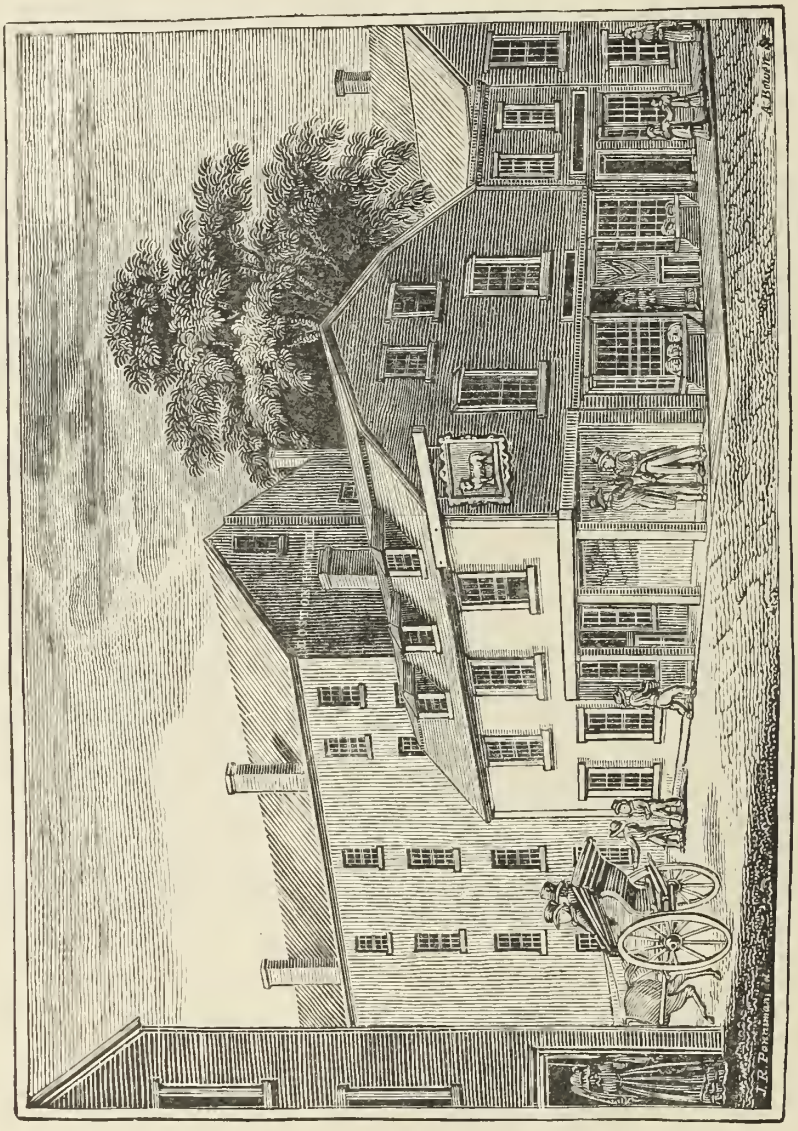
laid there the foundation of a large fortune. In 1785 he married Miss Ann Reading, who died in 1786. Two years later he visited Boston and married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Hubbard, who died in 1797. In July, 1800, while in London, he married Elizabeth Clarke, a daughter of Copley the painter, and soon took up his permanent residence in Boston, and here died, Dec. 19, 1832. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1873, p. 56.

The descent of this famous estate is traced in Vol. II., Introduction, p. xliv. In the rear of the house the visitor crossed a paved court and ascended the terraces to the two large trees which are seen in the view of Quincy Market in Vol. III., p. 228.

The engraving herewith given of the Lamb Tavern is from a block cut by Abel Bowen, the principal engraver on wood in Boston in the early part of the present century; and use of it has been kindly permitted by Mr. J. H. Daniels, who received it from Joseph Andrews, one of Bowen's pupils. Drake (*Landmarks*, p. 392) says the tavern is mentioned as early as 1746. (See Vol. II. p. xxiv.) The first stage-coach to Providence started from here in 1767. Its sign was struck by a shot from the American lines during the siege. Joel Crosby, who had served in the Revolutionary army, was later employed here as an hostler; and subsequently bought the estate, and kept the tavern successfully till about 1808. In 1822 the brick structure in the rear was added.

containing the dining-room, etc. At this time Laban Adams kept it, and continued to be the landlord till 1825. Drake says Edward Kingman was the landlord in 1826. After Crosby's death (1833) at Leominster, whither he had removed in 1808, the estate was sold to Laban Adams, who had returned to it in 1830, and who again kept it till 1838, when he leased it to Aaron W. Rockwood. In 1844 Adams again returned to it, but pulled it down in 1845, and opened the Adams House on the same spot in 1846.

The passage, up which the chaise is passing, led to the stables in the rear, and is probably a remnant of the earlier Hog Alley, which can be seen, leaving the main street obliquely (to the left of West Street), in Bonner's map, 1722, Vol. II. p. xxvii; in Burgiss's, 1728, Ibid. p. 1; in Price's, 1769, Ibid. p. lvi; in Page's, 1775, Vol. III. p. iii; but it disappeared before Carleton's map was made in 1797, given in the present chapter.



THE LAMB TAVERN.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDUSTRIES OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY CARROLL D. WRIGHT AND HORACE G. WADLIN.

Of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.

WHILE not so in popular estimation, Boston is, and always has been, a manufacturing centre. Her industries are as varied as those of the Commonwealth, and at the close of the period of which we write their annual product amounts in value to over one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Her influence since the first decade of her existence has been felt in all departments of productive industry throughout the State, and to such an extent that, considering the amount of the city's productive capital invested elsewhere, it is difficult to say what the value of Boston's products really is. Confining ourselves to the territory marked out as the subject of this history, we feel no hesitancy in defining Boston as a great industrial centre, the account of whose industries is the account for Massachusetts.

During the first generation after the landing at Plymouth the great industries which have built up the Massachusetts of our time, in a material sense, were established on quite secure footing. Ship-building, the manufacture of textiles, boots, shoes, and leather, printing, brick and glass-making, and iron-working, — industries which to-day include one half the entire products of the State, — were recognized industries before 1650. In all these, after her settlement, Boston's influence is clearly seen; in fact, it was not till after 1630 that these enterprises possessed the vitality essential to permanency. This influence is well illustrated by the fact that Boston merchants within ten years after her settlement exported shoes manufactured in Lynn. This influence has been retained, and may be said to be stronger now than at any previous period.

Although many of the leading industries of Massachusetts had been established immediately after its settlement, yet prior to the Revolution very little progress had been made toward placing these industries on a self-sustaining basis, so that they might become a source of wealth to the Province and afford employment to a considerable number of her citizens. Indeed, before and at the beginning of the struggle of the colonies with the mother country the chief reliance of Massachusetts for supplying the wants

of her families was placed upon the household industries; and the Legislature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay was in the habit of extending aid and encouragement to all who sought to develop industrial enterprises. An interesting instance in this connection was the patriotic attempt to plant the linen manufacture in 1754, when a law was passed granting a duty to be levied upon carriages of all kinds for the benefit of the proprietors or managers of the linen manufacture in Boston, to aid them in purchasing a piece of land and erecting or purchasing a suitable house within the town for carrying on the business of spinning, weaving, and other necessary parts of the linen manufacture.[1] The preamble to this law set forth that —

"Whereas, through the great decay of trade and business, the number of poor is greatly increased, and the burden of supporting them lies heavy on many of the towns within this Province, and many persons, especially women and children, are destitute of employment, and in danger of becoming a public charge; *and whereas* divers well-disposed persons have contributed and continue to contribute sums of money to encourage setting the poor to work in the several branches of the linen manufacture, . . . Therefore, further to encourage the laudable design of the several contributors as aforesaid, Be it enacted," etc.

Under this law[2] the building called the "Manufactory House" in Long-Acre Street was erected. The manufacture of linen was begun here, but with a spirit too violent to secure permanent success.[3] "Great show and parade were exhibited on the Common at its commencement. Spinning-wheels were then the hobby-horses of the publick. The females of the town, rich and poor, appeared on the Common with their wheels, and vied with each other in the dexterity of using them." The enterprise lasted but three or four years, the Manufactory House being used for a short time after the close of the linen works for the manufacture of worsted hose, metal buttons, etc.[4]

The growth of colonial manufactures was not regarded with favor by England, and the home Government steadily discountenanced any attempt to build up such industries here as would tend to render the colonists either independent of home manufactures or competitors with the parent country for foreign trade. It was, indeed, the settled policy of every European power to restrict the trade and commerce of its colonies to the parent country. In this policy England shared so far as to monopolize to herself the raw materials of the American colonies and the carrying trade dependent upon the produce of those colonies, and herself to furnish her colonists with all the manufactured articles or other imports necessary for their consumption. It was held in certain quarters that the only use and advantage of these colonies was the stimulation of the industries and commerce of the

[1] *Province Laws*, vol. iii. p. 680.

[2] [See Vol. II. pp. 322, 461, 511. — Ed.]

[3] *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii. 252.

[4] The building was later occupied by the Massachusetts Bank for a time, but it finally became the residence of private families. There was for many years portrayed upon the wall on the west end of the building a female figure holding a distaff in her hand, emblematical of industry. [See Vol. II. pp. xxvi, 511. — Ed.]

parent country arising from the monopoly of their consumption and carrying trade. Before the Revolution the export trade of the colonies was, in accordance with this policy, limited to Great Britain, except in the case of some articles which were permitted to be exported to certain designated parts of Europe, Africa, and the West Indies. The permitted trade with the West Indies was always highly advantageous to the colonies, and especially so to New England, but was mainly confined to agricultural products, and to rum, fish, and lumber.

The influence of the policy above indicated, as well as the high price and scarcity of labor, operated to prevent the establishment of any considerable manufacturing industries in the American colonies until the colonists had advanced somewhat in population and wealth. The New-England colonies, however, from the nature of the charters under which they were established, were always more or less independent of the commercial restrictions imposed by Great Britain; and this fact, together with the gradual growth not only here, but in other colonies, of certain industries, as early as the year 1731 caused the increasing export trade of her American provinces to be viewed with no little jealousy by the mother country.

In Massachusetts especially the manufacture of paper had begun at that date, and complaints were made to the Board of Trade and Plantations of the House of Commons that, "In Massachusetts an act was made to encourage the manufacture of paper, which law interferes with the profit made by the British merchants on foreign paper sent thither."[1] The first paper-mill in Massachusetts, and it is believed in the United States, had been established a year or two previous at Milton on the Neponset River, almost within the limits of the present city of Boston.[2]

In New England, also, woollen and linen cloth and a sort of coarse hemp cloth was at this time made, as well as leather, hats, and iron work; but as the price of labor was exceedingly high, our merchants found it to their advantage to deal in imported goods rather than those of home manufacture. The increase of ship-building here,[3] an accompaniment of our growing commerce, was considered especially prejudicial to the interests of the mother country. Parliament soon found it necessary to place further restrictions on our industries; as for instance, "to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in any . . . colonies."[4] Previously,[5] an act restrictive of the hat-making industry had been passed. While thus attempting to check the growth of colonial manufacturing industries by direct restrictive measures, the same object was kept in view by acts favoring the exportation of raw material to be made up in England.

[1] Pitkin's *Statistics*, p. 5.

[2] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, vol. i. p. 197. [See Vol. II. of this History, p. 462, *note*. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vols. I. p. 497–498, and II. 443–447 — Ed.]

[4] 1750. 23 Geo II.

[5] 1732. 5 Ge . II.

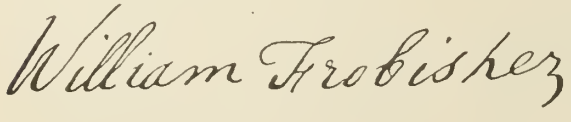
But, although contrary to its purpose, the course of Parliament was soon to give a decided impetus to colonial manufactures. The year 1767 witnessed the famous duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, painters' colors, and tea. In thus striving to replenish its treasury, Parliament, without intending it, did the one thing necessary to the progress of our industries. The system of taxation of which these duties were a part was, as is well known, violently opposed by the colonists; and this opposition was manifested by an outspoken determination to use only the products of home industry, and thus avoid the unjust burden which it was felt Great Britain was seeking to lay upon her colonists in America. The merchants of Boston met in council and determined to encourage home manufactures, especially those of glass and paper.[1]

Notwithstanding the adverse policy of the English government, several industries were already established in the town, and these were fostered by the prevailing state of public opinion now actively aroused in favor of such industries as should render Massachusetts independent of parliamentary restrictions and the arbitrary duties laid upon the necessary articles of consumption. It had long since been discovered that we could readily and cheaply produce some of these articles of a quality in no respect inferior to those sent us from abroad. Prominent among these, and rendered especially so by this act of 1767, was paper. The Milton mill, already referred to, had made paper to the amount of £200 sterling during the early years of its establishment;[2] and though carried on with varying fortunes, the industry had never been allowed to decay. The lack of paper stock was the chief difficulty encountered. The people were now admonished to save their rags with care; and in Boston in 1769 the following announcement was made in the *News-Letter*: "The bell cart will go through the town before the end of next month to collect rags for the paper mill at Milton, when all people that will encourage the paper manufactory may dispose of them." Glass had early been made in Massachusetts, but the industry lacked that vitality which encouraged the manufacture of paper.[3]

The difficulties which existed between England and her colonies were soon to culminate in war. Up to this time the growth of the industries of Boston had in no wise exceeded those of the other Massachusetts towns. It was not as an industrial community, but chiefly as a thriving seaport that the place was known. Among her industries at this time was the manufacture of pot and pearl ashes, though this had greatly declined owing to the increasing scarcity of wood.[4] Rope-making then, and until long afterward, was a leading industry of the town.[5] Brewing, established as early as 1637,

[1] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, vol. i. p. 202. [See Vol. II. ch. i. — Ed.]

[2] *Report to Board of Trade of Parliament*, 1731.



[3] [See Vol. II. p. 461. — Ed.]

[4] Bishop; also *Mass. Hist. Coll.* [There is in the *Massachusetts Archives* a petition of William Frobisher in 1768, setting forth his discovery of a new method of making potash. — Ed.]

[5] [See Vol. I. p. 499; and II. xl, xli, xlvii, xlviii, 322, 443, 528. — Ed.]

was still carried on.[1] The distilling of New-England rum gave employment to numbers.[2] In 1770 the making of morocco was begun at Charlestown.[3]

Printing and book-binding of great excellence were executed at several establishments. Out of ninety-two booksellers in the town prior to the Revolution, over thirty had made the binding and making of books a part of their business.[4] A type-foundry was established in 1768, not destined, however, to succeed permanently.[5] Ship-building to some extent formed one of the industries of the town, and the making of hats was carried on to a limited extent. Many excellent carpenters and masons were in the place, and blacksmiths and other representatives of the common trades were residing there. During the war the foundation of the butchering industry at Brighton was laid by the establishment of a cattle fair.[6]

One of the leading measures of the Continental Congress of 1774 was the agreement looking to non-importation and non-exportation. It was now resolved actively to promote the manufactures of the country, especially those of woollen fabrics. One of the first aims of the colonists was to establish their entire independence of the productive industries of England by the immediate establishment and maintenance of such industries here.[7] The non-importation resolves and the war itself, by throwing the colonists upon their own resources, were to lay the foundation of American manufactures. During the war, while some industries failed owing to the scarcity and high price of labor, others — and especially those whose products were required by the necessities of the war — made great progress, while the household industries were uniformly extended and enlarged.

1780–1790. The general condition, therefore, of the industries of Boston at the beginning of the period of one hundred years just closed, was that of apparent prosperity. The war was still in progress; its results not foreseen except in the faith of the patriots who carried it on. The influence of this want of certainty induced a feverish state in all business circles, and prevented that solidity in industrial affairs which at a later period characterized the enterprises of Boston merchants and manufacturers. At this period the products of manufacture in the territory now constituting Boston, from the best estimates we have been able to make, must have amounted to between three and four million dollars per annum.

After the peace the protection afforded by the war having ceased, a reaction took place. Many undertakings were of an ephemeral nature, and the close of the war put an end to their existence. The heavy debt incurred by the colonies, the lack of a definite and sound financial system, and the flooding

[1] Bishop, *History of American Manufactures.*

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 447. — Ed.]

[3] Bishop, vol. i. p. 459.

[4] Ibid., vol. i. p. 191. [See Mr. Winsor's chapter in Vol. I. p. 453, and Mr. Goddard's, in Vol. II. p. 387. — Ed.]

[5] Ibid., vol. i. p. 213.

[6] Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, p. 248. [See Vol. II. p. 372, and Mr. Drake's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[7] Edward Everett, *Address on American Manufactures*; New York, 1831. [See also chapters i. and iv. of Vol. III. of this History. — Ed.]

of our markets with immense importations of English goods, — all rendered the outlook extremely discouraging for American manufacturers. An era of hard times ensued; and one of the chief questions which the citizens of the young Republic were called upon to face was the industrial problem.[1] How to maintain our industries already established, and to extend them so as thoroughly to secure that independence of England which, though sanctioned by treaty, was yet seen to be only partially accomplished, — this was one of the absorbing questions of the time. The decay of business — general throughout the country — was exceedingly distressing to the industrious mechanics of Boston;[2] and the *Boston Gazette* but voiced the general sentiment of the day when it said, early in 1788 :[3]—

"Until we manufacture more it is absurd to celebrate the Fourth of July as the birth-day of our independence. We are still a dependent people; and what is worse, after the blood and treasure we have expended, we are actually taxed by Great Britain. Our imports help to fill her revenue and to pay the interest of a debt contracted in an attempt to enslave us."

Arguments such as this began to have their effect. Slowly but surely the industries of the country revived, and those of Boston were not behind. Prior to this, even as early as 1784, the manufacturers of Boston petitioned the General Court for legislation protecting their products. Under the Articles of Confederation which governed Congress prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, the States in their individual capacity regulated commerce; or rather the power to do this was in them alone. The Articles did not confer such power upon Congress, a defect which was remedied by the new Constitution; but before that, each State made such regulations as its own interests seemed to require, without regard to the influence of its action upon its neighbors. "The States through whose ports the natural or artificial channels of trade principally passed, were able to exact a revenue from those which were less favorably situated for commercial purposes." It was on account of the difficulties and irritations growing out of these commercial regulations that a convention of commissioners from various States was held at Annapolis in September, 1786, which convention recommended the one that framed the present Constitution.[4] The agitation which secured these results was set in motion by appeals from the manufacturers from Boston and vicinity to manufacturers and merchants in the different States.

Governor Bowdoin had on several occasions insisted upon the necessity of *a general union of the colonies, with the power of regulating trade.* In 1785, in his first address to the General Court, Governor Bowdoin called attention to the extravagant importation and use of foreign goods, and urged legislation which should encourage our own manufactures. The

[1] [There are some notes on the conditions of manufactures after the peace of 1782 in Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. 196. — ED.]

[2] *Boston Gazette*, April, 1788.

[3] Ibid., January, 1788.

[4] Andrews, *Manual of the Constitution*, p. 89.

necessity of regulating the trade of the United States, with a view to counteracting the restrictive policy of Great Britain, and of protecting the industry and labor of our own people, was urged by him on every occasion.[1] It is not too much to say that to Governor Bowdoin and the manufacturers of Boston belongs the credit of being the first to take into consideration the expediency of calling a convention of delegates from all the States, for the purpose of deliberating upon the state of trade and manufactures; this convention grew out of the industrial interests of Boston, and out of this convention grew the one which framed the new Constitution.

In consequence of the petitions to the General Court, within a year or two of the close of the war various laws were passed imposing a tax upon certain imported articles of manufacture; these laws were consolidated and amended by extending the list, by an act passed July 2, 1785, by which an impost duty was laid upon most of the articles manufactured in Boston and vicinity.[2]

In 1788, manufacturing having revived but slightly, the patriotism of the people was put to new tests. The new Constitution had been submitted to the States, and it contained ample provisions for the regulation of commerce by Congress. At this time the manufacturers of Boston issued the following circular,[3] which so clearly illustrates the spirit of the times relative to the industries of the country and of the influence of Boston, that it is given in full: —

Boston, August 20, 1788.

Gentlemen, —

We, being appointed by the association of tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston to write to our brethren throughout the several States, do now address you on the very important and interesting subject of our own manufactures.

The late system of commerce, pursued since the peace, of importing such articles as can be manufactured among ourselves, tends to discourage the whole body of tradesmen and manufacturers of these States, who depend, for the support of themselves and families, on their various occupations; and this practice, unless speedily checked by the prudent exertions of those who are more particularly interested, must eventually prove ruinous to every mechanical branch in America.

[1] R. C. Winthrop's *Addresses and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 119.

[2] The following is the list, and shows the kinds of goods manufactured in and around Boston in 1785: —

Wrought pewter; leather; books; nails; boots and shoes; plated ware; soap; candles; glue; carriages, parts of; harnesses, web for; whips; canes; carriage trimmings; copper-plate furniture; umbrellas; muffs; tippets; combs; beer; ale; porter; clothing (excepting leather); furniture; woollen cloth; linen cloth; stockings; anchors; carpenters' tools; knives; bit for boring of pumps; carriage hoops and tire; mill saws; scale beams; steel-yards; spades and shovels; hoes; wrought-iron hand-irons; cast-iron ware; shovel and tongs (pair); crows; spikes; tackle; hooks; thimbles; scrapers; marling-spikes; pumps and whaling gear; wrought copper (not inc. sheet c); worms for stills; hats (ex. beaver, beaveret, castor); loaf-sugar (reduced afterward); cordage; cables; yarns; wrought gold and silver; cotton cards; buckskin breeches; leather breeches; leather gloves; wash leather; painters' colors (in oil); playing cards; tobacco (manufactured); paper-hangings; clocks; house-jacks; spirits; wines; watches, gold and silver; jewelry and paste work; gauzes; lawns; cambrics; muslins; silks; hose; mitts; gloves; handkerchiefs; velvet; flowers; feathers; shawls; ribbons; sarcenet; wigs and hair work; tin ware; starch; hair powder; toys; marble and china tile; linseed oil.

[3] See Carey's *American Museum*, iv. p. 347.

Impressed with these sentiments, and finding the evil daily increasing, the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Boston, awaked by a sense of the danger which threatened them, assembled to deliberate on measures to relieve themselves from the destructive tendency of such importations.

An association was accordingly formed, consisting of a representation from each branch; and in this body the whole manufacturing interest of this town becomes an object of general attention.

The first measure adopted by this association was to pass resolves respecting the importation of certain articles from Europe by our own merchants and numbers of British agents residing among us; but knowing that nothing could be effected to any radical purpose unless we had the authority of the laws, we petitioned the Legislature of this State, praying that duties might be laid on the several articles enumerated in our petition. In consequence of which application, our Legislature complied in a great measure with our request, by enacting laws for the encouragement of industry and for promoting our own manufactures.

However, as we are sensible that our present situation requires an extensive cooperation to complete the purposes we wish, we take this method to bring forward a confederated exertion; and doubt not, from a union of sentiment, the most permanent benefits may arise.

We therefore apply to you, Gentlemen, to lend us your assistance; and, like a band of brothers whose interests are connected, we beg you to join in such measures to advance the general good as your prudence shall suggest, and your wisdom dictate.

We would, with submission, recommend an association of your tradesmen and manufacturers, formed upon the most extensive basis and supported upon the most liberal principles: we may then hope the manufactures of this country will flourish, when each man becomes interested not only in his own branch, but in those of his brethren. Encouraged by such extensive patronage, each individual will be animated to pursue his business with alacrity, knowing that he acts in concert with those on whose friendship he can with confidence rely.

An association being established in your State, we shall be happy to correspond with; and we flatter ourselves from this social intercourse a general harmony will prevail throughout the whole manufacturing interest of this country.

As we hope to experience the good effects of the late acts of our General Court, we should recommend a petition for a similar purpose to your Legislature; and from the known disposition of your State to promote the welfare of America, we doubt not some plan will be devised by your general assembly to prevent the importation of such species of articles as are commonly manufactured in America.

We need not urge the necessity of some measures being immediately taken by the whole confederacy. The embarrassment of our navigation, the large debts contracted in Britain, and the remittances of our currency, — all serve to put every real friend to his country upon serious attention; and if any mode can be adopted to remedy these evils, we are convinced no American will be backward in the cause, but will join heart and hand to promote the desirable purposes.

The means we propose, we conceive are calculated to put each State upon deliberating on a subject highly important to the manufacturing interest; and we cannot but hope that some lasting benefits will accrue from the united voice of the tradesmen and manufacturers of America.

These States are so extensive in their boundaries, so various in their climate, and

so connected in their national interests, that if a plan could be adopted throughout the confederation for the exchange of the produce and manufactures of each State, we conceive it would serve to cement a general union, and prove a means to promote the interest of the whole.

The Northern States might furnish many articles of manufactures which are now imported from Europe; and in return might receive those supplies peculiar to the growth and climate of the Southern.

An association formed throughout the States upon so liberal a plan, would establish many extensive branches of manufacture; and if prosecuted with spirit, would put this country above the humiliating state of lavishing her stores of wealth to promote the manufactures of Europe.

We wish you to communicate this letter to such towns of your State as you shall think proper.

We are, Gentlemen, with every sentiment of respect,

Your most obedient servants,

JOHN GRAY,
GIBBINS SHARP,
BENJAMIN AUSTIN, JR.
SARSON BELCHER,
WILLIAM HAWES,
JOSHUA WITHELE.

Such appeals had their effect, and when the first Congress under the New Constitution assembled in 1789, it turned its immediate attention to the protection of manufactures. The second act passed by this first Congress was "For laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandises imported into the United States." It is also worthy of notice that this act, which was passed July 4, 1789, contained a preamble as follows: "Whereas, it is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, *and the encouragement and protection of manufactures*, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandises imported; Be it enacted," etc.

Whatever may be our opinions to-day regarding protection and free-trade, the wisdom of the actions of the representative manufacturers of Boston, of our General Court, and of Congress, at a time when general industrial depression — and, worse, general industrial decline — prevailed, cannot be questioned.

In spite of the most depressing influences, the decade from 1780 to 1790 was not barren of industrial enterprises and undertakings which gave life and impetus to affairs in some degree, and aided the people in sustaining business interests till a better time. An important enterprise undertaken in 1785 was the building of Charles River Bridge, of which accounts will be found in other chapters. That it could now be successfully carried out indicates the state of the mechanic arts, as well as the spirit and resources of the town. In 1787 the manufacture of glass was revived at Boston, by the formation of a company for the purpose; especial privileges being granted it by the Legislature in accordance with the prevailing public senti-

ment. Chief among these privileges was the exclusive right of manufacture for fifteen years. Active operations were however delayed until 1792. The manufacture of rope and cordage, of which we shall speak more fully hereafter, was still an important one, and in the Federal procession of 1788 the men employed in this industry outnumbered any other class of mechanics. In 1787, also, a factory for the production of paper-hangings existed in Boston. These were now coming into extensive use, and the great cost of imported hangings led to the establishment of several American factories, of which the above was one.[1]

About the year 1789 the General Court encouraged the manufacture of cotton duck, by offering a bounty in behalf of this industry. A company was incorporated and was soon in successful operation in Boston. Within three years it was able to produce two thousand yards per week, and for several years thereafter the annual product was from eighty thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand yards, valued at from $26,000 to $39,000. It was found possible to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturers of sail-cloth. Great perfection of product was attained, and the factory affords an early instance of a workmen's union for mutual improvement and support. By its by-laws quarrels, profanity, and careless workmanship were punished.[2] The following from the diary of General Washington, who in 1789 visited Boston and was shown this factory as one of the noteworthy institutions of the town, is worth reproducing, especially as it gives from the pen of an eye-witness a description of the methods of manufacture: —

"They have twenty-eight looms at work, and fourteen girls spinning with both hands (the flax being fastened to the waist). Children (girls) turn the wheels for them, and with this assistance each spinner can turn out fourteen pounds of thread per day, when they stick to it; but as they are paid by the piece, or the work they do, there is no other restraint upon them but to come at eight o'clock in the morning and return at six in the evening. They are the daughters of decayed families; none others are admitted."[3]

The necessity of obtaining improved machinery for use in the manufacture of woollens led to measures on the part of the legislatures of several States in favor of the makers of this sort of machinery. By the year 1789 there were three quite extensive manufactories of cotton and wool-cards in the town, making sixty-three thousand pairs of cards per year, and underselling those of foreign manufacture. Concerning one of these, General Washington says: "I went to a card manufactory where I was informed there were about nine hundred hands. . . . All kinds of cards were made; and there are machines for executing every part of the work in a new and expeditious manner, especially in cutting and bending the teeth, which is done at one stroke."[4] Instead of the single Milton paper mill, there were now six on the

[1] Bolles, *Industrial History of the United States*, p. 465.

[2] Bishop, i. 419.

[3] General Washington's Diary, in *Mount Vernon Papers*, No. 12, p. 112.

[4] General Washington's Diary, in *Mount Vernon Papers*, No. 12, p. 112. In 1792 four hundred hands were employed.

Neponset, near the head of the tide in Dorchester. Most mills of the sort had two vats and employed about twenty hands, half of whom were boys and girls.[1]

1790–1800. A glance at a map of the town at this time will discover a creek dividing the central part of Boston, and admitting the tide-water into a mill-pond formed by a cove extending up from the north to the line of the Green Street of to-day, and separated from the sea by a causeway, and connecting West Boston with the north part of the town. At the entrance to this causeway were three mills devoted respectively to the manufacture of meal, lumber, and chocolate.[2] The latter mill in 1794 could turn out twenty-five hundred pounds of chocolate daily. In Lynn Street, in this year, brass cannon, bells, and iron ware were made at the foundry of Colonel Revere. Near by, Mr. Fenton had established a new industry, and was making all kinds of earthen vessels similar to the imported Liverpool ware. Another newly established industry was that of calico printing, plain India cottons being employed. This industry was considered especially worthy of encouragement, it being found possible to make prints at a profit, calico then being in great favor as an article of female attire; large importations were made from England. The glass company, whose incorporation we have previously noticed, was now in full operation in a large new factory at the foot of Essex Street. The manufacture of combs in the State had greatly diminished their importation. This industry, having its chief seat at Leominster and West Newbury, was represented in the town, — Graham of Charter Street being the leading maker. Clocks and mathematical instruments were also made to some extent. The manufacture of soap and candles now gave employment to numbers. Large quantities of spermaceti candles were exported, there being four manufactories of this particular kind. Great improvements had been made in the quality of the product, by the use of new machinery. There were thirty distilleries in the town, and prior to the disturbances in the French West Indies the gross product is said to have been upwards of $16,000 annually on each. The disturbances referred to, and the existing excise law, had produced a decline in the business, so that in 1794 only eighteen were operated, and these at a diminished production.

Seven sugar refineries existed, having a productive capacity of one hundred thousand pounds each, annually; but the new tariff on sugar, like the tax on rum, was injurious to this industry, causing diminished production in 1794. But if the making of rum and sugar had declined on account of raw materials imported and the difficulties with France, the cordage and card manufacturers found their business steadily increasing. The latter industry now gave employment to twelve hundred persons, of whom the larger number were women and children, and was one of the largest and most important

[1] Bishop, i. 207.

[2] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii. [See the map at the beginning of Volume I. This creek was on the line of the present Blackstone Street. Its formation at a very early day has been explained in Vol. I. p. 553. — Ed.]

enterprises of the town. A wind-mill was utilized for cutting the card-board at the principal factory. We have already spoken of the improved machinery employed. One man working at the machine for cutting and bending the wire and perforating the leather employed in the card, could prepare the wire for twenty dozen pairs of cards in twelve hours.[1] This was thought a great achievement; but a few years later,—in 1797,—when over two thousand persons were engaged in this industry, Amos Whittemore, an ingenious mechanic of the town, was still further to perfect the machinery employed, by reducing the various operations to a series of perfect automatic movements, thus revolutionizing the business both here and abroad.[2]

There were in 1793 fourteen rope-walks in operation, and this industry was thriving. The manufacture of twine and lines was fostered by a bounty from the General Court; over fifty men were employed in this branch alone. A disastrous fire this year destroyed one half the rope-walks; six being at once rebuilt, to be again burned in 1806.[3] Fine beaver hats were now made, rivalling those of foreign manufacture. Fish-hooks were manufactured, the wire for these and for the card-makers being made at Dedham.[4] Besides the industries we have enumerated, the building trades were likewise flourishing.

Outside the town limits, but in its immediate vicinity, were manufactories of axes, hoes, shovels, scythes, nails, tow cloth, cotton and linen sheeting, thread, checks, bed-ticks, striped flannels, thread, cloth, and worsted hose, gloves and mitts, diapers, and cotton and woollen coverlets; and most of these were brought to the town for sale. Lynn was now producing one hundred and seventy thousand pairs of shoes annually. Powder was made at Andover and Stoughton.[5] In 1796 the making of morocco, which had declined during the war, was revived at Charlestown.[6]

During the last decade of the century, the town was growing in size and importance. Many important public and private improvements were carried out. The building industry was thriving. Boston was now the chief depot of supply of brick,—large quantities being made in the immediate vicinity, the town of Medford alone producing four millions annually. Labor was still scarce and now in demand, wages being high. The apprentice system was then in vogue, and, under the pressure of competition, apprentices were frequently induced to leave their masters in violation of the terms of their indentures, by promises of increased pay or lighter service.[7]

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii.

[2] Bishop, i. 497.

[3] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Bishop, ii. 58, 59.

[6] Ibid., ii. 84.

[7] To protect their interests in this respect, an association of the mechanics of Boston was formed in 1795; Colonel Paul Revere being chosen president, and Edward Tuckerman, vice-president. The society prospered greatly, and with enlarged aims soon took the name of the Association of Mechanics of the Commonwealth, and still later, in 1806 (see various sources; among others, Bishop, ii. 62), became the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association, still in flourishing condition, after an active service of more than eighty years devoted to the best interests of mechanics and the improvement of the industrial arts.

Prior to the Revolution, Boston, as we have noted, carried on a large ship-building business, there being upwards of twenty-seven dock-yards in the town at one time;[1] a large number of mechanics being employed in the various branches. One yard alone had been known to launch twelve ships during one year, and in all the docks at one time at least sixty vessels were on the stocks.[2] The embarrassments of the war caused this large industry to decline, so that during the last decade of the last century few vessels were built in Boston, though considerable numbers were built within the Commonwealth. The establishment of the Navy Yard[3] at Charlestown, in 1798, gave quite an impetus to business generally, especially to the building trades. It aided in bringing about a state of affairs industrially, at the close of the century, which was exceedingly encouraging, especially when all the difficulties which beset manufacturing enterprises of all kinds after the war are taken into consideration.

1800–1810. Messrs. Dix and Brinley had previous to 1800 established chemical works at South Boston,[4] and these works were now in operation. The copper works of the Messrs. Revere are referred to by various writers as of Boston; Bishop saying that "in 1802 the only manufactory of sheet copper in the country was that of the Messrs. Revere at Boston." The facts are, that while this firm made Boston the headquarters of its business, the manufactory was at Canton, where soon after the war $25,000 had been invested in plant by Colonel Revere's sons.

In 1804 a company which had been incorporated in 1789 completed the Middlesex Canal, which became of great importance in the development of the cotton industry, and was mainly in the interest of the industries carried on by Boston capital.[5] In 1805 a man named White began the building of carriages at Dorchester. It is claimed for him that he built the first carriage made in the United States. This may be true so far as the special style of carriages made by him is concerned; but it is hardly true as to carriages in general, for Philadelphia had an establishment for the manufacture of coaches of all kinds previous to 1790, and New York as early as 1768. The first recorded patent granted by the United States for planing machines was issued June 1, 1805, to John Bennock of Boston. Mr. Jesse Reed, who had made several inventions in the manufacture of nails, took an important patent in 1807 for a machine for cutting and heading nails by one operation. Twenty of these machines were soon afterward put in operation at Malden. The Messrs. Revere sent a petition to Congress in 1808, praying for a duty of 17½ per cent on copper in sheets, and for the free importation of old copper; the reason of the prayer being, as alleged by the firm, their ability to supply the whole United States with sheet copper: they did not wish to have foreign makers take a part of the trade. Their prayer was not granted,

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii. 286.

[2] Ibid.

[3] [See Admiral Preble's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[4] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 204.

[5] Bishop, ii. 108. [See Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr.'s chapter on "Canals and Railroads." — Ed.]

no duty being placed upon copper plates till 1842. The twine manufacturers of Boston, the same year, 1808, petitioned for a protective duty. They produced, with the makers in Charlestown, Salem, Beverly, and Plymouth, forty-six thousand dozen hemp-lines and twenty-seven thousand five hundred pounds of flax twine per annum. In 1812 the duty was increased. Important patents were granted in 1808 to Elisha Callender of Boston for lightning-rods, being the first patent in the United States for that article; and in 1810, to Phineas Dow for a leather-splitting machine, one of the most important inventions used in the preparation of leather for the manufacture of various articles besides boots and shoes. At this time the soap and candle factories of Roxbury employed a capital of $100,000, producing three hundred and seventy thousand pounds of candles, three hundred and eighty thousand pounds of brown soap, and fifty thousand pounds of Windsor and fancy soaps per annum. The manufacture of tin, japanned and plated ware, was also in successful operation.

The first decade of the new century was one eventful, indeed, in the industrial history of the country as well as of Boston. The bad effects of the embargo of 1807–8 were in some degree counterbalanced by the stimulation it gave to manufactures. The latter were benefited at the expense of commerce, and much of the capital and effort engaged in commerce were directed to industrial channels. New demands for labor sprang up by the establishment of various manufactures for the supply of domestic wants.[1] The effect of the embargo is well illustrated by the fact that prior to it there were in the United States but fifteen cotton mills, with eight thousand spindles; while at the end of 1809 the number built was eighty-seven, and the number in operation was sixty-two, with thirty-one thousand spindles.[2] Many more mills were in process of erection everywhere, and the prospect of industrial prosperity stimulated speculation, the usual accompaniment of artificial causes. The war of 1812, of course, but added to these causes; and the first half of the second decade of this century saw many establishments rise in Boston, only to go down during the second half. Some lived, to be sure; but peace brought the old experience which the manufacturers of the years at the close of the Revolution had passed through in their time.

1810–1820. In 1810 the third census of the United States was taken. Inquiries relative to manufactures were now by law included, for the first time, in the schedules for any census. The result was of no particular value, yet it indicated to some extent what was being done. The account for Boston shows a total product for the branches reported of $2,478,391, while it is safe to estimate the product of manufactures of Boston at this period to be not far from $9,000,000: this is a low estimate. The principal products returned at this census were: fur hats, $56,000; clocks and watches, $21,000; gold and silver work, $95,000; copper and brass goods, $21,000; buttons,

[1] Hildreth, *History of the United States*, vi. 111.. [2] Ibid., i. 210.

$20,000; tallow candles, $40,000; soap, $30,600; boots, shoes, and slippers, $131,225; saddlery, $90,400; spirits, $764,400; beer, $57,800; metals, mixed, $151,481; cabinet work, $115,000; sugar, refined, $64,000; glass, $36,000; cordage, $545,000; musical instruments, $17,200; spectacles, $10,000.[1]

The interruption of our commerce with the Baltic enhanced the price, and gave great impulse to the cultivation and manufacture, of hemp used for bale-rope, bagging, and especially for rigging and cordage for the navy. It was the opinion of many citizens that, by reason of Government patronage, commerce and the fisheries had been unduly extended to the neglect of internal industries. It was considered wise for the Government to endeavor to create, by judicious patronage, a domestic market for the labor and capital which, should war be avoided, would naturally seek employment. To this end memorials were presented to Congress; and, among others, petitions for further protection from the morocco manufacturers at Charlestown, where at this time (1811) one hundred and fifty thousand skins were annually manufactured, out of eight hundred thousand in the United States. Measures were also taken to aid the woollen industry, as the undeveloped state of that manufacture was seen to be a serious evil, now that the supply of woollens from abroad was greatly diminished by the restrictive measures of the Government.

Differences in the exchange on England, growing out of the Non-importation Act, brought a large amount of specie to the United States, and this was acting as a stimulant to manufacturing. During the following year, — 1812, — war was declared against Great Britain; and, to secure the funds necessary to sustain the war, duties were doubled on imports; and this, together with the interference with commerce caused by the restrictive measures growing out of the war, resulted in an immediate and considerable advance in the price of all necessaries. This advance, and the steady demand for all products of industry required by the war, caused a rapid extension of certain industries, especially those of woollen and cotton; and manufacturing in general during the continuance of hostilities was exceedingly prosperous. Many new industries arose, among others the manufacture of emery, pins, and flint-glass. Wood engraving was introduced in Boston, in 1811, by Nathaniel Dearborn.[2] A communication to the Secretary of the Treasury states, as an impressive fact, that manufacturing in America outran agriculture in most instances.[3]

Invention was also stimulated in the line of cotton and woollen machinery. In 1813 was erected the mill of the Boston Manufacturing Company,

[1] The experiment of taking industrial statistics was repeated in 1820 without success; but no other attempt was made till 1837, when the State instituted inquiries, the results of which will be given in the proper place. In 1840 schedules relating to products of manufactures were incorporated in the Federal census system; and such schedules, improved from time to time, have been used in all succeeding decennial censuses.

[2] Dearborn's *Boston Notions.* [Benj. Dearborn in 1814 introduced a new process of printing in colors. See a note in Mr. Stanwood's chapter. — Ed.]

[3] *Digest of Census,* — Coxe to Secretary of Treasury.

at Waltham. This, although outside the limits of Boston, deserves to be included in an account of her industries, inasmuch as it was entirely due to Boston capital and the ability of Boston mechanics. This mill marks the first introduction of the power-loom in this country. The loom used in this mill was largely the invention of Mr. Francis C. Lowell, of Boston, and its invention and construction were nearly contemporaneous with the successful introduction of the power-loom in England. Mr. Lowell's loom was put in operation at Waltham in 1814. He was the first in any country to apply all the processes of the manufacture of textiles — from the raw material to the finished piece — in one factory, as the scientific embodiment of all such processes in complete and harmonious operation. This enterprise at Waltham was the precursor of the cotton industry at Lowell, within the present territory of which city the first cotton cloth had just been made, and whither the promoters of the Waltham mill extended their operations in 1822.

During the period of the war, and up to Feb. 10, 1815, manufactures throughout the country continued to progress with unprecedented activity. The protection afforded by the war was now withdrawn. After the declaration of peace, large importations of foreign goods threatened the immediate destruction of our home industries, many of which had not yet become sufficiently strong to compete successfully with those abroad. It was seen that immediate changes must be made in the tariff, and protection afforded to the incipient industries of the country. But before the remedy could be applied many enterprises totally failed. Dec. 5, 1815, Madison, in his annual message, urged protective legislation. Petitions were poured upon Congress from manufacturers throughout the country. Financial disturbances aggravated the evils from which the industries were suffering. Societies for the encouragement of manufactures were everywhere formed. The tariff question continued to be agitated until the passage of the protective tariff act of May, 1824, and the still more important act of 1828.

In the year 1811 the first successful attempt in this portion of the country to manufacture flint-glass was made by one Thomas Cains, who has been called the father of the business in the Atlantic States. Cains began his operations at a small six-pot furnace, erected at South Boston.[1] Perkins Nichols, of Boston, was granted a patent this year on an improved auger;[2] Benjamin Bell, upon sulphuric acid;[2] and Cyrus Alger, on an improved method of casting rollers for rolling iron.[2]

The gentleman last named had previously (in 1809) begun the foundry business in South Boston, being associated with General Winslow. In five years he closed his connection with Winslow, and began business on his own account on Fourth Street. The enterprises with which he was afterward connected were intimately associated with the growth of South Boston, and rank among the most important of Boston's industries. Mr. Alger was a man of unusual capacity and foresight, being thoroughly acquainted with

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 205. [2] Bishop, ii. 176.

his business, in which he made great improvements. Besides the inventions we have mentioned, he devised a method of purifying cast-iron, thereby greatly increasing its strength. He also made an important improvement in the reverberatory furnaces for melting iron. He had great skill in the manufacture of cannon, both iron and bronze. This superior skill and inventive ability enabled him to build up rapidly a successful and lucrative business. He was employed by the Government in the manufacture of cannon and cannon-balls during the war of 1812. The largest gun ever cast in America prior to 1860 was made at his foundry. His business was considerably extended by the founding, at a period somewhat later than that we are now considering (in 1827), of the Alger Iron Works, one of the leading manufactories of South Boston. Mr. Alger was the first man in South Boston to introduce the ten-hour system; and it was his custom to make strictly cash payments to his workmen. His pay-roll for many years was upwards of $2,000 per week.[1]

In 1816 a new American power-loom was invented and put in operation in Boston by E. Savage.[2]

1820–1830. Soon after 1820 a lead-paint factory was established at Boston.[3] The same year the manufacture of chain cables was begun. The factory used for the latter was for thirty years the only successful one in the country. It was finally closed on account of English competition. The business was resumed in 1856.[4] In 1822 Jonas Chickering, a Boston mechanic, began experimenting on pianos. His first instrument was offered for sale in 1823.[5] Six years later seven hundred and seventeen were made in Boston in one year. Mr. Chickering was not only the founder of the large and prosperous business still identified with his name, but he may be considered the originator of the piano industry, as such, in the United States; although a Mr. Osborn had made pianos on a small scale in Boston prior to Chickering. Mr. Chickering came to Boston in 1818, and entered Mr. Osborn's employ in 1819.[6]

In 1822 the well-known ship-yard of Noah Brooks was established at South Boston. Prior to this, ship-building had been carried on in this part of the city to a limited extent, Lot Wheelwright being the pioneer in 1812. Mr. Brooks carried on an extensive business for many years.[7] By 1824 the manufacture of flannel in Eastern Massachusetts had largely increased, fifteen thousand pieces of forty-six yards each being now made annually in the vicinity of Boston.[8] In 1827 William S. Pendleton founded the first lithographic establishment in the United States at Boston. It was immediately successful. The previous year — 1826 — the New England Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts was established.

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston.*
[2] Bishop, ii. 233.
[3] Bolles, p. 355.
[4] Bishop, ii. 259.
[5] Bolles, p. 536.
[6] See *Life of Jonas Chickering*, in Hunt's *American Merchants.* J. Parton on "The Piano in the United States" in *Atlantic Monthly*, xx.
[7] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 212.
[8] Bishop, ii. 294.

This society held public exhibitions of industrial products, the use of Faneuil Hall being granted it without charge for this purpose. It also held semi-annual sales, the first occurring Sept. 12, 1826. Two million dollars were realized from the sales of the first five years. Premiums were awarded at its exhibitions, and the society exercised a beneficial influence upon the progress of the mechanic arts.[1] In 1827 was established the Boston Mechanics' Institute, for the promotion of science and the useful arts by lectures and other means.[2]

Among the new industries established during this decade was that of watch-crystals, of which a manufactory existed in 1829.[3] The same period witnessed the extension of the factory system, and the incorporation of manufacturing companies;[4] several of the latter took charters after 1814–15, going into operation between 1820 and 1830. Several mills were erected during this decade at Lowell, — in fact, Lowell found its real origin in this period. In all these undertakings at Lowell, — and indeed many of those whose existence dates from this decade, — Boston furnished the pioneers.

1830–1840. In 1830 Mr. Charles Griffiths began the manufacture of saws at Boston, soon after associating with himself Mr. William Welch. Prior to this there were but two or three saw manufactories in the country, nearly all our saws being imported. Messrs. Welch and Griffiths turned their attention to the manufacture of circular saws, and, in the face of many obstacles, succeeded in establishing a national reputation for their goods, although their failure had been predicted. From time to time the firm made many improvements in methods of manufacture, especially in the mode of grinding both surfaces of a saw at once.

Out of twenty-one glass furnaces existing in the United States in 1831, for the manufacture of flint-glass, six were in Boston and its immediate vicinity. The total annual product of the two largest was valued at $400,000, mostly cut glass. Only one factory for making black-glass bottles existed in the country, and that was near Boston, having a capital of $50,000, and affording employment to sixty-five men and boys. The New England Crown Glass Company, near Boston, made crown window-glass to the value of $100,000 annually, its capital being $450,000.[5]

Soon after 1830 the manufacture of india-rubber began to receive attention. In 1833 the Roxbury Rubber Company was incorporated, with a capital of $300,000, followed the next year by the incorporation of the South Boston, the Suffolk, and other companies for the same purpose.[6] About this time, also, upward of three hundred women were employed in Boston in the manufacture of an article known as Tuscan braid, for bonnets. This braid was composed of silk warp, with Tuscan straw or whalebone filling.[7]

[1] Bowen, *Picture of Boston.*
[2] Bishop, ii. 316.
[3] Ibid., ii. 340.
[4] [See Mr. Edw. Atkinson's chapter. — Ed.]
[5] Bishop, ii. 359; also, *Report* of Committee on Glass to New York Tariff Convention.
[6] Ibid., ii. 394.
[7] Ibid., ii. 393.

Fine castings of statuary and ornamental metal-work were made in 1834 at the foundry of Mr. Francis Alger.[1]

The establishment of the East Boston Company in 1831 was to give an unwonted impulse to the industries of the city. The East Boston Sugar Refinery was the first manufacturing establishment in the Island ward. This company was incorporated March 25, 1834; and its first sugar-house was erected the same year, being afterward much enlarged and improved. By its charter the company was empowered to manufacture and refine sugar, and to buy and sell it and all articles necessary in its manufacture and refining. Its capital was fixed at $250,000. Two years after incorporation the company employed eighty workmen, its normal production being about twenty-five thousand boxes of sugar annually. English influence was exerted to discourage the stockholders by casting discredit upon the mode of manufacture proposed by Mr. John Brown, one of the chief promoters of the enterprise, who had visited England to inquire into the method of sugar refining in use there. In spite of this, however, the company succeeded in establishing itself, and prospered until the period of financial distress following the year 1837, when, owing to various causes, it was obliged to suspend payment. It soon after was able to resume, and has since had a successful career.

The East Boston Timber Company, incorporated in 1834, was formed "for the purpose of sawing and preparing plank, boards, staves, joists, scantling, and all and every other articles manufactured from wood." The following year the company erected a wharf, warehouse, and timber-dock, the latter being two hundred feet square. This was the depot for large quantities of lumber of the best quality, and the foundation of such an enterprise was exceedingly beneficial to the ship-building industry, by affording a plentiful supply of material. The company failed in 1840, owing to financial disasters of the previous two years. Ship-building has always been an important industry in East Boston. Every sort of vessel has been built there; and other industries necessary to the work have grown up along its water front. The first vessel was launched Aug. 9, 1834, and the second Jan. 28, 1835. These were ferry-boats, to be used between East Boston and the city proper. The first square-rigged ship was the "Niagara," of four hundred and sixty tons, launched Sept. 24, 1835. After 1839 the business constantly increased, and we shall again allude to it in connection with the establishment of some of the important yards.[2]

In 1835 George C. Thacher, Thomas Thacher, and William G. Billings founded the Fulton Iron Foundry at South Boston, and the next year the firm was merged in a corporation established by act of the Legislature. Mr. George C. Thacher was previously connected with Mr. Cyrus Alger, of whom mention has been made, the two gentlemen being pioneers in this industry in the United States. The Fulton foundry enterprise was at once successful, and large additions were made from time to time in the original

[1] Bishop, ii. 386. [2] Sumner, *History of East Boston*, pp. 679–685.

works until the establishment extended over several acres.[1] In 1836 the Adams Printing-Press Works began business at South Boston.[2] The well-known Adams press, patented by Mr. Isaac Adams, of Boston, is still among the leading presses for book-printing. The Messrs. Adams manufactured not only presses, but engines, boilers, and general machinery. The following year another important industry was established in this part of the city, — Coney's Iron Foundry, devoted to the manufacture of iron steamships and machinery. Business was suspended at this establishment in 1850.[3]

In 1839 the Boyden Malleable Iron and Steel Company of East Boston closed its works. This concern began business in 1835, making all kinds of iron and steel ware; its product when in full operation being about fifteen tons of malleable iron castings per week. At such times about three hundred workmen were employed. Speculative management caused the suspension of the works.[4]

In 1837 the State undertook its first industrial census. The law under which it was taken was very incomplete; many important industries being omitted from the schedules. This census exhibited Boston proper as producing goods to the amount of $10,063,231, and the cities and towns constituting the Boston of to-day over twelve and a quarter millions; probably twenty-two million or twenty-five million dollars would more correctly represent the products in 1837 of all that makes Boston in 1880.[5]

1840–1850. Bolles says:[6] "After the tariff of 1842, which gave those who chose to take up bell-founding the protection of a duty of thirty-five per cent, a number of small factories were started, some of which afterward attained celebrity." Among the latter he mentions one at Boston. Further on he says: "The largest bell ever made in this country was cast at Boston for the City Hall at New York, its weight being twenty-three thousand pounds." In 1843 the Sturtevant Linseed Oil Works were established at East Boston.[7] The old-fashioned presses were employed, making at first two hundred and afterward three hundred gallons per day. Later (1849) another firm assumed control, and increased the production to twenty-two hundred gallons daily. Afterward the works were still further extended.

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 207.

[2] Ibid., p. 206.

[3] Ibid., p. 209.

[4] Sumner, *History of East Boston.*

[5] The industries in which half a million dollars' worth, or over, were annually produced, so far as reported, were ship-building, book-publishing, manufacture of clothing, copper and brass works, and sugar refineries; and there were probably some others not reported. The production of pianos had grown to ten hundred and thirty-three, valued at about $300,000; the leather carried $228,000; hats made $194,673; iron castings, $372,000; cabinet-ware, $148,100; strawbonnets, $182,450; brushes, $93,000; carriages and harnesses, $128,805; saddles, trunks, and whips, $177,000; machinery, $326,000; looking-glasses, $147,500; stereotype work, $157,000. It is much to be regretted that the statistics of industries have not, till recently, been as complete as those of population, — even delusive as the latter have been at times. The stagnation of trade and manufactures, on account of the financial distress prevailing at the time of this first industrial census on the part of the State, had much to do with the meagre returns. The beginning, however, was made, and each succeeding State census has shown increased efforts to secure full information.

[6] *Industrial History of the United States*, p. 350.

[7] Sumner, *History of East Boston.*

In 1843 work was begun at the American Flint-Glass Works, South Boston.[1] The next year Mr. Uriah A. Boyden, of Boston, invented a turbine water-wheel which effected the utilization of seventy-eight per cent of the power of the water, and soon came into extended use. The first one was employed in a cotton factory at Lowell. Mr. Boyden afterward made further improvements in water-wheels, finally utilizing eighty-two per cent of the power of the water,[2] instead of about sixty per cent realized by the old wheels.

The celebrated ship-yard of Donald McKay at East Boston was established in 1845, and those of D. D. Kelly and Jackson and Ewell in 1848.[3]

The pioneer manufactory of gas, steam, and water-fittings as a separate industry was established in 1842 by Messrs. Walworth and Nason. At the same time Messrs. Joseph Nason & Co. had begun a similar business in New York. These parties were the first to introduce the plan of heating buildings by steam conveyed through small iron pipes.[4]

In 1846 the Globe Locomotive Works were founded at South Boston by Messrs. Lyman and Souther. The name "Globe" was not adopted until 1849, when Mr. Lyman retired. At first from twenty to seventy-five men were employed; but the business rapidly increased until three hundred *employés* were on the rolls.[5] In 1847 Harrison Loring began the manufacture of stationary and marine engines and other machinery at South Boston. Other prominent South Boston industries, not previously noted, are the Mount-Washington Glass-Works, the wire-works established by Henry S. Washburn, and manufactories of wagons, soap, ploughs, one or two brass-foundries, the Suffolk Lead Works, and the works of the Bay State Iron Company.[6]

In 1848 the Boston Locomotive Works were incorporated, Mr. Holmes Hinkley being President and Superintendent. Mr. Hinkley had in 1826 begun business as a machinist, in a small way, upon Boston Neck. He soon after began the construction of stationary engines, in which he met with such success that previous to 1840 he had made a larger number than any other manufacturer in New England. In 1840 he turned his attention to locomotives, constantly enlarging his business until it was merged in the corporation above noted, which was the predecessor of the Hinkley and Williams works of the present day.[7]

The first regular machine shop in Roxbury was started in 1843 by Mr. J. C. Pratt, who in 1847 was succeeded by the firm of Chubbuck and Campbell. Mr. Chubbuck, of this firm, had previously made improvements in engines, and is well known as the constructor of novel and ingenious machinery. The first tubular boiler made in the vicinity of Boston was constructed by Messrs. Chubbuck and Campbell.[8]

In 1845 Messrs. Mason and Hamlin laid the foundation of their extensive

[1] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 214.
[2] Bolles, p. 303.
[3] Sumner, *History of East Boston*.
[4] Bishop, iii. 288.
[5] Simonds, *History of South Boston*, p. 214.
[6] Ibid., p. 216.
[7] Bishop, iii. 297–299.
[8] Ibid., iii. 302.

business by beginning the construction of reed organs on a large scale.[1] The sewing-machine invented by Elias Howe, Jr., of Cambridge, in 1846, was very imperfect, and other inventors aided in remedying its defects. Among these was John Batchelder, of Boston, who in 1849 constructed an automatic feeding device. The same year Messrs. Blodgett and Lerow, also of Boston, invented a rotary shuttle for use in making the lock-stitch.[2]

The second industrial census of the State was taken in 1845. The Federal census of 1840 included inquiries as to manufactures, but the results were of no value; the Federal census of 1850 was valuable in this respect. The State census of 1845, while an improvement upon that of 1837, was exceedingly unsatisfactory, both from its many omissions of important industries and its methods. The results did not show that much advance had been made in the value of products; in fact, this could hardly be expected, for manufactures had not fully recovered from the effects of the reverses of 1837. The total value of the products of Suffolk County, including all the territory now comprised therein, reported at this second census was about $14,000,000. The United States census of 1850 gave the Suffolk County of that year $32,013,869 worth of manufactured goods,—a sum much too small. Probably the products for the year 1845 amounted to over $35,000,000, and for 1850 to nearly $45,000,000.

1850–1860. In 1850 Edward Howard and others, associated under the name of the "Warren Manufacturing Company," began the manufacture of watches at Roxbury. These were the first watches made in America. The enterprise originated in the experiments of Mr. Howard and Mr. A. L. Dennison, who a year or two before had commenced studying the manufacture of watches by machinery. At first only rough skeleton movements were made, the finer parts being imported from Switzerland. The company was afterward merged in the Boston Watch Company, a factory being erected for their purposes at Waltham. The concern became involved in financial difficulties, and the Waltham property passed into other hands, Mr. Howard returning to Roxbury, where he has since been located. The Howard Company now makes everything necessary to complete a watch.[3]

The discovery of gold in California stimulated the ship-building interest at East Boston. The yard of Paul Curtis was established in 1852; Simpson's dry dock in 1853, and the yard of the Messrs. Boole the following year. There then existed seven yards and docks for building and repairing, a floating dock, several extensive spar-making establishments, and numerous other industries connected with the business. More than five hundred mechanics were employed in the various branches of the industry.[4] The iron steamship "Le Voyageur de la Mer," launched Feb. 25, 1857, was the first instance, in this country, of the application of American iron to the construction of a first-class vessel. Many noted vessels built here testify to the

[1] Bolles, p. 540.
[2] Ibid., p. 245.
[3] Bolles, p. 229; also Bishop.
[4] Sumner, *History of East Boston.*

skill of Boston mechanics.[1] The manufacture of earthenware and fire-brick was begun at East Boston in 1854 by Mr. Frederick Mear, assisted by Mr. William F. Homer.[2]

After 1852 the East Boston Sugar Refinery, before alluded to, completed improvements in their machinery and apparatus, thus placing their works on a level with the best refineries in the country. In 1858 the quantity of sugar refined per annum was about twenty-five million pounds. About two hundred men were then employed.[3] In 1858 the erection of the works of the Adams Sugar Refinery at South Boston was begun. This refinery — one of the largest in the country — succeeded an old refinery, burned in that year, the property of Mr. Seth Adams, who had embarked in the business in 1849, having previously been connected with his brother in the manufacture of printing presses and machinery, as before noted.

The leading sewing-machine in 1858 was that invented by Messrs. Grover and Baker, of Boston, and patented by them in 1851. This embodied a new principle, used no shuttle, and made a double loop-stitch, by means of a circular rotary needle.[4] In 1855 there were five establishments for the manufacture of sewing-machines; they produced but 3,385 machines that year. The sewing-machine manufacture was inaugurated during this decade. The sewing-machine manufactured at the beginning of this decade was invented in Boston in 1850 by I. M. Singer. He had a manufactory in Harvard Place, which was soon transferred to New York.

The third State census of industries was taken in 1855, and by this the value of products in Suffolk County (present territory) for that year was $58,301,028. There were at this time twenty pianoforte-manufactories, and 6,122 instruments were made during the year, valued at $1,984,700. The product in other lines had increased, and the general business of manufacturing was in prosperous condition; but the financial disasters of the year 1857 checked the growth of the industries of Boston for a brief period.

1860–1870. This decade, eventful to the country, brought prosperity to the manufactures of Boston, and the effects of the depression of 1857 were quickly overcome; nor was there any check to this prosperity during the decade, at least none that could in any sense compare with that of 1857. The War of the Rebellion stimulated in an extraordinary and an unhealthy degree all industrial enterprises, but to the popular mind the stimulation meant prosperity. Nevertheless, but few new industries were established during this decade; among such, however, was the Downer Kerosene Works.

[1] The following table, drawn from data contained in Sumner's *History of East Boston*, will afford a view of the growth of the industry from 1834 to 1857: —

NUMBER OF VESSELS BUILT AT EAST BOSTON, BY YEARS.

1834–39	6	1843	3
1840	2	1844	5
1841	3	1845	8
1842	4	1846	7
1847	11	1853	21
1848	6	1854	30
1849	10	1855	19
1850	12	1856	28
1851	12	1857	19
1852	15		

[2] Sumner, *History of East Boston.*

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bolles, p. 246.

The means of reference are too easy of access to require at our hands detailed statements after the year 1860, in which the eighth United States census was taken. From this the products of Suffolk County have been estimated at $64,000,000, the leading industries being the manufacture of food preparations, camphene, clothing, copper and brass goods and materials, furniture, iron castings, rolled iron, iron steamships, leather, liquors (malt and distilled), machinery, lumber, pianofortes and musical instruments, linseed-oil, kerosene, printing (including books and newspapers), sewing-machines, ships, sugar-refining, upholstering, etc.

The fourth State census, 1865, gave the exhibit at the close of the war, and by this exhibit Suffolk County (present territory) produced $110,000,000 worth of goods.

1870–1880. The products of the county for 1870 could not have been far from $120,000,000,[1] while in 1875, by the last State census, they were $140,809,856; and in 1880 their estimated value reaches $150,000,000.[2]

From 1873 to 1878–79, the industries of Boston, like those of the whole country, suffered severely from financial disturbances, and did not probably progress much in value of products; but during 1878–79 the business of the country began to revive, so that the close of the century beginning with 1780 found Boston's industries in a most thriving condition, and her manufacturers as thoroughly alive to her interests as they were at the beginning of the period assigned us. The Boston of 1780, producing between three and four million dollars' worth of goods, has grown to the Boston of 1880, producing, according to the best estimates, one hundred and fifty million dollars' worth within her own territorial limits, or the limits of Suffolk County; while in fact the manufactures dependent upon Boston capital, if their value could be ascertained, would reach $300,000,000 per annum. This is well illustrated in the boot and shoe business. Boston is credited with the production of boots and shoes to the value of about $2,000,000, when the product derived from her invested capital in this industry is really ten times that amount. No true account of the industries of Boston can be given until the census shall consider the location of capital in relation to the production of goods.

There are in Boston at the present time many establishments whose origin dates well back in the history of the town and city. Among these are two book-binderies established in 1825, one in 1828, one in 1834, three in 1850, and one in 1858; of the establishments for printing and the manufacture of blank-books, one was begun in 1799, and one in 1804; for making boots and shoes, one in 1810, one in 1826, and one each in 1839, 1840, 1841, 1845, 1847, and 1848; for making brushes, one in 1803, and one in 1840; for the manufacture of chocolate, one in 1674; copper goods, one in 1818, and one in 1834; carriages, one in 1830; for making elevators, one in 1813; saddles,

[1] The sums stated since 1860 are currency rates.

[2] The results of the United States Census of 1880 are not available.

trunks, etc., one in 1819; manganese and plaster, one in 1645; friction matches, one in 1835; medicines, one in 1826; pianofortes, one each in 1831, 1842, 1843, and two in 1849; preserves and canned goods, one in 1822; razor-strops, one in 1827; rum, one in 1791; sails, one in 1820; silver and plated ware, one in 1820, one in 1821, one in 1830, and one in 1836; soda-water and beer, one in 1814; starch and gum, one in 1829; stoves, furnaces, and ranges, one each in 1823, 1830, 1839, 1840, 1842; tin-ware, one in 1826, one in 1835, four in 1837, one in 1838, and one in 1843; trusses, etc., one in 1832; umbrellas, one in 1810 and one in 1825; watches and clocks, one in 1793. The dates of the establishment of newspapers now in existence are given in the following list by years and number in each year: —

1804 1	1831 1	1849 2	1866 4
1813 1	1832 2	1850 2	1867 4
1815 1	1836 1	1851 2	1868 6
1819 2	1838 1	1852 1	1869 3
1820 1	1840 1	1854 2	1870 5
1821 1	1841 1	1857 2	1871 9
1822 1	1842 1	1859 2	1872 6
1823 . . . 1	1843 3	1860 2	1873 3
1824 2	1844 3	1862 1	1874 9
1825 1	1847 3	1864 2	1875 6
1830 2	1848 1	1865 4	

Our interest in the value of products from decade to decade has been excited by the consideration of all the data essential to the preparation of this brief account of the industries of Boston, and we have made an estimate of such value for each decade since 1780. To do this, all the elements entering into the growth of the city have been carefully weighed, — the increase of population, the census statements when available, and all the other elements in the matter. We have seen the necessity of such estimates so often, that we feel it almost a duty to insert them here, not as infallible, but yet as near the actual truth as we have been able to make them. They are valuable because no such estimates exist, and because made while the study of the industries of Boston is fresh in mind, and with the attention fixed upon the whole sweep of the period.

Table showing Actual and Estimated Value of the Annual Products of the Industries of Suffolk County (present territory) for the first Year of each Decade, from 1780 *to* 1880.

1780.	$3,000,000 to $4,000,000.	Estimated.	1850.	$45,000,000.	Estimated.
1790.	$4,500,000.	,,	1855.	$58,301,028.	Actual.
1800.	$6,500,000.	,,	1860.	$64,000,000.	Estimated.
1810.	$9,000,000.	,,	1865.	$110,000,000.	Actual.
1820.	$16,000,000.	,,	1870.	$120,000,000.	,,
1830.	$25,000,000.	,,	1875.	$140,809,856.	,,
1840.	$30,000,000.	,,	1880.	$150,000,000.	Estimated.

The details of the industries of Boston are fully given in the reports of the State and Federal censuses since 1837; we have, therefore, given less space to the consideration of details since that time than to those prior to the year 1837. A full historical and philosophical account of the industries of Boston would require a volume by itself, although the data from which such account would be drawn are meagre indeed, and exist mostly in fugitive statements of writers who did not pay particular attention to industrial interests, — one of the chief defects in all history. We have recorded in this sketch all that space would warrant, but it may be we have saved others the research necessary to the construction of this outline.

Carroll D. Wright.

Horace G. Wadlin.

CHAPTER IV.

BOSTON AS A CENTRE OF MANUFACTURING CAPITAL.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

IN order that we may fully comprehend the relative importance of the industrial arts in the social system, it would be well if we could give precision to the terms which we must use, lest we should be misled by words which have lost their original meaning, and are now applied, like the word "manufacture," to processes which they do not truly designate.

The application of capital to the construction of the great textile factories, to which the title of "manufactures" is apt to be limited in common thought, imposes somewhat upon the imagination, and may divert our attention from other branches. It has not been in that direction that the most characteristic work of Boston has been effected. In its conventional use the term "manufactures" is now applied almost wholly to the goods worked in factories under a divided system of labor, rather than to wares made in workshops in which true manufacture or handicraft still exists. This factory system has been almost exclusively the growth of the last century. It only became possible concurrently with the application of steam-power, — the substitution of the turbine for the old water wheel, the invention of automatic spinning machinery, of the power-loom, and of machine tools. It has been applied to other occupations than the textile arts and metal working, just in proportion to the displacement of manual labor and the substitution of mechanism, more or less automatic, — such as the sewing-machine, the engine lathe, the boot pegging and stitching machines, and the like.

The development of the factory system thus made possible by the substitution, in whole or in part, of mechanism for manual labor has worked great changes in the social order both of Boston and of Massachusetts; it has substituted in large measure the supervision of the agent or superintendent of the factory for the close personal intercourse of the employer with his journeymen and apprentices; and while it has increased abundance and reduced the arduous and long-continued hours of labor formerly necessary to subsistence, it has, on the other hand, made a division of society into classes, and has created an apparent but not real divergence of

interest between capitalists and laborers, which must call for wise discretion in the study of economic questions for many years to come.

The subject of this chapter may therefore be rightly divided into two parts: —

First, the work of Boston capital in the development of true manufactures.

Second, the work of Boston capital in the development of the factory system.

The two branches are, it is true, but different phases of the same work, but they mark a very distinct line in the application of capital to the general work of production. One class of work — chiefly the production of textile fabrics — has been carried on mainly by corporations numbering very many stock-holders; the other by individuals, or else by corporations which are only partnerships under a corporate title. In the one class, the function of the operative is to mend the broken ends and to cure the faults in the work of the machine, which almost, if not quite, takes care of itself; in the other the artisan must give direction to the tool or machine, and with trained hand and eye secure the just result. One kind of work becomes a habit, the other calls for constant mental as well as manual practice. In the one the machine, or in other words the capital, is the prime factor, the operative the lesser; in the other the artisan is paramount, and the machine only responds to his special skill.

In the first century and a half of the history of Boston the factory system was almost unknown, but true manufactures had been developed in great diversity.[1] The work was arduous indeed; and as yet all the mechanism required the application not only of the hand to direct, but of the head to control its operations. The master of any and all of the industrial arts was a craftsman who must have been initiated into the "mysteries" of his trade; the journeyman and the apprentice served the master and were taught by him. Human relations were closer than at the present time, and although the conditions of life were harder, and of labor more severe, yet brain, hand, and eye were trained together more adequately and universally than they now are.

The few fortunes acquired before the beginning of the nineteenth century had been mainly gained by merchants in the conduct of foreign commerce.[2] The town of Boston was then the centre of the traffic of a limited section of the interior; domestic exchanges could be made only within the narrow limits traversed by wagons on common roads, — limits a little extended, it is true, on rivers, and by pack-horses. On the sea long distances could be surmounted; but even there, legal obstructions were held in abeyance only until their enforcement became one of the acts which brought on the War of Independence, and the later war with Great Britain in 1812.

[1] [See the chapter on "The Industries of the last Hundred Years," by Messrs. Wright and Wadlin. — Ed.]

[2] [See the chapters on "Finance in Boston," and on "Trade, Commerce, and Navigation." — Ed.]

Up to the War of the Revolution, Boston, like New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other prominent places, was the centre of a homogeneous population peculiar to its own section. With few exceptions manufactures, in the modern conventional sense, it did not possess, nor had its capital then been devoted in any large measure to great works now usually included under that term.

Rope-walks must have been the most conspicuous examples of works within the town in any degree analogous to the modern factory.[1] Outside the limit of what is now the city of Boston the paper-mill constituted another example of a branch of manufacture in the modern sense, and some of the machines in use in the first mills constructed in the early part of the eighteenth century for the preparation of the pulp were the same in principle and almost identical with those that are still used for the same purpose.[2] The felt-maker also conducted the work of making hats in factories not unlike modern examples, only not so large; and that also is one of the few arts which, although now conducted in the factory, still remains in large measure a handicraft, so far as the felt or fur hats now worn are concerned.[3] The use of iron and steel, then as now, gave occupation to large numbers of persons within the town. To what extent the capital of Boston had been devoted to works for mining and smelting the ores and preparing these metals for use cannot now be fully determined; but when it is considered that the grievances which long preceded the final resistance of the citizens of Boston to the oppressive acts of Great Britain had consisted in her attempts to break down the production of iron and steel, of hats, of paper, of woollen cards, of woollen cloth, and other articles now conventionally known as manufactures, we may be very sure that the capital of the citizens of Boston had been largely invested in the iron and steel works, the paper-mills, the felt or hat making, and other branches of industry which constituted the infant manufactures of the country, and which have since been so widely extended; although these works were not to any great extent within the limits of the town.

[1] In 1793 there were fourteen rope factories in the town; but in that year a fire broke out in one of the largest, near Gray's Wharf, destroying it with six others, besides ninety-six other buildings. The selectmen then provided that no more should be constructed in the heart of the town, and tendered the use of the low land west of the Common, where six were built, all of which were burned in 1806; five were rebuilt, and fortunately these were all once more consumed in 1819, which ended the use of that region for such purposes.

[2] Paper-hangings had become such a leading article of Boston manufacture, that in 1790 it was estimated that Boston produced twenty-seven thousand rolls, which sufficed not only to supply the State, but to furnish considerable quantities for other States. [For the beginnings of paper manufacture see the chapter on "Industries," and Vol. II., p. 462, *note*. — Ed.]

[3] The Company of Felt-makers in London petitioned Parliament, in February, 1731, to prohibit the exportation of hats from the American Colonies, representing that foreign markets were supplied from thence, and not a few to Great Britain. Of these obnoxious manufacturers there were reported to be sixteen in Boston; whereupon an act was passed that "no hats or felts, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be put on board any vessel in any place within any of the British plantations, nor be laden upon any horse or other carriage to the intent to be exported from thence to any other plantation or to any other place whatever, upon forfeiture thereof; and the offender shall likewise pay £500 for every such offence."

The ground has been already so fully covered[1] in respect to these early undertakings, that the writer may well devote this chapter mainly to some of the later applications of capital.

One of the most beneficent of these more modern uses of capital was the establishment of what has since become the leading single industry of the city, — the manufacture of ready-made clothing, which was practically begun by the late John Simmons between 1830 and 1835, and soon after taken up on a large scale by Edward Locke, John Gove, Andrew Carney, and others. It gradually extended until it gave employment to 28,935 persons in the year 1875 within the State, of whom about 15,000 were employed in what may be called the clothing factories of Boston.

It has been one of the most complex branches of industry, and it now requires a high order of organizing ability for its successful working. The masters of this art are obliged to inform themselves of the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of each section of the country, in order that they may adapt the material and the shape and size of the garments to the different conditions of the trade, — the tall and spare lumbermen of Maine requiring an entirely different set of shapes, sizes, and materials from the heavy-built descendants of the Dutch farmers of Pennsylvania; the Scandinavian settlers of the Northwest calling for still different kinds of work; and so on throughout the country. When the freedman of the South began to prosper, a demand appeared for yet new and different shapes, sizes, and materials. The work of the clothier does not appeal to the imagination, like the great factory; it is conducted mainly in the upper stories of our high city buildings, and a stranger would only know of its existence as one of the most important applications of capital to manufacturing, if he happened to walk through the streets where the work is done, and witnessed the great crowd of well paid working men and women scattering to their homes at six o'clock in the afternoon. It is a great error to assume that this work is one in which any large number of the operatives are forced to be satisfied with insufficient wages. The poor sewing-woman sews poorly, and receives all that her work is worth. Skilful sewers earn much higher wages than factory operatives, and many enjoy even better conditions of life.

Another beneficent feature of this application of capital is in the distribution of the work over a very wide area. Garments, which have been cut and prepared by the application of most ingenious mechanism, are distributed over the whole area of New England, to be made up and finished; and in the homes of the people, the wives and daughters of the farmers apply their skill to the operation of the sewing-machine, and have developed a true home manufacture which is of great service to them in earning their subsistence.

Although the first invention of the sewing-machine may not be claimed by Boston, the development of one of the first and most successful of these

[1] [See the chapter on "The Industries of the last Hundred Years," by Messrs. Wright and Wadlin. — Ed.]

machines was accomplished here by Messrs. Grover & Baker, who now make beneficent use of the capital which they accumulated in their work.[1] To their inventions, and those of their coadjutors, has been mainly due the possibility of developing the manufacture of clothing in its present phase.

The change in the method of making boots and shoes, from the old fashion of the cobbler to the modern factory, has also been greatly promoted by the application of the skill and capital of Boston. The McKay and Wickersham sewing-machines, and the Sturtevant pegging machinery are examples of Boston inventions which have been of the utmost influence. The revolution began however in 1850, with the application of the Howe and Singer sewing-machines to stitching the upper leather. By these and other applications of science this art has been developed. To what extent Boston capital has been employed in this branch of the modern factory system it is impossible to define. The masters of the craft have changed from city to country, and from country to city, and with each new invention the conditions have changed. The art is singular in this, — that while it is at present, and has long been, the leading industry of the State, it has always been conducted by individual enterprise, and never with success under the corporate system. It requires the close application of personal interest, constant and most intelligent personal direction; and in every branch, from the preparation of the skin and tanning of the hide to the finish of the boot or shoe, there is a necessary combination of mechanism and manual dexterity essential to success. Hence there has always been a marked intellectual activity in the working people in this art, which has distinguished them from many of their associates. In the old Abolition days, when it cost something to be true to the principles of liberty, the shoemakers furnished more than their quota of energetic and aggressive men, and in the final struggle they were not wanting. This branch of industry has had its centre in Boston. It has grown by a process of evolution from the handicraft of the shop, until it has become a rare combination of mechanism and manual skill in the great factory. It is in one respect an example of the greatest efficiency of capital, the amount required for its establishment being very small in ratio to the annual product, and the earnings of the operatives being higher than in any other branch of work that nearly approaches it in magnitude.

Watch-making is another example of an art in which all the conditions have been radically changed by the application of machinery invented in Boston. Prior to 1852, each watch had been a thing by itself, in all its parts a handicraft; but at this time A. L. Denison and Edward Howard conceived the method of applying machine tools of most ingenious kind, and making all the parts interchangeable. Then the watch factory was called into existence. This art is one which, although conducted in the factory system, yet calls for the highest manual dexterity on the part of the men and women who do the work; and also for the application of the higher mathe-

[1] [See the chapter on "The Industries of the last Hundred Years." — Ed.]

matics to the various problems and methods of improvement that constantly occur in it. It has worked a complete change in the markets of the world; and the watches made at Waltham, where Boston capital has in large measure been applied, are adopted in the railway service of India and of other countries, after being subjected to the most exhaustive competition with other kinds.

In connection with this art, another inconspicuous application of Boston capital may be named. When the watches of home manufacture began to be very numerous, a demand sprang up for the little pasteboard boxes in which they are packed. Six years previous to his invention of machines for watch-making Mr. Denison had invented a simple machine for cutting the forms of these boxes. In the year 1850 his brother took charge of this work; soon after, the making of tags, labels, cardboard, and other similar articles was added, most ingenious and substantially unique machinery was applied to the work, and a large export trade was established,—until now more than five hundred persons are employed in Boston, while work is sent out to families in the country, giving regular employment to as many more.

Another application of the factory system may be found in the bag manufacture, established in Boston by Mr. Henry S. Chase, about the year 1850. The woven seamless bag for grain had then but lately come into use, when the application of the sewing-machine called attention to the possibility of meeting the demand for bags for other uses, the scope of which was hardly dreamed of by the projectors of the enterprise. This was in the early days of the sewing-machine, and before the reputation of the standard makers had been made. The plan was conceived of building sewing-machines specially adapted to this work; and this was accomplished by Mr. John E. Bachelder,— a partner with Mr. Chase,— whose inventions, made during its progress, were adopted by the leading makers of other sewing-machines, and constituted an important element in their final success. The next necessity was for a printing-press which should both print the labels upon the cloth and cut it at the same time into lengths and shapes suited to each special purpose. This also was soon accomplished. The work done in Boston is still large; but as the demand for bags is chiefly in the West, the original firm, as well as others, have established large factories in St. Louis, Chicago, and other places, until it is estimated that two hundred thousand bags are now made every day from textile fabrics, to contain flour, hams, salt, and for the innumerable uses to which they are applied. The work has hardly begun, as bags are rapidly displacing barrels in the export traffic in flour, being cheaper, more easily handled, and capable of much more compact stowage. Thus this art forms a not unimportant element in our great export of the product of wheat.

Another application of mechanical science which has become a special branch of work upon the factory system, although seldom named as a

special manufacture, may be found in the elevator, which has become an essential part of the apparatus of every large warehouse and hotel. The first elevator for the use of a hotel was made by the late Otis Tufts of Boston, and applied in the Fifth Avenue Hotel of New York. It worked by means of a large screw operating vertically through the cab; and although quite different in its mechanism from those now in use, this elevator was the germ of a system which has altered all the conditions of the use of city buildings throughout this country, and has greatly changed the conditions affecting the distribution of population.

No record of the application of Boston capital to manufactures would be complete which failed to include the piano. It may not be claimed that Jonas Chickering actually established this work, but to him belongs its great development. He began business on his own account in 1823, and continued in charge of it until his death in 1853, since which time his sons have conducted it. Under this honored name more than sixty thousand pianos have been made since April, 1823. In 1880 nearly three thousand were added to the list.

Another characteristic application of Boston capital to manufactures has been in respect to reed organs. In 1854 Messrs. Mason & Hamlin began business on a very small scale, in the manufacture of melodeons, so called, — that being the best instrument of the class then known. It very soon proved to be an imperfect and unsatisfactory instrument, and experiments were instituted for an improvement. At first, progress was very slow; and it was not until the year 1861 that they succeeded in making a satisfactory cabinet or parlor organ, substantially in its present form. The merits of the new instrument were immediately recognized, and its sale extended not only to all parts of the United States, but to all parts of the civilized world. Others followed the lead of these makers; and the business has increased, until there are manufactured annually in the United States between seventy and eighty thousand cabinet or parlor organs, valued at $5,000,000, or more. Of these the original projectors manufacture between ten and twelve thousand; and a large portion of the remainder is also made in Boston at the present time. In both these branches, — pianos and organs, — various ingenious machines have been applied to several parts of the work; but it still remains in great measure a craft calling for especial skill, and for the application of brain and hand together in order to assure success, — the machinery being the lesser factor, and the special skill of the artisan the greater.

After this consideration of the special branches of work which have been gradually brought into the factory system during a comparatively recent period, — which are but a few of the characteristic branches of manufacture, in the conventional sense, which have originated in Boston, — one may not be surprised to find in the data of Carroll D. Wright's admirable census of Massachusetts for 1875 the proof that the value of the product

of "Manufactures and Related Occupations in Suffolk County" (comprising Boston and Chelsea) exceeded that of any other county in Massachusetts by over $40,000,000. It amounted to $140,809,856, out of a total for the State of $592,331,962.

In another respect it is proved that the principal and most beneficent application of Boston capital to manufactures has been within its own limits, by the fact that the number of persons employed therein in 1875 was larger than in any other county, comprising forty-six thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven, out of a total of two hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and thirty-nine; while the wages or earnings of the persons employed averaged very much higher. The average in the whole State was $475.76 per annum; in Suffolk County, $616.23. The next highest average was in Plymouth County, $472.62; Worcester County next, $453.96; and Middlesex fourth, $452.55.

Boston also stands as the example of the greatest diversity of occupation in the manufacturing and mechanic arts. These establishments vary in their importance, from the single one in which one hundred dollars of capital are devoted to the annual production of one hundred and fifty dollars' worth of "insect bellows" to the three hundred and thirty-four in which somewhat less than five million dollars' worth of capital is applied to the annual manufacture of nearly sixteen million dollars' worth of clothing. They include those devoted to the making of pianos (in which art, as has been said, the late Jonas Chickering first gave reputation to American instruments, and established the name of Boston), as well as those in which Boston crackers are made, — the latter still a handicraft calling for special skill not yet attained in any other city. They comprise among their number the works of Mr. E. S. Ritchie, whose mariner's compass carries the name of Boston, under many a foreign flag, to the great harbors of the world where the flag of our own country now seldom appears.

The number of separate titles under which Mr. Wright listed the manufactures of the city in 1875 was 381; the number of establishments, 2,616; the value of the products, $112,214,147. Under the head of "Related Occupations" the number of titles was 142; of establishments, 3,033; value of products $23,717,357. Total, — titles, 523; establishments, 5,649; value of products, $135,931,504.

Among the counties of Massachusetts, Essex County stands second to Suffolk in the diversity of its occupations; and among the cities, Worcester stands next to Boston.

The application of machinery to the arts of life, the development of manufactures, the concentration of the work under the factory system, the division of labor, and the diversity of occupation which have marked the conditions of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and especially of the town and city of Boston, have been a process of natural and necessary evolution. The various changes which have occurred in this progress have been in some measure effected by war and by legislation. Some branches

of manufacture have been developed more rapidly than they might have been by changes in the laws for the collection of revenue, while others have been retarded or even destroyed by the same statutes. It would be out of place in this work to do more than call attention to this fact, in order that the place of Boston may be defined as the great example, within the State, of that necessary diversity of occupation which must exist among a free and civilized people, whatever the statute policy or method of collecting revenue may be. In like manner in the great cities of the West, — the industrial centres of States in which the possibilities of agriculture are vastly greater than in Massachusetts, — the development of manufactures is proceeding with great rapidity, and many of the applications of machinery and of the factory system which originated with us are now carried on in these Western cities on a yet grander scale. In fact it is rapidly becoming apparent that so long as the legal obstructions to commerce, to ship-building, and ship-owning are permitted to continue in force, the city that is flanked on one side by the sea is at the wrong end of a railroad as compared to its sister city in the interior.

We may now make a brief record of the most conspicuous example of the application of Boston capital to manufactures, using the latter word in its most conventional and limited sense, in its application to the construction of the textile factory. The history of this work is marked by broad lines, and has been well written by many persons; but this memorial would be incomplete without a repetition of some of its most salient points.

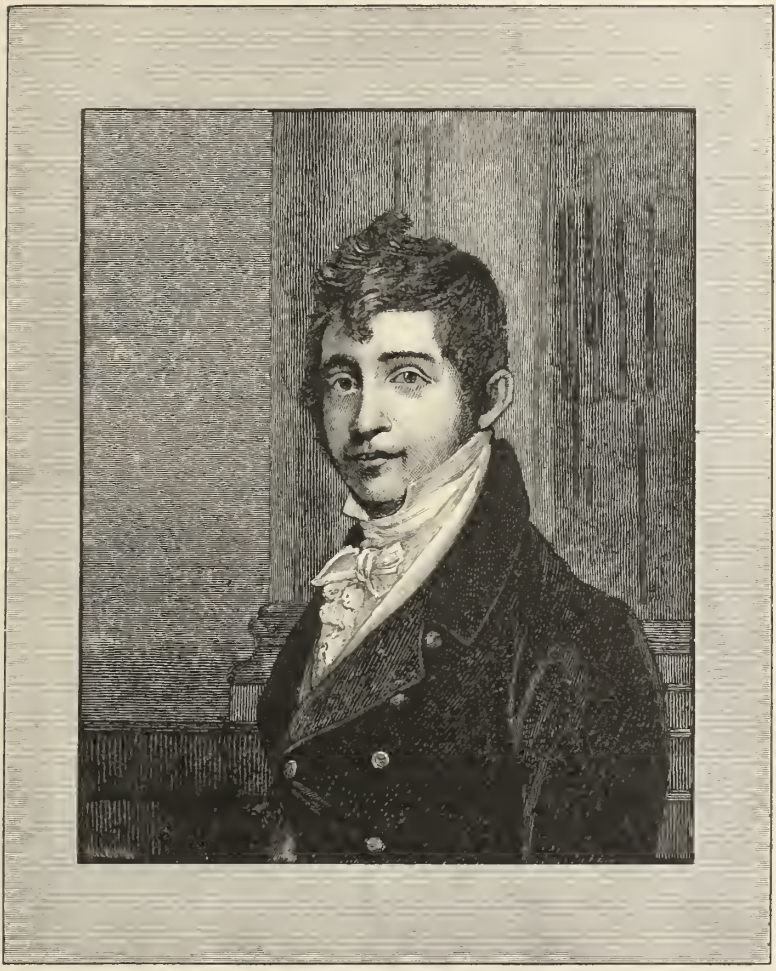
Although the linen fabric in which the mummies of Egypt are wrapped is the oldest known example of the textile art, it is fair to infer that a fabric made of cotton was the first spun and woven by human fingers, as cotton is indigenous in Central Asia, whence our ancestors are supposed to have migrated; and also because the fibre of cotton requires no artificial preparation, like wool and flax, in order that it may be spun. It is in the power of any one to spin a thread with the fingers from a ripe boll of unginned cotton, then to double and twist it into a strong strand, and by tying the ends of a warp to a set of reeds, to throw in the weft by means of a "picker stick," which might be prepared with a flint implement so as to serve its purpose. In the course of the development of the art there have been only two original inventions which can be traced to their source, — the extension of the strand, commonly called "spinning by rollers," which was applied by Arkwright, though probably not invented by him; and the saw-gin, invented by Eli Whitney. All the other appliances consist of modifications of pre-historic machines. These two inventions created the modern cotton factory, yet both are still imperfect in important particulars; and the cotton fabric which meets the highest requirements of art is still the product of the human finger and of the hand loom, — the Dacca muslin of India, sometimes called "woven wind."

The germ of the modern cotton factory was established by Samuel Slater, the son of a land agent of Jedediah Stratt, the partner of Arkwright. He had been an apprentice in the "art of cotton spinning," and, migrating to this country in the latter part of the last century, became not only the founder of the art of cotton spinning, but, as has been well said by Mr. John L. Hayes in one of his articles on the textile arts, he also became the founder of "the manufacture of American textile machinery;" and thus not only established the modern cotton factory, but the modern woollen and worsted factory as well.

The germ of the woollen factory had existed from a very early date in the numerous fulling-mills in which the homespun cloth of our ancestors was finished, and at a later period in the carding-mills in which the wool was prepared for spinning on the hand-wheel; but there was no complete example of the modern woollen factory in all its parts until 1830, when the Middlesex Mills were constructed, mainly by Boston capital, at Lowell.

The first application of power to the spinning of wool had been made at Peacedale, R. I., in 1819, in a factory established in 1800 by Rowland Hazard, and by his sons Isaac P. and Rowland G., the latter of whom still devotes his great ability not only to the material but to the mental progress of the country. The power-loom was also first introduced for weaving broad woollen goods in the same factory in 1828. The woollen manufacture is almost coëval with the settlement of the country, and the prototype of the modern factory was to be found, as already said, in the fulling and carding mills from a very early date. In 1737, two thousand persons, or about one tenth part of the population of Boston, were engaged in making cards for carding wool, to supply the need of New England.

Up to 1814 the work of the cotton factory had been confined to spinning yarn which was woven upon hand-looms in the homes of the people; but a little later the power-loom was introduced and applied to cotton fabrics by the late Francis C. Lowell of Boston, whose attention had been called to it while dwelling abroad in 1811 and 1812, and who returned to this country in 1813. He at once found associates among his fellow-citizens of Boston; and, securing the services of Paul Moody, began the construction of the modern cotton factory at Waltham. Soon followed the founding of Lowell: the starting of the Merrimack Mills, in September, 1823, completed the introduction of the cotton manufacture into the United States in its modern form. To repeat the names of Jackson, Boott, Lawrence, Lowell, Batchelder, and many others, would be but to name those who succeeded the great merchants of an older time, and by whom the capital of Boston was in part diverted from the commerce in which it had been mainly engaged, up to the time of the embargo of 1809–1811 and the war of Great Britain in 1812, to the establishment of textile manufactures in the modern factory. These restrictions upon commerce, as well as the interruption of it caused by the war, had produced great reverses of fortune and hardships among the people of New England; and the estab-



NATHAN APPLETON.[1]

lishment of the factory system applied to textile fabrics aided greatly in restoring prosperity to the people.

It was not until a much later date than the first inception of this method that it became the subject of political contention, and led to the great legis-

[1] [This portrait follows a likeness by Stuart, belonging to Mr. Appleton's son-in-law, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and is by his kind permission engraved. Mr. Appleton was born Oct. 6, 1779, and died July 14, 1861. See the memoir of Mr. Appleton in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, October, 1861, p. 249, prepared by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop; also the latter's *Speeches*, 1852–1867, p. 502; the notice of Mr. Appleton in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1862; and *Monumental Memorials of the Appleton Family*, by Dr. John Appleton, 1867, who also issued in 1864 a tabular pedigree of the family. Mr. Appleton's children by his first wife, Maria Theresa Gold of Pittsfield, were: Thomas Gold (H.C. 1831), well known for his benefactions and interest in art; Mary, who married R. J. Mackintosh, son of Sir James; Charles Sedgwick, who died 1835; and Fanny, wife of Mr. Longfellow, who died July 10, 1861. By a second wife, Harriot C. Sumner, Mr. Appleton was the father of William S., Harriot, and Nathan. — ED.]

lative conflicts which have not yet ended. Nathan Appleton and Abbott Lawrence, two of the founders of the factory system, with other men whose names are as historic as these two in connection with the work done by Boston capital, took part, Oct. 2, 1820, in a great meeting in Faneuil Hall, in protesting against the perversion of the revenue system in such way as to make the development of the factory system the main purpose of the statute and the collection of revenue the incident. James Perkins, Samuel P. Gardner, William Shimmin, John Dorr, and William Sturgis were the committee who framed the resolutions, and Daniel Webster was the speaker who sustained them. The identity of the interests of merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and mechanics was never presented more forcibly before or since. Mr. Webster deprecated the vacillating policy which might ensue if the measures then pressed mainly by the South were adopted. He could "hardly conceive of anything worse than a policy which should place the great interests of the country in hostility to one another, — a policy which should keep them in constant conflict, and bring them every year to fight their battles in the committee rooms of the House of Representatives at Washington. . . . For his part, he believed that the principle of leaving such things very much to their own course, in a country like ours, was the only true policy; and that we could no more improve the order and habit and composition of society by an artificial balancing of trades and occupations than we could improve the natural atmosphere by means of the condensers and rarefiers of the chemists."

This remarkable speech, which is not included in any published collection of Webster's speeches, and can be referred to only as it appeared in the columns of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of Oct. 11, 1820, represented the solid sense of the great merchants as well as of the great manufacturers who had introduced the textile arts into Massachusetts under the factory system. Unfortunately their views did not prevail; the measures forced on New England by the South with the hope of making an almost exclusive home market for cotton were carried, and the capital of Boston and of Massachusetts was adjusted to the new conditions. Up to that time a very simple and moderate revenue system had prevailed, under which all the arts of peace had proceeded in their development in due order; the reaction which ensued after the war of 1812 had been overcome; but since then the application of capital to manufactures has been subject to constant vacillation and change in the revenue laws. Since 1820 there have been thirty-three separate acts of legislation for the collection of revenue from customs, many of them gravely altering the conditions, especially in the textile arts.

But the application of new capital to the new conditions has been constant; and although we have now the most complex and obstructive system of taxation, both National and State, that ever prevailed in a civilized country, — a system which must be changed as the absolutely necessary condition precedent to any true reform of the civil service, — our manufac-

tures, including textile fabrics as well as all others, are on a firm foundation and fairly prosperous.

The dangers of artificially or prematurely imposing the factory system upon the State by special legislation, which Mr. Webster and his associates so much feared, have not been as great as he anticipated. He said that "two generations, in his opinion, would change the whole face of New England society." In little more than two generations since that speech was made, the face of New England society has been changed in even greater measure than Mr. Webster could have foreseen; the whole system of agriculture which he then knew has been profoundly altered by the introduction of the railroad; foreign commerce, of the kind that he witnessed and sustained, has almost disappeared, and the factory system has been adopted not only in textile manufactures, but in almost all other branches of industry; yet the State and the city still maintain their prosperity, and the changes of legislation have only altered the distribution of property and changed in some measure the conditions of progress.

At that time no rule had become established, but for many years after, and as late as 1840, the amount of capital needed to establish a textile factory was more than double what is now required; the customary hours of labor were thirteen, sometimes even fourteen per day, against ten at the present time; the labor was continuous, and the product of yarn or cloth was only one half what it is now per day, — less than one half what it now is per hour, — while wages were only one half what they now are. The factory was low studded and ill ventilated, and all the conditions of the work were arduous.

As the obstructions to commerce caused by the war, the embargo, and revenue changes diverted capital from its previous uses, the occupations of the factory took the place of those which had previously been followed, and for a long period the textile factories, as well as others, were filled almost wholly by the natives of New England. As late as 1860 there was here and there a cotton or woollen factory in which the operatives were mostly native; but with the application of machinery to other pursuits, and the greater demands of trade, work was found, especially for women, either at higher wages or else under conditions of life which the American women preferred. Presently the factory operatives became mostly of foreign birth, — English, Irish, and German; and a little later their places were again taken by the French Canadians, who now constitute the larger proportion of the operatives in the textile factories which are worked by Boston capital.

Among the strange anomalies of our day, reference may be made to the singular fact that a section of country may still be reached within forty-eight hours' ride from Boston which is now only just being opened by the railroad, and which neither the factory system nor the fabrics of the factory itself have yet penetrated. In the very heart of the country, a sparse population inhabiting the fertile valleys of the Alleghanies and the hill-sides of the lateral mountain ranges of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Caro-

linas still clothe themselves in the product of the hand-loom, and the whirr of the spinning-wheel may be heard now, as it was of old in New England, in every household. Cut off from their fellows by the surrounding pall of slavery, the free people of these mountains have brought the industry of the eighteenth, and some of the customs of the seventeenth, down even to the end of the nineteenth century; so that one may study all the changes which have occurred in the industry of New England in two hundred years by passing from the heart of western North Carolina northerly through Virginia and Maryland to Pennsylvania. Just as he may find between the top of Roan Mountain in North Carolina and the sea toward the east nearly all the flora and fauna which may be found from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, so he may pass from the spinning-wheel, the hand-loom, the domestic still, and the wayside iron-furnace worked with charcoal, through small yarn-mills and coarse weaving-mills and by the lesser iron-works to the larger factories of northern Virginia and Maryland, until he reaches the great factories and works of Pennsylvania.

In this short journey he may witness the working of the great economic laws by which human welfare is assured in the end, however much it may have been retarded by obstructive statutes enforcing slavery or preventing commerce among men and nations. He may prove one proposition which underlies all progress; namely, that the more completely the productions of the factory, the field, the forest, or the mine are compassed by the application of machinery, the less the number of persons needed in the art, the shorter the hours of labor, the higher the wages or earnings, and the lower the cost of the finished commodity. In a seven-days' journey the citizen of Boston may still study the industrial facts of two hundred and fifty years' progress, and witness with his own eyes most of the arduous conditions of life to which his ancestors were subjected; while the citizens of the late slave-stricken States may in an equal time, by visiting New England, find evidence of the opportunity for welfare and progress which has been opened to them only within the present generation by the removal of the curse of slavery.

The writer has attempted to bring into view the necessary development of manufactures in a free community; first, as handicrafts, sometimes pursued in the factory, but mainly in the workshops and homes of the people; second, in the modern factory, in which complex machinery operated by water or steam power is applied, and the work is so divided that it may happen that a single small cam must pass through various processes and machines operated by sixty different persons, before it is ready for its place in the sewing-machine of which it forms a part.

This development has proceeded in Boston under the grave disadvantages of frequent change in the system of national taxation, by which the direction in which its citizens might safely use their capital has been constantly altered. It has witnessed many periods like those predicted by Mr. Webster in the great speech to which reference has been made, when

"agriculturists have been taxed to-day to sustain manufactures, commerce taxed to-morrow to sustain agriculture, and then impositions proposed upon both manufactures and agriculture to sustain commerce," by means of subsidies and bounties. The first chapter of the next Memorial History may record the fact, that, soon after this Memorial was written, the conclusion had become general which was presented by Mr. Webster more than sixty years since, as the spokesman of the great merchants and manufacturers of Boston by whom that Faneuil Hall meeting was then called, "that when government had exhausted its invention in these modes of legislation, it found the result less favorable than the original and natural course of things," and they were then given up.

Fortunately for this nation, the perpetuity of the Union of these States was assured by that provision of the Constitution which forbids any State law being passed, interfering with or obstructing commerce between the several States. The commerce of a continent thus united must ever be vastly greater than any foreign traffic across the sea; and under its beneficent working the conditions of manufacturing in Boston, and the application of its capital, have been fostered and promoted more than they could be harmed by the interruption to its foreign commerce, on which the town so much depended in its early history. The railroad has overcome the obstacles of time and distance; and by bringing the cost of moving a year's subsistence of flour and meat a thousand miles to the measure of a single day's work of a good mechanic, it has effected a vast development of manufactures in and around the city, thus giving employment to persons who without this power would have been forced to labor arduously in the effort to glean a more scanty subsistence from our sterile soil. Coincident with the working of the railway have come the application of steam power, the use of gas, the elevator, and the application of complex machinery to every variety of work. Under the combined action of these forces the upper stories of the great warehouses of the new city have become one vast factory.

But the necessity or convenience of living near their work has caused an unwholesome concentration of the working people in the narrow streets of the older parts of the city. Within the municipal limits, however, are still great areas of almost unoccupied territory, in which the mink may be trapped and musk-rats are the most numerous inhabitants. When the next Memorial History is written, the record of the last two decades of the nineteenth century will cover the effects of the telephone, of the elevated railroad, of the diffusion of steam-power over wide areas, of the electric light, and perhaps of the transmission of power by electricity. It may then, possibly, be written that at about the present date, or a little later, the manufactures of Boston were moved from the upper stories of the crowded centre, and were spread over the whole area of its territory in low and broad factories, well lighted and ventilated, to which the power and the light were transmitted from the seaboard where the coal was landed; and that at the same time the working people were transferred from the unwholesome

streets, courts, and tenement-houses in which they had been confined to detached dwellings, each occupying its own small parcel of land; while the owners and managers remained in the central offices, using the telephone in the direction of the work, and passing quickly to the factory over elevated roadways, free from the obstruction of snow or of the city traffic, and on cars worked by electricity.

To this record of the change in the city factory system, it may perhaps be added that the rediscovered method of saving green crops in pits had made it possible for the working people in the factories to spend the greater leisure which the constant improvement in machinery in their factory work had enabled them to enjoy, in keeping cows and poultry, and in establishing gardens on small parcels of land which had never before sufficed for such purposes. In such event, it may be written that the more the few had gained in wealth the more the many gained in welfare; that both capitalist and laborer had learned, once for all, that all interests are harmonious; and that personal liberty, under laws enacted for the sole purposes of promoting education and establishing justice, with the least possible interference with the freely chosen pursuits of the people, had proved to be the key to the greatest prosperity of all classes of society.

Edward Atkinson

CHAPTER V.

THE CANAL AND RAILROAD ENTERPRISE OF BOSTON.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR.

Member of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners from 1869 to 1879; and Chairman of the Board from 1872 to 1879.

THE Erie Canal was opened in 1825. The success of that great public work, and the consequences more or less remote which it involved were at the time matter for very serious reflection to those having the material future of Boston at heart. So far as the interior of the continent and the commerce of the great lakes were concerned, these were questions by themselves. They hardly came within the New England business horizon. What the more far-seeing Bostonians then had in view was the supremacy of their city as a local centre. This, the success of the Erie Canal greatly jeopardized; for that canal was part of a growing system of interior communication, which system had now in turn received from it a strong impetus. Canal navigation, however, naturally followed the course of the rivers, and none of the considerable New England rivers were tributary to Boston. On the contrary, the Blackstone flowed by Providence, and the Connecticut by Hartford; both of which towns were but stopping-places on the way to New York. It was obvious, therefore, that a natural development of any New England canal-system would make all the interior counties of Massachusetts tributary to New York, and leave Boston isolated.

The problem of 1825 was, then, how to overcome, or, if not to overcome, at least to counteract in so far as might be, the natural disadvantages of situation. Nor was this problem now presented for the first time. The scale was merely somewhat enlarged. As respects diversion of traffic, the Merrimac had once threatened to be to Boston what the Blackstone and Connecticut were now becoming. Improvements in the channel of that river had made it inevitable that, unless something was done to control events, the whole interior of New Hampshire would look to Portsmouth as its point of distribution, instead of to Boston. The Middlesex Canal had then solved the difficulty. This, the first considerable thing of the sort undertaken in America, had been projected very shortly after the close of the Revolutionary struggle: indeed, it was characteristic of the people that just so soon as politics and war ceased to occupy their whole thoughts, their

surplus mental activity directed itself towards questions of internal improvement. The idea of a canal, intended to connect the upper waters of the Merrimac with Boston Harbor, was then conceived.

The act incorporating the company authorized to build this canal passed the Legislature in June, 1793, and received the signature of Governor Hancock, then in the last year of his life. Among the corporators were James Winthrop of Cambridge, Oliver Prescott of Groton, James Sullivan of Boston, and Jonathan Porter of Medford. No amount of capital or number of shares of stock was fixed. The original plan was to connect the Merrimac at some point in Chelmsford with the Mystic at a point in Medford; but the charter was subsequently so amended that the southern outlet was at tidewater in Charlestown, on the Charles. The surveys were made by an English engineer named Weston, educated in the James Brindley school of canal constructors; and it is said that the first levelling instrument ever made use of in America was used in the location of the Middlesex Canal.[1] The whole process of the work was superintended by Loammi Baldwin, the elder of the name. Baldwin was a native of Woburn, and had been a colonel in the Revolutionary army. A son of his, also a civil engineer, later bore the same name and title, which thus became closely associated with all the early schemes of internal improvement in Massachusetts.[2]

Twenty-seven miles in length, this canal, in going northward from tidewater, ascended one hundred and seven feet by means of thirteen locks. It reached its highest altitude in North Billerica, where it drew its supply of water from the Concord River. Then crossing that river it descended twenty-one feet, by means of three locks, striking the Merrimac above the Pawtucket Falls, in what was then East Chelmsford, subsequently, in 1824, incorporated as Lowell. The bed of the canal was four feet deep and thirty wide. It was navigated by boats of twenty-four tons burden, which occupied twelve hours in the average passage through it; and, by means of improvements in the Merrimac, water-connection was made as far north as Concord, New Hampshire, some seventy-five miles from Boston.

While the Middlesex Canal was in course of construction, a project for a similar work to connect Worcester County with the seaboard at Boston was also agitated. Its route even had been surveyed by General Knox, of Revolutionary fame, in 1791. It encountered however another project, much better designed, for a canal along the Blackstone to Providence; and, between the jealousies excited by the two conflicting schemes, nothing at this time came of either.

[1] Stuart's *Civil and Military Engineers of America*, p. 129.

[2] The surname is, however, more familiar in another connection. One autumn day, while surveying the route of the Middlesex Canal in Wilmington, old Col. Baldwin chanced across an apple tree, the fruit of which was very red and handsome; upon trial he found it, also, to be so excellent in flavor that he thereafter took pains to grow an orchard from that tree, which thus became the progenitor of the famous Baldwin apple; which seems likely to perpetuate its discoverer's name long after the canal he built, already abandoned and filled up, shall be forgotten. [See Colonel Wilder's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

In 1825, therefore, the whole practical experience of the people of Boston in the matter of canals had been limited to the Middlesex. Neither had that experience been of at all an encouraging nature. The canal itself, and the river improvements of the Merrimac necessarily involved in the enterprise, cost together upwards of half a million of dollars, — a very large sum for the time, when the whole assessed valuation of Boston was but fifteen millions. It meant probably much more than an investment of twenty millions would have meant in 1880. Begun in 1794, the canal was opened to traffic in 1803, and during the next thirty years was of great commercial use in bringing to Boston the lumber and produce of the region tributary to the upper Merrimac, and carrying general merchandise back; but the territorial area thus drained and supplied was after all insignificant in extent, and neither rich nor populous. The gross annual income of the canal company was accordingly never much over $20,000, and during the first fifteen years of operation no dividends were paid on its stock. After 1818, and until the railroad was built, they averaged about one and a half per cent a year. They then ceased altogether. Financially, therefore, the undertaking was far from being a success. After 1835 traffic fell rapidly off, and the receipts failed to meet the expenses of repair; consequently, business was finally suspended on June 1, 1853, and in 1859 the charter of the company was declared forfeited.[1]

The Middlesex Canal had, therefore, been twenty-two years in operation, when in October, 1825, Governor De Witt Clinton, of New York, made his triumphal passage in a state barge from Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Hudson, and symbolized the union of the two by mingling their waters. The people of Massachusetts, however, had not waited for this event before they began to bestir themselves. While practical men were turning over the plans and estimates for a canal like the Middlesex, as far at least as Worcester County, and possibly to the Connecticut, some of the more visionary had suddenly enlarged the horizon, and were looking to the Hudson. In fact, stimulated thereto by the eager confidence of these believers in the possibilities of the future, the Legislature had already, by a resolve which bore date on Feb. 25, 1825, provided for a commission "to ascertain the practicability of making a canal from Boston Harbor to Connecticut River," and "of extending the same to some point on the Hudson River in the State of New York, in the vicinity of the junction of the Erie Canal with that river." The report of that commission, a bulky document, for those days, of two hundred and sixty pages, was transmitted to the Legislature by Governor Lincoln, on Jan. 11, 1826. Subsequent experience has lent a peculiar interest and significance to it. It illustrates very forcibly the difference between estimates and actual cost.

[1] [Caleb Eddy published an *Historical Sketch of the Middlesex Canal* in 1843; and this and various other bibliographical items regarding it are given in Hunnewell's *Bibliography of Charlestown*, 1880. See also Amory's *James Sullivan*, i. and ii.; and Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, and *History of Middlesex County*. — ED.]

The surveys were made by the younger Colonel Loammi Baldwin, the elder having died in 1807, and were in two parts. One covered the route from Boston to the Connecticut River; the other, that from the Connecticut to the Hudson. The eastern part of the proposed work presented, comparatively speaking, few difficulties. There were two practicable lines found, — the southern by way of Worcester, and the northern by way of Fitchburg. The northern, or Miller's River route, was finally recommended for two reasons: (1) because the Berkshire Hills, west of the Connecticut, could be passed only at one point, and that in direct continuation of the Miller's River route; and (2) because it was "to be presumed that when boats have passed down the [Connecticut] River over the serious difficulties which exist from the mouth of Miller's River, they will continue on to Hartford, — the channel being clear and the distance short, — rather than proceed to Boston; and consequently all the country above Miller's River, instead, as is ardently desired, of looking to the latter city as a great market for sale and purchase, may gradually seek and ultimately find one in another direction, which would render a canal that shall intersect Connecticut River at Springfield of little comparative consequence to Boston."

A strong preference accordingly was expressed for the northern line. The rise and fall to be overcome was reported at one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six feet, calling for about four hundred locks. The approximate cost of the work was estimated at $3,000,000, — of which $20,000, it was thought, would suffice for land damages and water rights, and $20,000 more for building the necessary reservoirs. The cost of the canal proper was estimated at an average of $8,000 per mile.

Crossing the Connecticut, the problem became in one sense far more difficult to solve, though in another sense it was almost distressingly simple. There was but one point at which the Berkshire range could be penetrated by a canal at all, and that was at the point where the Deerfield River, on the east side of the Hoosac Mountain, and the Hoosac River, on its west side, are but four miles apart, — the point where the Hoosac Tunnel now is, the idea of which was thus first suggested. The canal-tunnel project was adopted by Colonel Baldwin as the only alternative to a system of locks crossing the hills through the Stamford and Readsborough gorge in the same vicinity, but beyond the Vermont line. Not that he considered this last method of overcoming the difficulty at all impracticable. On the contrary, his surveys, he claimed, made its feasibility very probable. His objections were based on the increased length of route involved, the consequent cost, and the loss of time in operating. There would have to be, he argued, two hundred and twenty locks in eighteen miles of canal, requiring two days in the passage. The cost of these extra eighteen miles of lockage was estimated at $2,090,000. The tunnel, on the contrary, would require only one hour and twenty minutes in its passage, "provided it is furnished with a towing path, which should be the case."

The cost of this tunnel, Colonel Baldwin then went on to report, "it

is difficult to ascertain with much exactness, although great exertions have been made to collect information on the subject." In view, however, of the subsequent experience of the State in piercing that very mountain, Colonel Baldwin's now long-forgotten original estimate is one of the curiosities of engineering literature. It was made, it is true, when the purchasing value of the dollar, as respects both labor and material, was much greater than it now is; but on the other hand this advantage was far more than off-set by the facts that tunnelling had not then become a science, and that the work was to be done by hand-drilling, with the use of no explosive more powerful than gunpowder. Indeed, it may, in the light of subsequent experience, well be doubted whether under such circumstances it was, humanly speaking, possible to tunnel the mountain at any cost. Colonel Baldwin, however, made his estimates with caution, availing himself of all the light which experience could then afford. He said: "In a tunnel four miles in length, of the size named, there will be two hundred and eleven thousand two hundred cubic yards of stone to excavate, which at $4.25 per cubic yard amounts to $920,832." But in reaching this result the highest price which any tunnel has cost per cubic yard had been assumed, in order to put his estimate "beyond a doubt." He then added: "Thus it appears that the construction of a tunnel will be $1,169,168 less than the expense of crossing the mountain in Vermont."

These conclusions did not at the time pass unchallenged. David Henshaw, a prominent Democratic politician, afterward collector of the port of Boston, argued in the columns of the *Courier*, that on one basis of estimate the time required to complete the work would be fifty-two years; and upon another basis it would be one hundred and eighty-two years. The last estimate would probably, under the circumstances of the time, have proved the more nearly accurate of the two, had the work been attempted; which it fortunately was not. The idea, however, thus thrown out by Colonel Baldwin obtained a lodgment in the public mind. It was, it is true, years before it germinated; but when it did germinate, as will presently be seen, it gave in later times and under altered conditions a false and disastrous direction to the thoughts and energies of the State. Just fifty years[1] after Colonel Baldwin's report was presented, the Hoosac Tunnel was opened through the mountain from side to side. Instead, however, of having proved "not more difficult than the cut on the 'Mountain Ridge' on the Erie Canal," which would have made its total expense $370,000, it had in fact cost at least thirty times that amount, and some ten-fold that original estimate which was "beyond a doubt." And yet Colonel Baldwin's report was extremely conservative in tone, and undoubtedly justified by everything,—except the stubborn facts of subsequent experience.

The entire cost of the canal from Boston to the Hudson, including the tunnel, was estimated at $6,023,172. The commissioners of 1825, therefore, presented as part of their report a financial scheme. As it was proposed to

[1] February 9, 1875.

construct only the canal to the Connecticut at once, the amount required was but $3,000,000, — the annual interest upon which, estimated at $150,000, was to be provided for by a canal fund. This fund it was proposed to raise from six different sources, the discussion of one of which — a State lottery — affords a suggestive illustration of the great progress in ethics, as well as in finance, which has since been made in Massachusetts.[1]

The report of the canal commissioners was laid before the Legislature in January, 1826. Perhaps that body was alarmed at the magnitude of the scheme; or it may have been discouraged at the length of time which would be required to carry it out: possibly the argument in regard to lotteries failed to commend itself to all. In any event nothing further was done; and, in disregard of the Governor's recommendations, not only was a resolve authorizing further surveys laid upon the table, but that under which the surveys had already been made was repealed. The canal project was, however, by no means abandoned; it had its friends, and they were active and in earnest. It so happened, however, that in this very Legislature it encountered another project from which it would hardly have been supposed that it had anything to fear, but which soon gave a wholly new direction to men's thoughts.

On June 17 in the previous year the corner-stone of the Bunker-Hill Monument had been laid by Lafayette. The occasion was a memorable one, and among those who took part in it was Gridley Bryant, a builder by trade, but also a self-educated engineer. Born in Scituate in 1789, Bryant was at this time thirty-six years of age; and in the ceremony of laying the corner-stone he officiated as master builder. A man of the George Stephenson type, — inventive, energetic, and full of resource, — Bryant had

[1] The commissioners say: "Enquiries have been prosecuted to ascertain the sum annually expended in this State for the purchase of lottery tickets, and from the best information which can be obtained, there is no doubt that it amounts to over $250,000; and this large expenditure has been made when there is a law of the Commonwealth prohibiting the traffic altogether; which shews conclusively that the public voice is against legislative interference or restraint.

"Having been arranged under the generic term *gambling* an effort has been made, from the purest and best motives, to discountenance and suppress lotteries; but it now becomes a serious question of investigation, whether too harsh an epithet has not been given to one of the ordinary modes of raising funds, under the sanction of the highest legislative enactments, both in Europe and this country, for literary, eleemosynary, and various other great and excellent purposes. If it has been proved that the legal countenance which this State has *formerly* given still induces a disregard of existing statutes, is it not more politic so to amend them as shall secure to the Commonwealth those benefits which are now derived by other States?

"It may be said, with sufficient plausibility, that if an unabatable evil does exist, let it be converted to the best possible purposes. All constructive crimes, including such as come within the antiquated systems of sumptuary jurisprudence, are not deemed by the people as immoral, *per se;* and it is an axiom in ethics as well as legislation, that doubtful or imaginary offences should not hastily be made penal. . . .

"The Commissioners would be the last among their fellow-citizens to sanction immorality, or impair the omnipotence of justice; but with deference offer such remarks as may tend to the development of truth, the confirmation of what shall be found salutary, and the rejection of that which is supererogatory in our generally most excellent code of laws.

"Should a lottery be resorted to as one of the means of raising funds, it can be affirmed with confidence that twenty thousand dollars may be thus annually obtained, and probably a much greater sum." — *Report*, pp. 177, 178.

read accounts of what was then going on in England, and bethought himself how he could turn it to use in the work he had in hand here. That work was the building of the monument; and long after its completion he thus told his own story: —

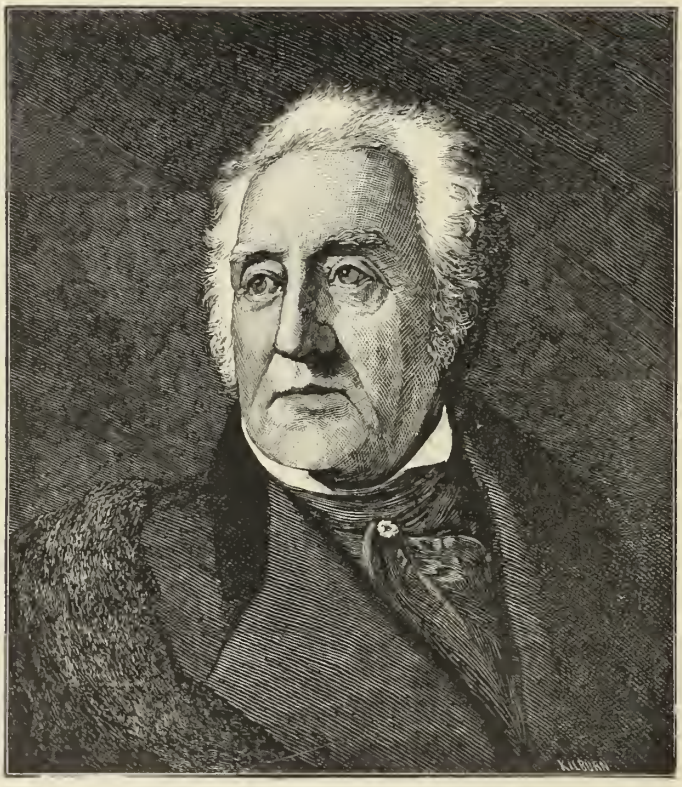
"I had, previous to [the laying of the corner-stone] purchased a stone-quarry (the funds being furnished by Dr. John C. Warren) for the express purpose of procuring the granite for constructing this monument. This quarry was in Quincy, nearly four

GRIDLEY BRYANT.[1]

miles from water-carriage. This suggested to me the idea of a railroad (the Manchester and Liverpool Railroad being in contemplation at that time, but was not begun until the spring following); accordingly, in the fall of eighteen hundred and twenty-five I consulted Thomas H. Perkins, William Sullivan, Amos Lawrence, Isaac P. Davis, and David Moody, all of Boston, in reference to it. These gentlemen thought the project visionary and chimerical; but, being anxious to aid the Bunker-Hill Monument, consented that I might see what could be done. I awaited the meeting of our Legislature in the winter of 1825–26, and after every delay and obstruction

[1] [This cut follows a likeness owned by his son, G. J. F. Bryant, Esq., and painted when his father was about forty-five years old. The memoir of Gridley Bryant in Stuart's *Lives and Works of the Civil and Military Engineers of America*, which contains another likeness of him taken at a later age, was printed separately in Boston in 1871. — Ed.]

that could be thrown in the way, I finally obtained a charter, although there was great opposition in the House. The questions were asked, 'What do we know about railroads? Who ever heard of such a thing? Is it right to take people's land for a project that no one knows anything about? We have corporations enough already.' Such and similar objections were made, and various restrictions were imposed; but it finally passed by a small majority only. Unfavorable as the charter was, it was admitted that it was obtained by my exertions; but it was owing to the munificence and public spirit of Colonel T. H. Perkins that we were indebted for the



THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS.[1]

whole enterprise. None of the first-named gentlemen ever paid any assessments, and the whole stock finally fell into the hands of Colonel Perkins. . . . I surveyed several routes from the quarry purchased (called the Bunker-Hill Quarry) to the nearest tide-water; and finally the present location was decided upon. I commenced the work on the first day of April, 1826, and on the seventh day of October following the first train of cars passed over the whole length of the road."

[1] [An engraving of a portrait of Colonel Perkins by Gambadella is prefixed to T. G. Cary's *Life of Thomas H. Perkins*, 1856. It was painted about 1837, when the Colonel was seventy-seven years old. The above cut follows a photograph of it furnished by Colonel Henry Lee. The original belongs to Colonel Perkins's eldest daughter, Mrs. Samuel Cabot of Brookline. Mason, *Stuart*, p. 239, records portraits of Colonel T. H. Perkins by that artist, owned by Mrs. T. G. Cary and by Mrs. Wm. H. Gardiner. Both of these show an earlier age; as does a fine full-length by Sully, owned by the Boston Athenæum. — ED.]

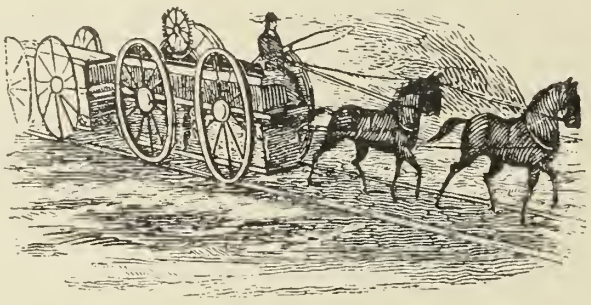
Bryant might also have added that this event, brought about by him, gave the death-blow to the great Massachusetts Canal project, backed as it was by surveys and estimates and the reports of commissioners, and the recommendations of the executive itself. A railroad party had, in fact, already come into existence as opposed to the canal party; and the opposing forces in the Legislature so held each other in equilibrium that it seemed for a time as if nothing at all would be done. Governor Lincoln, in his message at the opening of the June session of the Legislature, had called attention to this fact; and, himself a warm advocate of canals, endeavored to point out that, in urging their construction, no "*exclusive* character of improvement [was] contemplated." The advocates of railroads were in a majority in the House, while the Senate was conservative. A petition had been presented by Colonel Perkins and others praying that surveys might be made for a railway from Boston to the Hudson; and on motion of Dr. Abner Phelps, one of the representatives from Boston, a joint committee to sit during the recess, and "consider the practicability and expediency of constructing" such a railway, was ordered on the part of the House. The order, however, was non-concurred in by the Senate, and had finally to be so amended as to provide for a select committee of the House alone. It was composed of Dr. Abner Phelps, George W. Adams, of Boston, — a son of President J. Q. Adams, — and Emory Washburn, of Worcester, afterward Governor. This was the first concerted action looking to the construction of a commercial railway through the State. That it was now taken was also unquestionably due to Bryant's success in obtaining his charter for the smaller enterprise, which, having a distinct object in view both practical and patriotic, had not aroused conservative apprehensions.[1]

At the time, Bryant's work excited an almost unequalled interest throughout the country, and it is still mentioned in every school history of the United States as the commencement of an epoch. It was in fact a pioneer American undertaking, the originator of which had closely studied that English railway literature which was then coming into existence. Although Stephenson had already, in a rude way, introduced locomotive steam-power on the Stockton & Darlington road, Bryant made no attempt at anything of that sort. Indeed, had he done so he would have

[1] How completely uninformed the public mind then was on the subject of railways is, however, well illustrated by the following incident. Dr. Phelps was an enthusiast, and, like most enthusiasts, probably somewhat wearisome to others. It so happened that about the time his special committee was appointed John Adams died. A number of members of the Legislature went out to attend his funeral at Quincy; and, after it was over, they returned to Boston by way of Milton, in order to look at Gridley Bryant's railway, then in process of construction. Dr. Phelps was of the party; as also was Mr. Webster. The two had some conversation on the new project, which resulted in the latter finally remarking: "Well, it is certainly a subject for very grave consideration whether roads for general travel cannot be made as you propose." A less profound or more non-committal response in reply to a man possessed with a hobby could not easily have been framed. Yet Dr. Phelps, who apparently had been made somewhat sensitive by ridicule, derived from it, as he afterward stated in a letter giving an account of these events, "great encouragement and satisfaction."

ruined his enterprise. His views were confined to horse power, and he built an improved tramway rather than a modern railroad. The really memorable thing about it was his ingenuity in devising the appliances necessary to its successful operation. These were very remarkable, including as they did the switch, the portable derrick, the turn-table, and the movable truck for the eight-wheel railroad-car. All these contrivances subsequently passed into general use; and the movable truck having, six years later, — in 1834, — been patented by other parties, became the subject of a litigation which occupied the courts for five years, and cost, it is said, some $250,000. The claim of Bryant as its inventor was sustained. He had, however, no legal right to any royalty on its use, nor did he ever receive anything from it. He died quite poor in 1867.

The Granite Railway, including its branches, was four miles in length, and cost $50,000. It began at the quarry end with an inclined plane, by



THE GRANITE RAILWAY.[1]

means of which eighty-four feet vertical fall was here accomplished in three hundred and fifteen feet of gradual descent. The road then dropped gently down to tide-water level by grades of sixty-six, thirteen, and twenty-six feet to the mile. As the traffic was all in the direction of these grades, single horses could of course move with ease just as heavy loads as the structure would bear; the only difficulties being to retard the loaded cars going down, and to draw the unloaded cars back. The road was constructed of stone sleepers, or ties, eight feet apart, upon which were laid longitudinal wooden rails, protected by strap-iron plates three inches wide and one fourth of an inch thick. The wooden rails were subsequently replaced by stone. This railway was operated, always by horse-power, for about forty years. At last, it having then been for a time in disuse, its franchise was purchased by the Old Colony Railroad Company; the ancient structure was completely demolished, and a modern railroad was built on the right of way. This was formally opened for traffic on Oct. 9, 1871, — forty-five years and two days after the original opening in 1826. There is a certain historical fitness in the fact that, through the incorporation of the Granite

[1] [This is a fac-simile of a contemporary cut showing the method of transporting large blocks of stone. See Snow's *Geography of Boston*, 1830, p. 159. — Ed.]

Railway into the Old Colony, the line which connects Plymouth with Boston has become the original railroad line in America.

With the appointment of the Phelps committee the railroad question in Massachusetts passed into its first, or educational, stage. This lasted four years, and until the granting of the charters for the Providence and Lowell roads in 1830. It was a tedious intermediate period. The necessity for doing something was becoming more and more apparent. The impulse given to New York by the rapid development of traffic through the Erie Canal had already drawn all the interests and connections of the western part of the State in that direction; and the central counties, following the course of the Connecticut, were rapidly following. So far as the commercial situation was concerned, the future of Boston must indeed at this time have seemed almost hopeless. Meanwhile, the sentiment of the State moved very slowly. On all questions touching property, especially property in land, the Legislature of Massachusetts has always been a singularly conservative body. It is so still; but during the years of the railroad discussion it was infinitely more so than now. It was in fact then a regular squirarchy. The large manufacturing towns of the interior were just coming into life, and had not yet begun to exercise much political influence. The State as a whole was still agricultural and commercial. The representatives of the commercial towns were, however, few in number, and opposed to them were the country gentry, — a colonial type which has since almost disappeared, but which in 1826 yet continued to be the traditional power in the General Courts. As regularly as the sessions were held, the same representative men of this class appeared, and the part taken by them in the conduct of business was an active one. They were the leaders of the landed interest; and the landed interest was the dominant interest. These men had many stirling qualities, but for mental receptiveness they were not remarkable. Moving them was a slow process. The schemes, also, that were advanced during this period were all based on the precedent of the Erie Canal. That was a Government project, carried through on the public credit; private enterprise had little to do with it. It was a monument to Governor De Witt Clinton and to the Legislatures influenced by him. Accordingly, all the canals and railroads now recommended by committees, and commissions, and boards of public works looked to State aid for encouragement; and the Legislature did not evince the slightest disposition to extend any such aid. The country representatives listened to the exhortations of Dr. Phelps, even though backed by the recommendations of Governor Lincoln, with stolid indifference. As the result proved, also, it was well that they did so. Their instinctive unreasoning conservatism, though exasperating to the last degree then, as many times before and since, did the State good service. Private enterprise had constructed the Middlesex Canal and the Granite Railway. The brilliant success of the Erie Canal had for the moment led the more active minds of the community away from these safe precedents, and it required an experience drawn from actual

results in another quarter to bring people back to them. That experience for Boston was to be furnished by the merchants and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester in September, 1830. Meanwhile, during the interval, and before they made up their minds to help themselves, the leaders of public opinion in Boston employed their time and exercised their patience in trying to enlighten a succession of country members.

Dr. Abner Phelps made a report on behalf of the committee of which he was chairman, in January, 1827. He had gotten together a great many facts, and, arguing from them, proposed the building of what amounted to a magnified Granite Railway. In urging this scheme, as decidedly preferable to that of a canal, he yet followed the idea of a canal so closely that provision was made for paths for the drivers on each side of the road. Accordingly, the committee pronounced themselves satisfied "not only of the practicability, but of the expediency, of building a railway from Boston to the Hudson;" and they reported resolves for the appointment of three commissioners and an engineer to make surveys, plans, estimates, etc.

The reception by a portion of the press, at least, of his report and the conclusions embodied in it could scarcely have been satisfactory to Dr. Phelps and his colleagues on the committee. Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, for instance, then editor of the *Boston Courier*, did not hesitate to write of it as follows in his paper of June 27, 1827: —

"Alcibiades, or some other great man of antiquity, it is said, cut off his dog's tail that *quidnuncs* might not become extinct from want of excitement. Some such notion we doubt not moved one or two of our natural and experimental philosophers to get up the project of a railroad from Boston to Albany, — a project which every one knows, who knows the simplest rule in arithmetic, to be impracticable, but at an expense little less than the market value of the whole territory of Massachusetts; and which, if practicable, every person of common-sense knows would be as useless as a railroad from Boston to the moon."

The Legislature did not treat the report quite so disrespectfully as Mr. Buckingham had done; but they paid no regard to its recommendations. Before being prorogued, however, they passed an act creating a "Board of Internal Improvements," to consist of three members, who were to employ an engineer and examine routes for canals and railways generally; and subsequently this board was directed to survey a railway route from Boston to the Rhode Island line, and a canal route to the Blackstone. The members of the board were appointed, Willard Phillips, of Salem, being one of them; but, as the only provision for their compensation, over expenses, was the modest one of four dollars a day, they apparently did not devote their whole energies to the work in hand. They appear to have made but one report, and that only on a local canal.

At its June session the Legislature was again besieged with petitions from Boston on the railway subject. They were now headed by Josiah Quincy, then Mayor of the city. In compliance with these petitions a resolve was

passed providing for two commissioners and an engineer, to report plans, surveys, and estimates for a railway on the best practicable route from Boston to the Hudson. This resolve was made effective by an appropriation of $10,000; and something accordingly came of it. The commissioners submitted their report towards the end of January, 1828; and in it, while as practical men, fearful of seeming to favor anything which might give a visionary air to their recommendations, they spoke only of a road to be exclusively operated by animal power, they did discuss the possibility of movable engines. The report also contained the usual estimates of cost and traffic, and accurate instrumental surveys of portions of the projected routes. Of far more value than all this, however, was a reference to what was then going on in England, where a mania for railroad construction had three years before broken out; the commissioners quoted from the famous *Quarterly Review* article of March, 1825, — that article which, though intelligent and progressive in its whole tone, earned an immortality of ridicule by the unfortunate prophecy that the writer of it would "as soon expect people to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's *ricochet* rockets, as trust themselves" to be "whirled at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles an hour by means of a high-pressure engine." The article referred, however, to the fact that in a single month associations had been formed in England "for construction of three thousand miles of these iron roads, at an expense of £20,000,000 sterling." Without intending it, therefore, the commissioners here pointed out to those composing the business community of Boston the course they also were to pursue. The time had not yet come however, when, recurring to sound principles, these were to stop trying to educate farmers, and put their hands in their own pockets, and their shoulders to the wheel.

In the Legislature this report of the commissioners took the regular course. It was referred to the proper committee, which, "after mature examination of the facts and statements contained" in it, got so far as to express an opinion that the question of railroad construction had "assumed a new and greater importance." The canal scheme was however now definitely dismissed. The public mind had, therefore, at last gotten away from one portion of the mischievous New York precedent, and it only remained for it to get rid of the other portion of it, — that which had led to the belief that nothing was practicable except through the action of Government. The policy of the State was now fixed in favor of a railroad system. Accordingly, in March, an act was passed creating a Board of Directors of Internal Improvements, to consist of nine persons, who were to serve without compensation. The members of this board were chosen by the Legislature, and Governor Lincoln was put first upon it; its real moving spirit, however, was Nathan Hale, of Boston. Mr. Hale at that time edited the *Daily Advertiser*, and his services as a railroad educator during these and the following years were very great. At a later period he became the president of the company which built the first Boston road opened to traffic, —

for in those days everything connected with the nascent system had to be improvised; and, just as during the Revolution physicians, farmers, and booksellers were turned into generals, so half a century later editors and merchants served as railroad presidents, while mechanics and schoolmasters became engineers and surveyors.

NATHAN HALE.[1]

The new Board of Directors organized at once, and in January of the next year (1829) still another report, and one more elaborate than any which had preceded, was laid before the Legislature. This report and the accompanying surveys furnished the basis on which the locations of the earlier Boston roads were subsequently made. It was the work of Mr. Hale, and is a clear, well-written, business-like document. In it the routes, the traffic, and the financial prospects of the proposed lines were discussed,

[1] [This follows a likeness hanging in the President's room of the Boston & Albany Railroad Station. — Ed.]

and the construction of a double-track railway was recommended, in which Bryant's methods at Quincy were to be closely followed. The rails, the space between which was to be graded for a horse path, were to be of strap-iron, secured on longitudinal blocks of granite five feet apart. The question of motive power was fairly considered, and the future possibilities of steam recognized. The famous Rainhill trials near Liverpool were not made until nine months after this report was presented, and accordingly the success of the locomotive engine was not yet established. The construction of a railway to be operated by horse power alone was, therefore, still contemplated.

With this report the educational period came to a close. Great progress had already been made in the direction of a reliance on private enterprise, but the Directors of Internal Improvements could only see their way to looking to it for a portion of the means required. They said emphatically that "the assistance of the Government in some manner and to some extent, in aid of individual enterprise and exertion, must be given to the work." Governor Lincoln, also, in his message, recommended a stock system guaranteed by the State. Most fortunately even these repeated and importunate recommendations failed to overcome the conservatism of the country representatives. They seemed impervious to either argument or entreaty. The Legislature of 1829 adjourned accordingly without taking any definite action on the report.

Before the Legislature of 1830 met, the performances of George Stephenson's "Rocket" had signalled to the world the advent of a new era. Mr. Hale, as editor, now supplemented his work as a director on the Board of Internal Improvements. He spread before the people of the State, in the columns of the *Advertiser*, every detail of the Rainhill trials. The result was immediate. All the slow educational work of the six preceding years seemed to bear fruit in a day, — not in the Legislature, but in the marketplace. Individual enterprise at last came to the front, and when the Legislature met in January, 1830, petitions for the incorporation of private railroad companies were presented to it.

The struggle, however, was not yet quite over. Legislative conservatism now took a new form. The objections which Bryant had been obliged to overcome in getting the charter for the Granite Railway five years before were repeated again. The science of railroad financiering as since developed was then as little understood as that of railroad construction. The first condition to the building of a road on the basis now proposed was the raising the necessary money. The decision in the great case of the Charlestown bridges, in which the charter for the original bridge had been held not to be exclusive, so that a new bridge had been built parallel to the old one, destroying it as a property, — this decision had been rendered only one year before, and was consequently very fresh in the minds of stockholders. If members from the country, therefore, were conservative, capitalists on their side were timid. Hence a tedious legislative contest yet

ensued. On the one hand, the private enterprise which stood ready to build the roads insisted, before doing so, on having a franchise guaranteeing exclusive railroad rights between *termini;* on the other hand, the Legislature refused to grant any such monopoly. At last, however, in the case of one route, — that between Boston and Lowell, — the exclusive right asked for was conceded for a period of forty years. Accordingly, the charter was in this case accepted, the company speedily organized, and books of subscription for the first Boston railroad were opened.

The great ceremony of the Manchester and Liverpool opening took place in November, 1830, and Mr. Hale took care to lay before the readers of the *Advertiser* a full account of it. The business community of Boston were quite alive to the importance of the event, and the growth of feeling was now rapid. As people got more eager for railroads, they insisted less on exclusive privileges. In this matter, therefore, legislative conservatism again happily prevailed, and when the Legislature met in June two more Boston roads were incorporated,— those to Providence and to Worcester. The system of roads which was destined to make Boston a future railroad centre was fairly inaugurated. Neither in thus getting at last in motion had Boston or its business community shown any marked degree of enterprise, public or private. The early progressive spirit shown in the Middlesex Canal and the Granite Railway had not been sustained. In America these were both Boston ideas; but, once originated, they had been most eagerly picked up elsewhere, and other places were now in advance. A portion of the present New York Central road had, for instance, been chartered in 1825; and it was completed, and a trial trip with a steam locomotive made over it on the 9th of August, 1831, only forty-seven days after the charter of the Boston & Worcester had become a law, and nearly three years before a locomotive was used upon its tracks. South Carolina was in advance even of New York, for an iron railroad had been completed there before the Boston & Lowell was fairly organized. So also charters had been obtained and the work of construction begun on railroads terminating in Baltimore and Philadelphia, in 1827 and 1828, while Boston was then, and for two years after, engaged in educating local public opinion. The city, in fact, lost its railroad lead in 1826, and, as will presently be seen, it was not destined to regain it.

The Lowell was the first organized of the Boston roads, as well as the first upon which the work of construction was actually begun.[1] Close behind it

[1] Patrick T. Jackson and Kirk Boott were the moving spirits in the construction of the Boston & Lowell road. The stock was in shares of $500 each originally, and was mainly taken by those interested in the Lowell manufactories. It was consequently held in larger blocks than was usual in those days. Mr. Jackson was an original subscriber for 124 shares, Edwin Munroe for 100, John Lowell for 94, Geo. W. Lyman and Geo. W. Pratt for 75 each, and William Appleton for 50. The engineer of the line was Major Geo. W. Whistler, who afterward was the engineer of the Western, and finally passed into the railroad service of the Russian Government. The Boston & Lowell was originally built with "fish-belly" rails, laid on stone sleepers, which were supported on parallel masonwork walls sunken in the road-bed. Colonel Baldwin had satisfied himself by mathematical calculations that any less solid permanent way

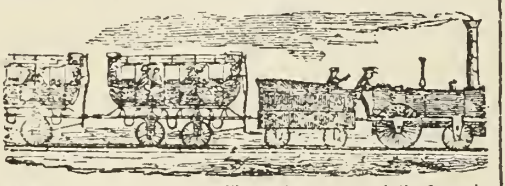
followed the Worcester and the Providence. In those days, however, when everything connected with construction had to be learned as the work went on, the progress made was not rapid. The country through which the routes lay was nowhere difficult, but the only actual experience obtainable of any real value was that of the Manchester & Liverpool road; and a trip of inquiry to Europe was a more considerable matter then than now. Under such circumstances twelve miles a year was looked upon as sufficiently rapid construction, though apparently it did not satisfy all parties interested. Indeed, so great was the distrust still felt in these undertakings that in January, 1833, Mr. Francis Stanton got the signatures of the holders of one thousand shares in the Boston & Worcester to a call for a stockholders' meeting, to consider the question of stopping the work and abandoning the enterprise. At last, however, in the spring of 1835, all of the three lines approached completion at about the same time. The first locomotive set in motion in Massachusetts was on the Boston & Worcester tracks in the latter part of March, 1834. Rails were then laid as far out as Newton, some nine or ten miles from Boston, and the company delayed opening for travel this completed section of its road only because it was compelled to await the arrival of an engine-driver, imported from England to take charge of the English-built locomotive. At last, on the 4th of April, a locomotive was actually put to work on a gravel train; and the next day the president of the company let it be known through the columns of his newspaper that "the engine worked with ease, was perfectly manageable, and showed power enough to work at any desirable speed." Three days later, on the 7th, a party of the directors and their friends, some fifty or sixty in number, went out on a trial trip as far as Davis's tavern in

would not sustain the rolling stock; so that the locomotive, when in motion, would always be overcoming an ascent caused by the sinking of the road under its weight. At a later day wood had, of course, to be substituted for stone, and gravel for mason-work. The earliest locomotive used on the road was imported from Stephenson's then famous works at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A man to run it was also brought over; but, as usual, he proved a useless fellow, and, when the locomotive had been duplicated at the Lowell machine shops, he pretended not to be able to make the American locomotives work satisfactorily. He was accordingly one day summarily sent about his business by Major Whistler, who was a man with whom it was dangerous to trifle. After that the Lowell locomotives did as well as the English.

Though at the time of the construction of the railroad Lowell was considered a large manufacturing place, its business seems now to have been curiously small. The income derived by the Middlesex Canal Company from transportation between that place and Boston did not, for instance, in 1830, exceed $4,000. The whole number of passengers passing between the two points annually was estimated at 37,500, and the tons of freight at 11,870 from Boston to Lowell, and 3,347 from Lowell to Boston. When the railroad company was organized, it was estimated that the gross annual receipts of the road, when in operation, would be $58,514. This, of course, was largely exceeded, the gross receipts of the year 1835, — during a portion of which only was the road in operation, — amounting to $65,000. The next year they were $165,000. They have since shown a steady increase, reaching $500,000 in 1859, $1,000,000 in 1870, and in 1880 they were $1,380,000. The company paid dividends from the beginning, and for thirty years never failed to do so. They were passed in the years 1875-77. The average rate of dividend has been about 6½ per cent. The market value of the stock has fluctuated widely, having fallen from $135 per cent. in 1835, when the road went into operation, to $86 the next year. By 1843 the price had got back to $132, and it then fluctuated along until 1855, when it fell to $62. In 1868 it had risen to $146, and in 1876 it had fallen again to $45. In 1880 it stood at $120.

Newton. "They returned," the *Advertiser* stated the next day, "in thirty-nine minutes, including a stop of about six minutes for the purpose of attaching five cars loaded with earth. The engine travelled with ease at the rate of twenty miles an hour." A little more than a month later, on the 12th of May, there appeared in the columns of the *Advertiser* the annexed new form of notice. The regular passenger railroad service to and from Boston did not, however, begin until four days later, on the morning of May 16, 1834. It consisted of the six trains specified in the advertisement. Thirty-five years later, it was reported that the daily service thus begun had then so increased that two passenger trains, carrying upon the average three hundred persons, entered or left the city in each five minutes of the fourteen active hours of the working day.

BOSTON AND WORCESTER RAIL ROAD.



THE Passenger Cars will continue to run daily from the Depot near Washington street, to Newton, at 6 and 10 o'clock, A.M. and at 3½ o'clock, P. M. and

Returning, leave Newton at 7 and a quarter past 11, A M. and a quarter before 5, P.M.

Tickets for the passage either way may be had at the Ticket Office, No. 617, Washington street; price 37½ cents each; and for the return passage, of the Master of the Cars, Newton.

By order of the President and Directors.

a 29 epistf F. A WILLIAMS, Clerk.

Opened to Newton in the middle of May, by the end of June the Boston & Worcester road was ready for use as far as Needham. It was formally opened to that point on July 7. The further extension to Hopkinton was completed by September; and the 21st of the month the passenger service was extended to that point. On the day previous there was quite a celebration there, which was attended by the Governor, John Davis, his predecessor in the office, Levi Lincoln, and other distinguished personages. The party from Boston was some two hundred in number, and they went to Hopkinton in a train of seven of the company's largest passenger cars, leaving the city at 7 A. M. "The weather," as the *Advertiser* of the following day stated, "was unusually fine; and the sweetness of the atmosphere, the rapidity of the motion, and the beauty and novelty of the scenery which was successively presented to view, appeared to produce in all the party an agreeable exhilaration of spirits." At Hopkinton the train was received with firing of cannon; and the party of visitors, under escort of a company of riflemen, proceeded to Captain Stone's tavern, where a collation was provided. "While the party were at table the ladies were invited to take seats in the cars, and the military, with their band of music, to take a stand upon the tops of the cars, where they were formed in sections. In this manner they made an excursion of several miles down the road and back, which they appeared to enjoy highly. As they returned, the military on the tops of the cars approached the hotel with arms presented and music playing."

Two months later, in November, the road was opened to Westborough; and in June of the following year it was completed through to Worcester.

The formal opening to travel was on Saturday, July 4, 1835; and on that day the four locomotives, which constituted the company's whole motive-power, passed twice each way the entire length of the road. Some fifteen hundred passengers were carried. On the 6th the event was formally celebrated at Worcester.[1]

The Providence[2] and Lowell roads were opened a few days before the Worcester, — the former on the 11th and the latter on the 27th of June.

[1] On this occasion Mr. Henry Williams, of Boston, a director of the company, took occasion, in response to one of the sentiments, to allude "with much feeling to the difficultics with which the enterprise had to contend at the outset without the aid of the capitalists, who hesitated to embark in so perilous an adventure. 'The work was commenced and has been completed,' said Mr. Williams, 'by the middling class in the community.'" This was true of the Boston & Worcester in a far greater degree than of either the Boston & Lowell or the Boston & Providence. At the time of the completion of the road, the largest holder of its stock had two hundred and fifty shares; the average holding was about thirty shares.

Among the early directors of the company were David Henshaw, George Bond, Thomas Motley, Daniel Denny, and George Morey. Mr. Nathan Hale was chosen president at the time the company was organized in July, 1831, and held the office until June, 1849; when he was succeeded by Thomas Hopkinson.

As an enterprise the Boston & Worcester was profitable from the outset. The first dividend of two per cent was paid simultaneously with the opening of the road through to Worcester; and after that semi-annual dividends, never falling below three per cent, were regularly paid until January, 1868, when the Boston & Albany consolidation took place. The average rate of dividend throughout the independent existence of the company was a fraction less than seven per cent per annum.

The estimate of gross annual receipts at the time the road was built was $142,500. The first complete year of operation was 1836: the gross receipts were then $183,000. The subsequent increase was steady. In 1840 the receipts were $267,000; in 1850 they were $758,000; in 1855 they had reached a million. They did not increase much after that, until the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion. In 1861 they were $928,000; and when the war closed in 1865 they were $1,700,000. In the year preceding the consolidation they were $1,940,000. The capital stock had been meanwhile increased from the original amount of $1,250,000 in 1836, to $5,000,000. In other words, the receipts had increased over twelvefold, while the capital had increased but fourfold. The net receipts were forty-three per cent of the gross in 1837, and forty per cent in 1867. The market value of the stock was necessarily always high, ranging from $75 per share in 1837 and in 1857, to $160 in 1863.

[2] Among those most forward in originating the Boston and Providence road were Thomas B. Wales, John Bryant, Joseph W. Revere, and Abbott Lawrence. The stock of the company was originally allotted to the petitioners for the charter, and was deemed a desirable investment. No difficulty was accordingly found in placing it. It has always been held by a large number of shareholders, and in small lots. In 1835 the largest individual holder had but seventy-five shares; in 1880 the largest single holding was three hundred and fifty-two shares, and there were 1,600 stockholders in all. Mr. Wales was the first president of the company, and was succeeded in 1835 by W. W. Woolsey, of New York, father of President Woolsey of Yale College.

The road was very well built, and was fortunate enough to escape the mistake of a too solid substructure, into which the builders of the Boston & Lowell fell. This was due to the sagacity of its engineer, Captain McNeill, who was sent abroad to examine the Manchester & Liverpool road; and in doing so was shrewd enough to anticipate the paradox of the elastic road-bed. The original rails laid down were of English manufacture, and weighed fifty-five pounds to the yard. The iron was so excellent in quality that the last of it was not taken out of the tracks until 1860. The first superintendent of the road was General William Raymond Lee, who also assisted Captain McNeill in its construction.

So far as extensions or consolidation with other lines is concerned, the policy of the Boston and Providence has always been very conservative. It owned and operated forty-three miles of road in 1835; and but sixty-seven miles in 1880. As an enterprise it was from the beginning very profitable. Its original cost was $1,600,000. Its gross earnings have steadily increased from $347,466 in 1836, to $685,630 in 1860, $1,049,125 in 1870, and $1,323,985 in 1880. The average rate of dividend paid to the holders of the stock has been over seven per cent; and in the course of forty-five years only three semi-annual dividends were passed, — those between January,

By means of the road to Providence, also, Boston was placed in direct steam communication by way of Long Island Sound with New York, and the time required for a trip between the two cities was reduced to about fourteen hours. It could be accomplished between the rising and the setting of an April sun. The first epoch of construction in the Boston railroad system did not, however, close with the opening of these three initial lines. It extended, on the contrary, to the closing days of 1841, when at length the Western road was finished, and Boston placed, as Dr. Phelps had proposed in the original scheme outlined in his report of 1827, in direct connection with Albany and all that net-work of interior communication which there found an outlet.

The Western Railroad Corporation had been chartered in March, 1833, as a species of outgrowth of the Boston & Worcester,—that is, the directors of the latter were individually made corporators of the former. The Boston & Worcester company thus had exclusive control over the extension of its own enterprise. No formal action was taken under the charter for over two years, and until the road to Worcester was opened; but in the meanwhile the project was a good deal discussed, and some subscriptions obtained in the towns along the proposed line. What with building at the same time three railroads, aggregating one hundred and twenty miles and calling for an outlay of three millions, the hands of the capitalists of Boston were supposed to be full. Accordingly no attempt was made to obtain subscriptions from them. Some time in the autumn of 1834 an informal offer had come from New York to subscribe the entire stock; but it was declined on the ground that its acceptance "might throw the whole enterprise into the vortex of the stock-gambling operations of Wall Street." The proposed road was, too, essentially a Boston one; and it was feared, not without cause, that the control of the charter elsewhere, especially in New York, might not imply its early construction. Yet in Massachusetts at this time, even in the towns along the route, no confidence was felt in the financial outcome of the scheme, and frequent doubts were still expressed as to its being practicable at all. The Berkshire Hills were supposed to present a serious, if not insuperable, barrier to the wheels of a locomotive. So limited also were men's views, that even in a place like Worcester the project was regarded with disfavor by many, because the railroad already constructed having made that town a terminus, its extension further, it was thought, would be a local injury.

The celebration at Worcester took place on July 6. After it was over a directors' meeting was held on the train as it returned to Boston, and it was decided at once to enter seriously upon the extension to Albany. A month later stock subscription-books were opened at various points. The

1855, and July, 1856. The market value of the stock, though as a rule it has ranged high, has fluctuated widely. When the road first went into operation, it stood at about $125 per share. During the next twenty years it never rose above $115, or fell below $80. In 1854 it sold down to $57. In 1863 and 1870 it went up to $158. In 1878 it fell again to $99; and then in 1881 it touched the highest point it had ever reached, —$164 per share.

want of faith in the financial success of the undertaking was, however, so general, that, even when these books were opened, subscriptions were urged almost wholly as a matter of public spirit. No one thought the road itself would be any more successful than the old Middlesex Canal had been; but it was argued that the community as a whole must derive great benefit from it. It was naturally a difficult matter to get any large amount of stock taken on this basis. Boston was thoroughly canvassed. Public meetings were held at which urgent appeals were made to all to subscribe, each according to his means. In itself, and under the circumstances of the time, the outlay called for was not a particularly heavy one. Boston was then a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, with an assessed valuation amounting to eighty millions. The increase since 1800 both in population and in wealth had been very great. Had any confidence been felt in the proposed road as a financial undertaking, the two millions required would, therefore, have been forthcoming at once. Considering the facts that a mania for railroad construction was then beginning both in England and in America, and that all three of the Boston initial lines were already more than answering expectation, this want of confidence is now somewhat inexplicable. It was generally felt, however; and, after every effort had been put forth, when at the expiration of the ten days fixed for keeping them open the subscription-books were closed, it was found that but thirteen thousand of the twenty thousand shares had been taken. Of these, eight thousand five hundred had been subscribed for in Boston. Renewed efforts were necessary. Accordingly, on October 7, a mass-meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, over which Abbott Lawrence presided. A report and resolutions were offered by Nathan Appleton, and speeches were made by delegates from many points, including Albany. Edward Everett closed the discussion, and a committee was then appointed to collect additional subscriptions, the members of which were directed to call on every man in the precincts assigned to them, "from the capitalist to the carman," to urge the vital necessity of subscribing for one or more shares. The response to this appeal even was not sufficient, and another meeting was held on November 20. Again the subscription committee was sent out. The thoroughness of the canvass now made, and the difficulties the canvassers met, can best be inferred from these extracts from the diary of one of their number,—Josiah Quincy, Jr.,—subsequently the first treasurer of the corporation: —

"Nov. 24, 1835. I went over the list of the voters in my ward to find out who had not subscribed, in order to call upon every man who is able, to learn whether he is willing to help on with this great undertaking."

"25th. Went round with Mr. Edmund Dwight to obtain subscribers for the Western railroad, and they all with one accord began to make excuses. Some think the city is large enough and do not want to increase it. Some have no faith in legislative grants of charters since the fate of Charlestown bridge, and very few say they won't subscribe. It is the most unpleasant business I ever engaged in."

At last, by dint of much asking, the required amount of subscriptions was secured, and the books were closed on December 5; and on January 4 the corporation organized by the election of a board of nine directors, among the Boston members of which were Thomas B. Wales, William Lawrence, Edmund Dwight, Henry Rice, John Henshaw, Francis Jackson, and Josiah Quincy, Jr. Mr. Wales was chosen president, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., treasurer.

The list of the original subscriptions to this enterprise is a curiosity. It includes over two thousand two hundred names, and the average number of shares taken by each was consequently less than ten. Subscriptions were very generally made in firm names, showing the extent to which the undertaking was looked upon as an aid to the city's business interests, and not as a money-making enterprise. The majority of the subscriptions, also, were for single shares, and the desire felt by the subscribers to get rid of the canvasser at the lowest price possible, short of a refusal to subscribe at all, is quite apparent. The largest subscription was but for two hundred shares; and names always associated in Boston with the idea of great wealth are found in this list set down opposite to amounts representing a risk, in what has since proved one of the most reliable of investments, of five hundred or a thousand dollars.[1]

The general expectation was, in fact, that, after one unsuccessful effort, all idea of building the road as a private enterprise would be abandoned, and the work would be taken up by the State. This opinion was shared in by the directors. An attempt, as ingenious as it was successful, to secure State aid was accordingly made as soon as the Legislature met. President Jackson's war on Nicholas Biddle's Bank then filled the public mind. The Democratic party was intensely and blindly hostile to all banking schemes; and of this fact the friends of the railroad now skilfully availed themselves. Protesting that they asked no grant from the Treasury of the Commonwealth, but merely a chance to raise an income for themselves, they succeeded in getting a bill reported creating the "State Bank of Massachusetts," with a capital of ten millions, one million of which the directors were required to subscribe for ten thousand shares of the stock of the Western Railroad Corporation. The proposal at once created great excitement. The Democrats were bitterly opposed to a bank; but it soon became apparent that the friends of the bank and of the railroad combined would be strong enough to carry the measure. Accordingly, the Democrats themselves came for-

[1] The largest subscription was that of James K. Mills & Co., 200 shares. A. & A. Lawrence & Co., and Whitwell, Bond, & Co., each subscribed for 150. Nathan Appleton, Lawrence & Stone, Palmer Company, T. H. Perkins, T. R. Sewell, R. G. Shaw, Israel Thorndike, Waterston, Pray, & Co., and J. D. Williams, each for 100. Governor Everett subscribed for 20 shares; as also did J. E. Thayer. W. Raymond Lee subscribed for 50 shares, and W. F. Weld for 10. The Appletons, Samuel and William, the Grays, J. C., F. C., and Horace, G. W. Lyman, John Parker, Jno. Phillips, the Pratts, G. W. and William, Wm. Sturgis, John Tappan, T. B. Wales, and several others subscribed for 50 each. Many well-known Boston names are not found at all. A number of the subscriptions, including some of the larger ones, suggest grave doubts as to the good faith with which they were made. Nothing was paid in on them.

ward with a proposition for direct State aid to the railroad. This the friends of the latter eagerly accepted; it passed the House by a vote of two hundred and forty-three to nine, was slightly amended in the Senate, and finally received the Governor's signature on April 4, 1836. As soon as the subscription bill was deemed safe, the bank bill was indefinitely postponed. A further sum of one million dollars was thus secured.

Before work could be begun it was necessary to have ten per cent paid in on the stock. This first assessment, even, the treasurer found great difficulty in collecting. The country was poor, and the war on the banks had led to a violent contraction of the currency. The financial crisis of 1837 was impending. While, therefore, the great majority of those who had subscribed for stock responded readily enough, there were some who had failed, some who had moved away, some who declared that when they subscribed they had done so with the understanding that upon paying five per cent they might relinquish their shares, and still others who simply refused to respond at all. It so happened, however, that Harrison Gray Otis, David Sears, and certain other wealthy Bostonians had refused to subscribe, apparently not being willing to bind themselves to payment in full for such amounts of stock as they would have been expected to take; but in doing so they had agreed to give outright to the enterprise sums amounting in the aggregate to several thousand dollars. This money was now applied by the treasurer to the payment of the assessment on the defaulted stock, which new parties were then induced to subscribe for at a discount of ten per cent. The treasurer was thus enabled to report that the requisite amount had been paid in on every share; and early in 1837 the work of grading was at last begun.

The subsequent financial history of the Western road makes no part of the present work, except in so far as it relates to Boston and its citizens. As has been seen, however, the enterprise was essentially a Boston enterprise, for citizens of Boston constituted numerically more than half of its original body of stockholders; and then, and ever since, they have held more than two-thirds of its stock. The president and the treasurer of the corporation were both citizens of Boston, and in Boston the burden of construction all through the dreary years which succeeded the crisis of 1837 made itself most heavily felt. The stock was widely distributed among those in active business; and no day then passed without its record of business failures. The banks suspended specie payments. Private credit had received a severe shock; and matters presently became so bad, that when, in 1838, an issue of the State scrip, made in further aid of the enterprise, was sent to London for sale, the bonds were after a time returned by the house of Baring Bros. & Co., on the ground that "owing to the repudiation of Pennsylvania, there was no sale of American stocks at any price." The construction of the road by unaided private enterprise would, therefore, at the time and under the circumstances have been simply impossible. Had not the State lent its aid, work must have been suspended and bankruptcy would have

ensued. In the full light of subsequent experience, however, it admits of question whether this would not have been better for Boston, and better for the State. The completion of the Western road, at the time and in the way it was completed, proved in the end far from an unmixed public benefit. Had a failure and temporary suspension of the work taken place in 1837, a reorganization would soon have been effected, and the line would have been built through a few years at farthest later than it was. Possibly, too, it might have been built by sections, and as an extension of the Boston & Worcester, under one ownership and management with it. Private enterprise would have proved easily equal to the whole undertaking.

As it was, the apparent success of this experiment of State aid became at a later day a precedent and an argument. As such it led to other and far larger, while much less judicious, experiments of the same kind. As will presently be seen, also, the premature construction of the Western road, not as an extension of the Boston & Worcester, but independent of it and in some degree antagonistic to it, was productive of other results now apparent enough, but which then could not be foreseen. Palsied by State aid, the Western road never got firmly rooted in the private enterprise and capital of Boston. For years it remained in the air, as it were. It was separated from its natural base; and this fact very sensibly affected the course of subsequent events. The railroad to Albany should in the development of those events have been to Boston what the Pennsylvania was to Philadelphia, and the Baltimore & Ohio was to Baltimore, — the nucleus about which the ability, enterprise, and capital of the city crystallized, until it enlarged and strengthened into the basis of what was to prove an expansive external development. This did not take place. Instead of it the two segments of what should have been a single property wasted twenty years in bickering over the division of a joint business; while the private wealth and individual enterprise of Boston sought and found their field in a system of railroads which made Chicago its base. The railroad map of the United States might well, therefore, so far as Boston is concerned, have been far different from what it ultimately became, had the State in 1837 held fast to its principles, and forced private enterprise to work out its destiny in obedience to business laws, unincumbered by legislative aid.

At the time, however, nothing of all this could have been foreseen; and it was natural enough for the promoters of what was really a great public undertaking to look to the State in their extreme need. They did not look in vain. In 1838 they obtained from the Legislature another measure of relief; in 1839 yet another; and still a fourth in 1840. The road, estimated to cost three millions, required about seven millions to complete it, — of which five millions were supplied from the public purse. The final assessment of forty per cent on the private stock was not called in until after the line had been opened through to Albany, in January, 1842. The Western Railroad was the most considerable enterprise of its kind which had then been un-

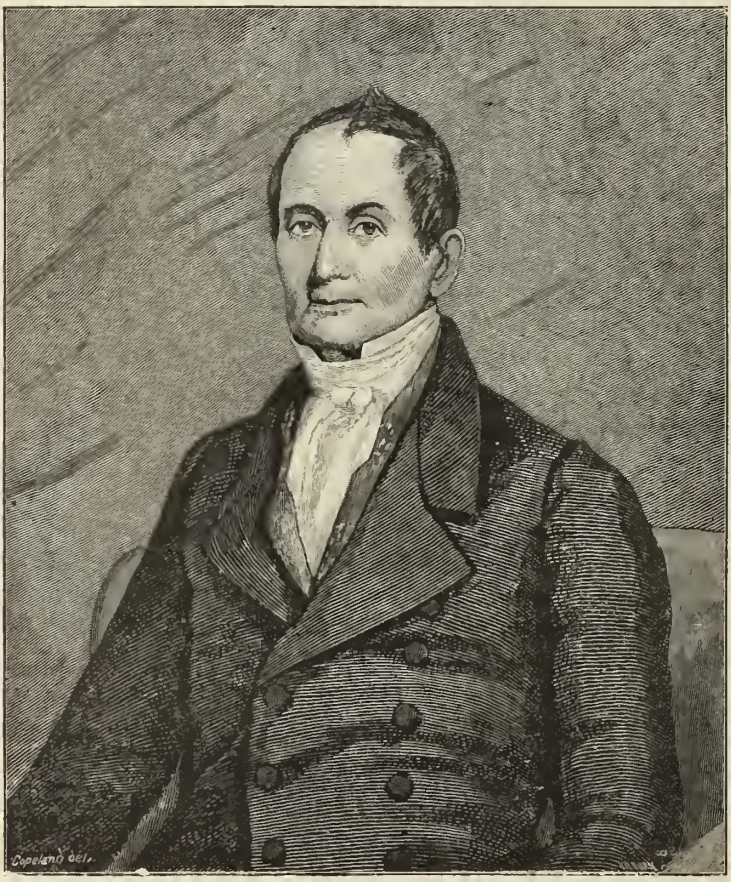
dertaken in America; and, taking all the circumstances of time, novelty, and financial disturbance into account, it may well be questioned whether anything equal to it has been accomplished since. It does not of course need to be said that, as compared with many of those enterprises since hurried to completion across the Plains or amid the Rocky Mountains, the one hundred and fifty-five miles of track painfully built through the Berkshire Hills between 1837 and 1842, at an average rate of twenty miles a year, was a very small affair. It was, however, a pioneer. It showed what could be done, and how the locomotive could climb. The voyage of Columbus, though made in a very small vessel, has lost none of its interest because much bigger vessels are now built, and crossing the Atlantic has become an every-day affair; neither will Fremont's passage of the Rockys ever cease to be a memorable event, notwithstanding the fact that trains may run as regularly between Chicago and San Francisco as they do between Boston and New York.

Of all those connected with the building of the Western road, George Bliss, of Springfield, was the one upon whom the heaviest burden of the work devolved.[1] He, however, was never identified with Boston. Of the Bostonians connected with it, three — Thomas B. Wales, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and P. P. F. Degrand — deserve especial mention. Mr. Wales is identified rather with the Providence than with the Western road, though he was president of the latter from the first organization of the company until the locomotive was running to Albany. In February, 1842, he declined a re-election. Mr. Wales was one of that school of Boston merchants common enough in the first half of the century, but which gradually passed away with the advent of steam. He was born in Randolph, Mass., on the first day of the year 1776, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1795. The active portion of his business life was passed in his counting-room on the wharf in Boston which bore his name, and from which he traded with various European ports, more especially those of France. Noted for integrity and methodical business ways, he had already, when the railroad era dawned, retired from active mercantile life with what was in those days looked upon as an ample fortune. Under these circumstances, and as his name was respected wherever it was known, younger men in organizing the railroad schemes naturally turned to him as one whose known connection with those schemes would give them character. He responded freely, and accepted the presidency of the Western road from motives of the purest public spirit, at a time when the outlook for the enterprise was far from encouraging.

Mr. Degrand was, as his name indicates, of French descent, and himself an immigrant. In accent, in appearance, and in manners he remained indeed to the end of his life a French gentleman of that formal school which sur-

[1] [He printed an *Historical Memoir of the Western Railroad* in 1863. A view of the crossing of the Worcester and Providence roads on the marshes, with the city beyond, and showing the style of cars used about 1840, is given in Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Mass.* — Ed.].

vived the Revolution only in the provinces. In active business as a broker in Boston, he was an enthusiast on the subject of railroads; and, though not himself a man of large means, most forward in promoting them. A general favorite among men of business, and much respected for his integrity of character, he was a good deal ridiculed for the extravagance of his predictions, all of which have, however, since been more than realized. He

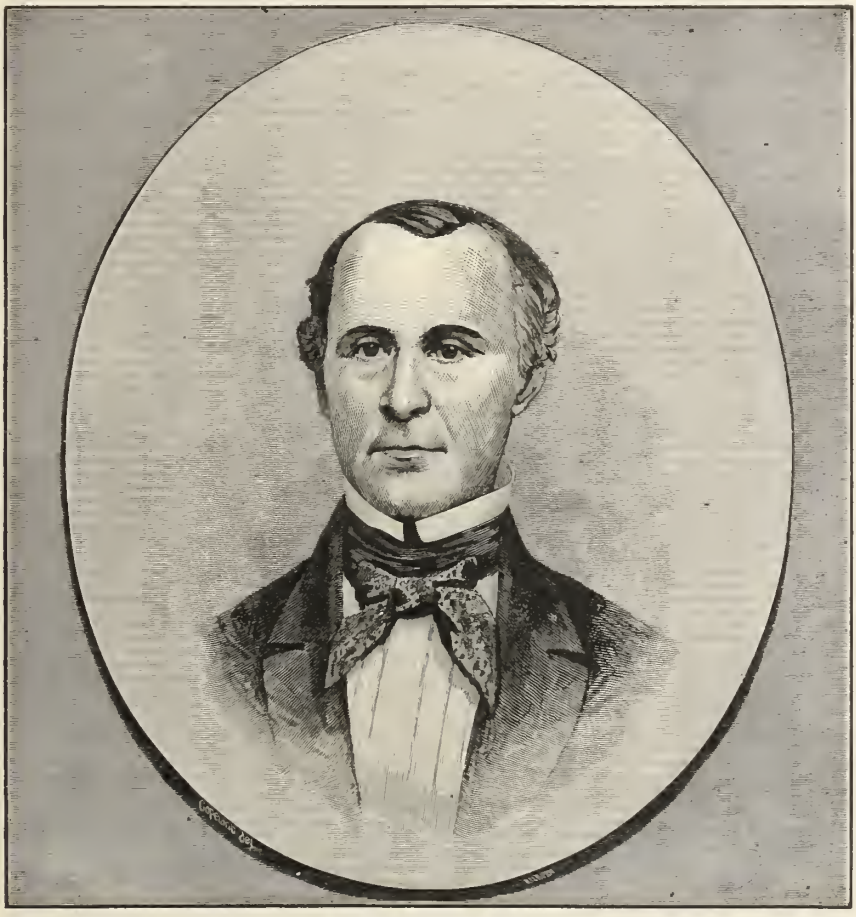


THOMAS B. WALES.[1]

was wont, among other things, energetically to refer to the Worcester road as a forty-four mile extension of Boston Long-Wharf. He was the author of the address to the people of the State issued by the stockholders of the Western Railroad Corporation in January, 1841, which resulted in the third grant of aid. He was, however, not always so fortunate in his methods of appeal; and he created a good deal of amusement by one of them, which was suggested to him by a sermon the Rev. S. K. Lothrop

[1] [This cut follows an original likeness painted in 1843 by George P. Healey, and now in the possession of George W. Wales, Esq., a son. — ED.]

had delivered in the Church in Brattle Street, on the subject of the moral and Christianizing influence of railroads. This discourse attracted at the time a good deal of attention; and Mr. Degrand, seizing the opportunity, forthwith got up a circular on his own account, a copy of which he sent to every clergyman in Massachusetts. In it he suggested the propriety of dis-



JOSIAH QUINCY, JR.[1]

courses on the moral and Christianizing influence of railroads in general, — and of the Western Railroad in particular. He died in the year 1855.

Josiah Quincy, Jr., was at a subsequent period too closely connected with the municipal history of Boston to call for any detailed mention of him here. At the time of his election as treasurer of the Western Railroad Corporation, in January, 1836, he was thirty-four years of age, and a lawyer by profession. Abandoning that calling in view of the engrossing nature of

[1] [This cut follows a likeness hanging in the president's room of the Boston & Providence Railroad Station. Mr. Quincy was also painted by Page, about 1845. — ED.]

the new duties imposed upon him, he devoted himself wholly to the care of the company's finances. He resigned in February, 1848, after twelve years of arduous service, to the value of which the stockholders of the company bore testimony in a vote of earnest thanks entered upon their records. During the period of construction, the whole management of the finances of the company was devolved on Mr. Quincy. Strange as it seems, there was even no standing committee, of the directors, on finance. His sanguine temperament then enabled Mr. Quincy to meet difficulties in the presence of which a more cautious man would have stopped; and, throughout the long financial depression from 1837 to 1843, he always succeeded in somehow or somewhere borrowing money enough to keep the work of construction going on. At one time he got it from the banks and the institutions of savings; at another from the firm of Baring Bros. & Co.; and then, as a last resort, he squeezed it out of the embarrassed stockholders. He just succeeded in weathering the storm. He did weather it, however; and when, after seeing the stock of the company selling at $40 a share in 1843, he five years later resigned, the same stock had for three years stood at a premium, dividends were paid upon it regularly, and the debt of the company was being fast paid off.

The Western Railroad[1] was opened through its entire length during the last days of the year 1841, and the event was celebrated in the usual way. On the 27th of December the Boston City Government went to Albany, where they were duly entertained; and on their return they brought with them their hosts, who partook of a municipal dinner on the

[1] The consolidation of the Boston & Worcester and the Western Railroad Companies took place in January, 1868, under an Act incorporating the Boston & Albany Railroad Company, passed by the Legislature of the previous year. The barrier in the way of the commercial development of Boston, occasioned by inability of the two original companies to act in harmony, had gradually given rise to a feeling of deep-seated popular discontent. A movement looking to the purchase of both roads by the State, under its reserved rights, had been started in the autumn of 1866 by Mr. Josiah Quincy. His scheme looked to a public management; and the utter absence of ocean steamship facilities at the port, which a year later led to the entire withdrawal from it of the Cunard line of steamers, caused the suggestion to be much discussed. The result was the consolidation of the two companies under a single management. Prior to this event it is a curious fact that the direct through line from Boston to the West had practically no means of receiving or delivering ocean freights at tidewater.

In 1869, as the result of a long and costly litigation, the Boston & Albany company succeeded in getting control of the Grand Junction road, by means of which it reached the docks at East Boston. During the same year it effected an arrangement with its western railroad connections by which produce could be shipped through to Europe by way of Boston, at the New York rate. The revival of Boston as an ocean steamship port dates from this time, and was very rapid. In 1867 no steamers sailed regularly from Boston to any foreign port. During the year 1880 no less than 333 steamers cleared from it. The exports by way of Boston had increased proportionately, — that of wheat-flour, for instance, from 177,000 barrels to 3,678,000; that of cheese, from 40,000 pounds to 4,335,000; that of lard, from 767,000 pounds to 48,000,000; while of live animals, 95,755 were exported in 1880, while none had been exported in 1870.

The management of the consolidated line was financially most successful. Its gross earnings rose from $6,000,000 in 1868, to $9,800,000 in 1873. Under the influence of the depression which followed the crisis of that year, they then fell away to $6,400,000 in 1879; but in 1880 they began to rise again, and amounted to $7,740,000.

The market value of its stock ranged from $160 per share shortly after the consolidation, to $112 in 1877, and $175 in 1881.

evening of December 30. These two occasions were enlivened by the usual interchange of sentiments and speeches, which now seem dull and prosaic enough. The novelty of railroad construction had already passed away.[1]

From the date of the completion of the Western road, the history of local railroad development, so far as Boston is concerned, becomes a mere record of dates and statistics. An article in the *Monthly Chronicle*, for June, 1841, begins with these words: "The magnificent system of railroads, extending from a common centre at Boston, throughout the State of Massachusetts, and reaching to four of the adjoining States, is now nearly completed." The "magnificent system" thus referred to included three hundred and thirty-seven miles of road, which had cost about $14,000,000, and earned in 1839 $1,000,000 in gross. The Eastern was a part of this system, as well as the three initial Boston lines. This road was a Salem enterprise. It originated with Mr. William H. Foster, a citizen of that place, and then, and down to the year 1881, cashier of the Asiatic Bank there. It was chartered in April, 1836. George Peabody, a Salem merchant and a relative of the more famous London banker of the same name, was the first president of the company, and in 1840 was succeeded by Captain David A. Neal, also of Salem. A few years later Captain Neal became very prominent among the earlier railroad magnates, being closely identified with both the Reading road, of Pennsylvania, and the Illinois Central. It was not until 1854, however, that the Eastern reached a station on Causeway Street, in the city proper. Prior to that year its southern terminus was at the wharf in East Boston, from which it made a ferry connection.

Chartered in March, 1833, as a branch of the Lowell road, and under the name of the Andover & Wilmington Railroad Corporation, the Boston & Maine did not reach its final terminus in Haymarket Square until 1845. It had originally received the name it has since borne from an act of the Legislature of New Hampshire, passed in June, 1835; and the Boston & Maine Railroad Company of Massachusetts was not created until March, 1841, when portions of the line had already been for nearly five years in operation. When it took its place as one of the Boston terminal roads on the first of July, 1845, it had become, consequently, a comparatively well

[1] There was, however, in these two entertainments one episode, — the last of the sort in Massachusetts, — which fairly marked the close of the first era in railroad construction; an incident which showed that railroads had not yet become wholly commonplace affairs. Among the guests who went to Albany with the Boston City Government was a party of gentlemen from New Bedford. The incident referred to was as follows: —

"In order to lend point to the astonishing fact that, leaving their homes in the morning, they would in fifteen hours be in Albany, these gentlemen, during the small hours of the day of their departure, caused some spermaceti candles to be moulded, which they took with them on their trip; and that evening the rays from those candles illumined the table around which took place the civic banquet at Albany. But the Albanians were not to be outdone. They were to return to Boston with their guests the next day; and in doing so they took with them a barrel of flour, the wheat for which had been threshed at Rochester on the previous Monday; they went to Boston on Wednesday, while the barrel itself was made from wood which on the threshing-day had been growing in the tree. This flour, duly converted into bread, the authorities of the two cities, and their invited guests, solemnly ate at a great dinner given at the United States Hotel in Boston, on the evening of Dec. 30, 1841."

developed enterprise, controlling seventy-four miles of track in operation, earning annually $350,000, and represented by a capital of $2,380,300.

The Fitchburg road was likewise opened through to its western terminus during the year 1845. This line, more probably than any other of those centring in Boston, owed its early construction to one man,—its first president, Alvah Crocker, of Fitchburg. Mr. Crocker was the very embodiment of Yankee activity and energy. His body was rarely quiet; and it may safely be said that his mind and his tongue never were. An active friend of the Western in the Legislature of 1836, he conceived the idea of a similar railroad to his own town, then a place of about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. When he went home after the adjournment he began at once in his peculiar fashion to agitate the matter. The line proposed followed the canal route surveyed by Colonel Baldwin in 1825, and ran through a wild and sparsely settled region, where the idea of building a railroad seemed at the time little less than preposterous. Mr. Crocker, however, was not a man to be turned aside from his project; and at last, in March, 1842, he secured his charter. On Dec. 20, 1843, the road was opened to Waltham; and March 5, 1845, the first locomotive ran into Fitchburg, with Mr. Crocker upon it.

In the autumn of the same year in which the Boston & Maine, and the Fitchburg entered Boston on the north side, the Old Colony entered it on the south. This road, chartered in March, 1844, was opened through to Plymouth, Nov. 10, 1845. It at first terminated in the Lincoln Street station of the Boston & Worcester. This arrangement, however, was but temporary; and in June, 1847, the Kneeland Street station was opened.[1]

[1] The Old Colony, more than any other of the corporations owning roads terminating in Boston, has throughout its history pursued a policy of development and acquisition. Why this should have been so in the case of this corporation, and not so in the case of the others, it would not be easy to explain. The fact, however, remains. Originally chartered in March, 1844, as the Old Colony Railroad Corporation, with a capital of $1,000,000, to build a road from Boston to Plymouth, in 1854 it became, through a consolidation, the Old Colony & Fall River Railroad Company. In 1862, by another consolidation, it became the Old Colony & Newport Railway Company; and at last, in 1872, by a third consolidation, it became the Old Colony Railway Company. The original road to Plymouth was 37 miles in length. By extension, consolidation, and leases, the Old Colony system has expanded, until, in 1880, it included 475 miles of road,—a larger amount than was then owned or operated by any other Massachusetts corporation. It held, in fact, undivided control of the southeastern portion of the State.

The principle of growth developed throughout the history of this corporation has not been due to the influence of any one man. The enterprise was projected at a later period, when the idea of risk had ceased to be connected with railroad subscriptions. The stock, especially of some of the lines like the Cape Cod, brought into the consolidation at more recent dates, was quite widely distributed, and the management of the road has been a somewhat shifting one. The policy pursued has, however, always been the same, and in striking and happy contrast to the policy pursued by the corporations the roads of which terminated on the north side of the city. The contrast furnishes, indeed, a most suggestive illustration to both the owners of railroads and the communities served by them, of the advantages and disadvantages of competing and consolidated lines.

Nathan Carruth, of Dorchester, was the first president of the Old Colony; and William Thomas, Jacob H. Loud, Uriel Crocker, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., were members of the earlier boards of direction. Mr. Carruth was succeeded as president by E. Hasket Derby, in 1848. The original one million of capital of the company has been increased from time to time through consolidation and otherwise, until in 1880 it amounted to over seven millions, with more than five millions of funded debt.

New-Year's day, 1846, thus found seven distinct Boston terminal lines, and the number did not further increase for ten years. In 1855 what is now the New York & New England, then known as the Boston & New York Central, the successor of the Midland and the predecessor of the Boston, Hartford, & Erie, found its way, through a slough of bankruptcy, to a terminus in the city on Broad Street. It was opened to Putnam, in Connecticut, in January, 1855. It is a fact worthy of notice that this alone, of all the Boston terminal roads, reached at last, in 1879, what might be called a condition of fair prosperity only as the result of a series of failures and reorganizations stretching through a period of more than twenty-five years.[1] As business enterprises, all the others were at the outset successful.

The last of the lines reaching an independent terminus in Boston was the narrow-gauge road known as the Boston, Revere Beach, & Lynn, organized under the general railroad law of the State in May, 1874, and opened through to Lynn, July 29, 1875. It was designed for passenger business only; and its city terminus is at East Boston, from which it connects with its station on Atlantic Avenue, in the city proper, by means of a ferry.

The local railroad-system distinctly tributary to Boston as a considerable railroad centre, and opposed to the other large railroad centres of the country, may be said in 1880 to have consisted approximately of 3,000 miles of road. These serve a region covering the whole of New England, north of the Connecticut and Rhode Island lines, and east of the Berkshire Hills and the Green Mountains of Vermont. Within those limits the traffic is at points, as along the Connecticut, divided not unequally between Boston and New York; beyond them, the tendency is distinctly to the latter city.

As compared with the other great railroad centres of the East, — with Montreal, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, — one striking peculiarity of the Boston situation is that the city has not, and never has had, any complete route connecting it with the interior, which has been controlled and operated in its local interest. An all-rail connection with the West by way of Albany was effected in 1841; and another by way of Troy, when the Hoosac Tunnel was completed, in 1875. Still another had been opened, when in September, 1851, the completion of the Vermont Central, which perfected the city's communication with Canada, was celebrated with rejoicings lasting through many days.[2] But, though these and other outlets to the interior have been opened, none of the Boston terminal lines, unlike those of the other great sea-board cities in this respect, have developed within themselves an expansive force sufficient to carry them beyond the local system into what may be termed the continental arena. The probable explanation of this fact has already been alluded to. It lay in the premature develop-

[1] In the Massachusetts Legislative Documents for 1877 (House, No. 325) is a curious "genealogical chart" of the New York & New England. Some twenty corporations, all of which had been insolvent, seem at different times to have been merged in it.

[2] [See *An Account of the Celebration Commemorative of the Opening of Railroad Communication between Boston and Canada*, Sept. 17–19, 1851. Boston: 1852. The newspapers of that day have full reports of the procession and festivities. — Ed.]

ment, through State aid, of the Western road as distinct from its eastern end, the Boston & Worcester, which held the terminus in Boston. At the very moment of the completion of the Western, consequently, the active business management of it as a corporation passed away from Boston and centred at Springfield. Nor was that all. Instead of being a period of concentration for development outside of the State, the succeeding twenty-five years in the history of both the Western and the Boston & Worcester corporations were wasted in a succession of controversies and bickerings, which ended only with their consolidation in 1866. At the same time the public mind and the resources of the State were diverted in another and false direction, as the scheme for tunnelling the Hoosac Mountain gradually assumed shape. So far as Boston was concerned, therefore, the western railroad horizon did not enlarge. In 1875 it was just where it was in 1825, —at the Hudson River. While New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore had pushed their systems forward to the Mississippi, and were reaching out in every direction, Massachusetts was spending millions to get a competing line through to a point near the mouth of the Mohawk, which had been reached years before, and which had long ceased to be of any large competitive consequence.

From legislative wisdom in dealing with such matters, all experience shows that good results can hardly be expected. As a rule it is either hopelessly wrong, or hopelessly behind the times; in this case it chanced to be both. A policy of systematic dissipation of resource was pursued at a time when its concentration was above all else necessary; and, while the great corporations which served other cities were absorbing into themselves the thoroughfares in the valley of the Mississippi, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts kept its eyes steadily fixed on the Hoosac Mountain. From private enterprise and keener individual judgment better results might have been anticipated. Nor did the opportunity pass unnoticed. Unfortunately when it presented itself, the president of the Western road, though a man of marked ability, was not a citizen of Boston. What is called a self-made man, Mr. Chester W. Chapin had all his life been a resident of Springfield. He was familiar only with the western portions of the State. He was not at home in Boston, and the capital and enterprise of the city neither naturally centred about him, nor did he know how to put himself in communication with them. It was under these circumstances that the one great opportunity for the development of the Boston railroad system presented itself, and was lost.

Mr. Chapin succeeded to the presidency of the Western Railroad Corporation in 1854. At that time the New York Central, both as respects ownership and management, was not what it subsequently became. Its capital was but twenty-three millions, instead of the ninety millions it had been swollen to in 1880; and the value of its stock was so little appreciated, that between 1854 and 1860 it ranged from $50 to $95, with an average market price of, perhaps, $80 a share. Neither was its ownership concentrated in the

hands of a few men. On the contrary, it was widely scattered and largely dealt in on the Exchange. The road was in fact for sale, and continued to be so until it was bought up by Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1868. Shortly after assuming the presidency of the Western, Mr. Chapin became satisfied that a controlling interest in the New York Central could not only be secured, but that it could be secured for a comparatively small sum of money. The amount required did not indeed exceed nine millions. That it was most desirable to secure this control on behalf both of the Western road and the city of Boston, was ob. ous. Seeing the matter in its future bearings very clearly himself, Mr. Chapin repeatedly brought it to the notice of those in Boston who were connected with his company. For the reasons which have been pointed out, however, he failed to interest them in his project, or to impress them with its importance. He offered himself to secure one million of the nine millions required; but the necessary contribution could not be made up. So much in earnest, however, was Mr. Chapin in the matter, that, having failed to accomplish anything himself towards bringing about the result he desired, he had recourse to others. He sent for James D. Colt, afterward one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State, but then a leading lawyer in Berkshire, and requested him to go to Boston and present the matter in the proper quarters. Both the mission and the messenger singularly illustrated the separation which then existed between the main artery of Boston's commerce and Boston's financial and business men. So far from being able to effect a combination to carry out a great scheme, the importance of which he alone seems to have fully realized, the Springfield president of the Western Railroad Corporation did not even know how to put himself in communication with the men who were necessary to make up the combination. Mr. Colt was a lawyer. The business in hand, however, was one to be transacted not with lawyers or judges, but with bankers, and men of business and of capital. To carry it through would have required a great command of money, and that confidence which comes only from the habit of long acting together. Mr. Colt went to Boston and presented the matter as well as he could to a few persons. He failed, however, to interest them in it, either because of its magnitude, or because they did not appreciate its importance. Nothing came of his mission, and Mr. Chapin reluctantly abandoned his scheme as the time for carrying it out slipped away. It is needless to add that the opportunity did not again present itself.

In point of fact, however, even at this time, the individual enterprise and private capital of Boston had already found another, though not more profitable, field of operations. There was what might be called a larger Boston railroad development going on in the West. This dated from the year 1845, and subsequently filled so large a space in the financial operations of Boston, and added so much to its accumulated wealth, that something more than a mere reference to it is necessary. In 1845 there was no

all-rail line from the seaboard to the interior. The disconnected roads, which were subsequently consolidated into the New York Central, terminated at Buffalo, where they connected with a line of steamers which ran to Chicago, stopping at Detroit. From Detroit the State of Michigan had some years before, during the mania for railroad construction which made part of the financial crisis of 1837, built a line to Kalamazoo, in the direction of Chicago. The State had then become insolvent, and the incompleted road, which was laid with strap rails only, gradually wore out. Its sale was accordingly agitated in the public prints, and the discussion attracted the attention of John W. Brooks, who was then superintendent of the road between Auburn and Rochester. Mr. Brooks was a native of Massachusetts, born in the town of Stow, in 1819. He learned what engineering he knew in the office of Loammi Baldwin, and subsequently on the Boston & Maine, but had removed to the State of New York in 1844. Being young, ambitious, and very active-minded, he now concluded that it would be worth his while to go to Detroit and look into the situation there. He soon became satisfied that if the railroad to Kalamazoo was extended through to New Buffalo, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Michigan, it would, as a link in a mixed land-and-lake through-line to Chicago, become a valuable property. He accordingly returned to the East with a view to there effecting some combination to buy up the worn-out and incompleted road, and to renew and finish it. He went first to Boston, where he met with no encouragement. Nor was this surprising. Mr. Brooks at the time was but twenty-six years old. He had almost no acquaintance among men of wealth. Hardly more than a boy, he appeared asking, for the purchase of an unknown railroad in the bankrupt West, a sum of money larger than that which but a few years before Boston had in reality failed to raise to build its long-talked of line to Albany, — failed to raise, too, after Faneuil Hall meetings and resolutions, and speeches from Governor Everett, and much canvassing by committees. Fortunately Mr. Brooks was a man who not only understood his business, but who understood himself likewise; accordingly he was not easily turned aside from his purpose. Though he could get no assurance of aid from Boston, he did get letters to John C. Green and others in New York; and, going there, found that the Farmers' Loan & Trust Company held a large amount of defaulted securities of the State of Michigan. This fact made that company very desirous to have the State sell its public works in order to restore its credit; and to effect the sale it was necessary to provide a purchaser. Here, therefore, Mr. Brooks found something on which to base securely the combination he proposed to effect.

Returning to Michigan, he caused the necessary legislation to be prepared. His counsel was Mr. James F. Joy, then a lawyer in active practice at Detroit. The measure now prepared was submitted to the Michigan Legislature at its next session, and an act authorizing the sale of the State road, and incorporating the Michigan Central Railroad Company, was finally passed in March, 1846. The price of the existing one hundred and fifty

miles of road was to be two million dollars; it was to be completed through to Lake Michigan within three years, and equipped throughout with sixty-pound rails. Six months' time was allowed for the formation of the company and the acceptance of the charter.

Having secured his legislation, Mr. Brooks again went East. He now met with much better success in Boston. The fact that he had powerful

J. W. BROOKS.

backing in New York aided him greatly, and John M. Forbes had become interested in the project. The thing moved, however, very slowly. It was the first considerable venture of the kind which eastern men had made at the West, and, feeling a natural doubt as to its outcome, they went into it slowly and with great hesitation. It took nearly the entire six months to effect the necessary combination. The principal Boston parties finally concerned in it were John E. Thayer and John M. Forbes; with whom also, was Captain David A. Neal, of Salem.

The road was purchased within the time allowed by the act, and the new company organized. Its principal office was in Boston. Mr. Forbes was chosen president, and Mr. Brooks superintendent; John E. Thayer was the financial representative. The combination was a powerful one. Mr. Forbes was then in the prime of life, and he brought an inexhaustible resource, energy, and knowledge of men to bear on the new enterprise. The success which followed was, however, mainly due to Mr. Brooks. Naturally gifted with quick insight and unfailing courage, he combined with great organizing capacity a remarkable executive ability. He thus carried the undertaking through with insufficient means and against obstacles of the most formidable character. More probably than any other man he opened the way to the investment of eastern capital in the railroad development of the West. It was not, however, until 1849 that he succeeded in completing the Michigan Central to New Buffalo. That point continued to be its terminus until 1852, all freight and travel crossing Lake Michigan by steamer. In 1852 all-rail connection was at last made with Chicago.

The Michigan Central now became what the Western Railroad should have been, — the nucleus around which Boston capital centred, and the base from which it expanded. Founded on individual enterprise and private capital, — unhampered by the necessity of perpetually looking to a Legislature for assistance from the public purse to accomplish a given result and no more, — this enterprise was instinct with the spirit of development. That spirit, too, was continually asserting itself. The completion of the road through to Chicago was looked upon as an end, — as much an end to that enterprise as the completion to Albany was to the Western. Scarcely, however, had the Michigan Central reached Chicago, when Mr. Brooks and Mr. Joy, in looking the situation over, concluded that it would be for its interest to have a connection with the Illinois Central, running north and south, at Mendota, fifty miles further west. They accordingly purchased a little road called the Aurora Branch, thirteen miles in length, and got its charter so amended as to authorize an extension to Mendota. Their plan then included nothing more. It looked merely to securing the business of the north-western portion of the Illinois Central for the Michigan Central. In it, however, lay the germ of a great railroad enterprise.

While Mr. Joy was at Springfield, securing his amendments to the charter of the Aurora Branch, he met there other parties on a similar errand. They were trying to get the Legislature to alter the charter of a road known as the Central Military Tract Company, so that under it a connection could be built east from Galesburg. A road was already building from Burlington in Iowa to Peoria, which would pass near Galesburg. Mr. Joy had a boundless faith in the future of the West. Instinctively taking in the possibilities of the situation, he secured the legislation he wanted, made a verbal arrangement with the Galesburg interest, and then started at once from Springfield for Boston. He there laid his project for the new enterprise before those interested in the Michigan Central, but received no encourage-

ment. In New York he was somewhat more successful, getting subscriptions to the amount of $150,000 from Mr. Green and George Griswold. Returning to Boston he now induced the Thayers, Mr. Forbes, and others to subscribe, though for a less aggregate amount; and in the West he and Mr. Brooks raised further sums. In all about $500,000 was gotten together. The Central Military Tract charter was then secured; and with $500,000 of stock subscriptions only to rely upon, Messrs. Joy and Brooks undertook the construction of the first one hundred and thirty miles of what afterward became the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad.

The subsequent extension of this system in the hands of the able men who originated it is a narrative by itself. It is beside the present purpose to enter upon it here. It only remains to add that in 1875 the ownership of the Michigan Central having passed into New York hands, the offices were removed from Boston. The company then owned and operated eight hundred and three miles of track, representing in all forty millions of securities. Unlike the Michigan Central, the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy continued to be chiefly owned and managed in Boston. At the close of 1880, and as the result of less than thirty years of expansive development, it had become a system by itself, serving a vast extent of country. It owned, leased, and operated over three thousand miles of road, or eleven hundred more miles than there were at the same date within the limits of Massachusetts. Having crossed the Mississippi at Burlington, it crossed the Missouri at Plattsmouth, and extended several hundred miles toward the Rocky Mountains on the west; while towards the south it reached Kansas City. At this point it connected with the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé, and at Omaha with the Union Pacific.

Both of these last named lines also had been mainly constructed by Boston enterprise, and were largely owned and controlled in that city. The history of the Union Pacific does not need to be recounted. It was built, when it was, wholly through the almost reckless energy of Oakes Ames; and Oliver Ames was its first president. Its general offices were removed from New York to Boston in 1869. In 1872 the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé was an incompleted enterprise, with a road two hundred and eighteen miles in length, extending from Atchison to Hutchinson in the western part of Kansas. At about that time it attracted the attention of certain leading business men of Boston, among whom were the banking firm of Kidder, Peabody, & Co., and Thomas and Joseph Nickerson. Obtaining control of the company, these gentlemen carried the road through to Pueblo in Colorado in 1876; and after the business revival, which took place two years later, the enterprise in their hands became one of the most brilliantly successful in the business history of the country. Joseph Nickerson had died in 1880, and the same year Thomas Nickerson retired from the presidency of the company, being succeeded by T. J. Coolidge. Kidder, Peabody, & Co. had disposed of their interest in 1878. The company's securities were, however, still held in greatest part in Boston hands, and the whole manage-

ment of the property was there. In March, 1881, a connection of this road with the Southern Pacific was effected, and it thus became a portion of the second trans-continental line. At that time it owned, leased, or operated two thousand two hundred miles of track, representing over fifty millions of securities. The three combinations, — the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy, the Union Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé, — all of which in whole or greatest part originated in the private enterprise of Boston, and, having been constructed by the city's capital, were controlled from thence, — represented in 1880 no less than ten thousand miles of railroad and three hundred and forty millions of securities. At the same time the nine corporations owning railroads having independent *termini* in Boston itself controlled a little over seventeen hundred miles of track, represented by one hundred and twenty millions of securities. Much the larger Boston railroad development had thus been west of Chicago. The local Boston system — that making the city its point for radiation — never overstepped the narrow boundaries of New England.

Of the influence which its railroad system, at home and abroad, exercised on the subsequent growth and municipal character of Boston but little needs to be said. In these respects the city's experience has been in no respect peculiar. And yet the subject cannot be dismissed without particular reference; for here, as elsewhere, the year 1835 marked an historical dividing line. The world we now live in came into existence then; and, humanly speaking, it is in almost every essential respect a different world from that lived in by the preceding six generations. Down to 1835 Boston was still the provincial New-England capital. So far as intercourse with Europe or with the interior was concerned, the motive power in use was the same that had been in use when in 1632 Winthrop first visited Plymouth. He then sailed across the bay to Weymouth, and on the return journey Governor Bradford loaned him his horse. So in 1835, except on interior waters, the sail and the horse were still the only agencies of commerce and travel. As respects population, Boston it is true had since the Revolution very considerably increased; and the ancient form of town government had been laid aside. In all essential respects, however, the place was still only a large town. Territorially it was confined to the old natural limits, within which dwelt not the residents of the city alone, but those also who were regularly engaged in business in it. The range even of country abode and summer resort was limited to neighboring towns, such as Roxbury, Brookline, Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown, — now suburban, though then rural enough, — within the distance of an easy noon-day drive. Of modern seashore residence it may be said that there was almost actually none. The home had to be near the place of business. The office or the counting-room, it is true, was no longer in the dwelling-house, but it was in some street conveniently near to it. Every one, too, had some calling by which he was at least supposed to earn a living; and to have none was looked

upon as scarcely respectable. No generation had yet grown up accustomed to wealth from its birth; there was no class of men of leisure. The railroad changed all this. It brought to Boston the full current of modern city life, — turning the large New-England town into a metropolis, if a provincial one. Of the rapid increase both in wealth and population which then ensued, the figures of the census tell the story. It would be foreign to the purpose to dwell upon it here. There is, however, another story which the census does not tell. In a quarter of a century after the three initial railroads were opened, both the ancient city limits and the modes of life traditionally pursued within them had disappeared. Boston had become the counting-house, as it were, — the daily business exchange, — of a vast concourse of active men having their homes in every neighboring town within a limit of thirty miles. The ancient municipalities immediately adjoining the city had been absorbed into it: Salem, Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, and Worcester became its suburbs. Meanwhile business vocations not only diversified themselves, but they increased in volume, so as to lose all proportion with what they had been. New branches of industry came into existence, and their rapid growth soon caused them to overshadow the traditional callings which were inseparably associated in the New-England mind with the idea of accumulation. Down to the time when the three earliest Boston railroad lines were opened together in 1835, all the large fortunes, as they were then thought, had their origin in the fisheries, in the carrying trade, and in foreign commerce. Thenceforth these were to become of minor importance.

Men of a former generation thus found themselves puzzled. They saw change going on, and they mistook it for decay. Under the altered conditions, new points of distribution and new channels for reaching out from them came into being; and the old channels, and the branches of trade which had immemorially flowed in them, dwindled by degrees and then disappeared. Foreign commerce languished; sailing ships from Canton, from Calcutta, from Russia, from the Levant, and the west coasts of Africa and America no longer unloaded at the wharves. Grass seemed likely to grow in front of those warehouses, from the counting-room windows of which the old-fashioned merchants had been wont to look down on the decks of their vessels. Hence it came about that the period of Boston's most rapid growth was also the period in which the loudest and most dismal forebodings of the city's commercial decline were incessantly heard.

The whole of no community ever readily adapts itself to a far-reaching change of business conditions. In this case the interior of a continent was springing into civilized life. Those who could not realize the fact, or who from habit or slowness of perception were not in harmony with the new order of things, were ruined. Left stranded by the course of events, they disappeared. A wholly new America was meanwhile shaping itself, — an America with which the relations of Boston and New England were yet to be established. New York remained the financial centre of the whole; but Chicago, in 1835 a mere out-post town on the shores of Lake Michigan,

was transformed into the chief distributing point of an interior, in comparison with which that region which the foreign trade of Boston once supplied, was lost in insignificance.[1] Boston meanwhile developed into the local centre of a busy manufacturing population dwelling and working in all eastern New England. This was its home function. As respects the new interior of the continent and foreign countries, the tendency of railroad development is to reduce all seaboard cities into being mere points of transshipment,— conduits, as it were, of modern trade. They are, indeed, of hardly more account in the process of distribution on this scale than those interior towns through which the freight trains laden with corn and meat pass rapidly on their way to the East, shortly to return carrying the bonded wares of Europe in their unbroken packages to the custom-houses of the West.

Between 1835 and 1880, then, the introduction of the railroad and the development of the railroad system, as it changed every other considerable city, changed Boston also. They changed it both within itself, and in its relations with other countries and other portions of the common country. The former capital of provincial New England had not become one of the great railroad centres of the continent. Geographical position alone probably put this out of the question. It had not, however, developed into nearly so considerable a railroad centre as it might at one time have been made. In this respect opportunities had been lost. Nevertheless, as a railroad centre of the second class the position of Boston was well defined and considerable. Within its own territory the city was supreme; and that territory was populous, busy, and wealthy. Beyond its territory the railroad enterprise and railroad investments of those dwelling in Boston had sent back to it a tide of wealth, which reduced to insignificance the old-time profits. Meanwhile, so far as foreign commerce and a share in the handling of the great volume of commodities and exchanges passing between the interior and the ports of other nations are concerned, the city had much more than held its own, and its outlook for the future in 1880 was brighter than ever before in its history.

Charles F. Adams Jr.

[1] In 1820 the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements stated in the report already referred to (see *ante*.), that "the tract of country which at present can carry its surplus produce to Boston more easily than to any other sea-port, and which can receive its foreign supplies from thence most conveniently, contains a population not exceeding 300,000 souls" (p. 44).

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE IN BOSTON.

BY HENRY P. KIDDER AND FRANCIS H. PEABODY.

THE history of the growth of Boston as a centre of financial enterprise and wealth necessarily includes the story of its connection with many undertakings of sufficient magnitude and importance to require separate treatment in other chapters of this work. Although shipping and the foreign trade in the early days, and in more recent times the manufacture of goods for the markets of the country, either in Boston or in other cities and towns of New England, and the construction and operation of railroads have given the greatest impetus to enterprise and the greatest additions to the wealth of the city, yet in this place a brief reference only can be made to the development of these enterprises. But if circumstances require that they shall seemingly occupy a subordinate place, it is necessary that their true importance shall be recognized at the very outset.

Boston was from its foundation comparatively a rich and prosperous town. It was the political and trading centre of the colony, and, as the colonies grew into States, of New England. In these respects it was second only to Philadelphia in all the colonies during the Revolutionary period. When the first census of the United States was taken in 1790, the whole population of the country was a little short of four millions, of whom nearly or quite one fourth were directly dependent upon Boston as their financial and commercial capital. From an account[1] written four years later, in 1794, we may obtain an excellent idea of the material condition of Boston just after the close of the Revolutionary War.[2] The population at that time was about nineteen thousand. It had two banks, one of them already ten years old, chartered by the Commonwealth, besides a branch of the United States Bank; some eighty wharves and quays, and a large domestic and foreign trade. Ship-building had been carried on very extensively in former years, but had, at the date of Mr. Pemberton's writing, been for the most part transferred to other coast towns.[3] There were at one time twenty-seven

[1] "Description of Boston," by T. Pemberton; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 241.

[2] [See Mr. Hill's chapter in this volume.—ED.]

[3] [See the chapter on "Industries," and the references there, and further extracts from Pemberton in Mr. Hill's chapter. — ED.]

dock-yards, and upwards of sixty vessels had been on the stocks at once. One yard had launched as many as twelve ships in one year.

The foundation of the financial strength which Boston has enjoyed in a peculiar degree during the last century was, without doubt, laid when the banking system was established. The usefulness of the modern instruments for economizing the use of money, by means of combination and concentration of wealth, and for increasing its power by the same means, was recognized at a very early day. The wisdom, or the chance, which led the legislators of the last century to adopt measures which, while they encouraged such concentration of wealth and energy, served to give security both to the owners of the capital of banks and to depositors in them, supplemented as it has been by a generally consistent adherence to conservative and correct principles of banking, have done more than anything else to give to Boston the rank as a financial centre which it enjoys, — a rank to which neither its position as a nucleus of population nor its situation with respect to the trade of the country would ever have conferred. The banks of Boston have been safe and strong at times when those of other cities have been weak. They have never led the way in a suspension of specie payments, nor have they ever been backward in resuming. Disasters among them have been rare, and seldom or never attended with serious consequences to sister institutions elsewhere, or to the commercial world. They have helped greatly in sustaining credit, both public and private; and reciprocal assistance has been rendered to them in the shape of a strong public sentiment, which was as free from unreasonable jealousy of their power as it was from toleration of dangerous tendencies in banking.

A bank was established in Boston as early as 1689; but neither that nor any one of several successors during the following century had a long life, or was fortunate while it still existed.[1] In March, 1782, the Bank of North America, founded in Pennsylvania, was chartered also by Massachusetts, and opened a branch in Boston. Although no record of the operations of this bank has been preserved, it is known that its success was sufficient to lead to the charter of a purely local bank in Boston two years later. This latter institution, the Massachusetts Bank, is still in a state of prosperous existence under a national charter. It began business on July 5, 1784, with an authorized capital of $300,000, of which $253,500 was paid in.[2] The

[1] [Professor W. G. Sumner's chapter on "Monetary Development," in *The First Century of the Republic*, cites as the chief contemporary authorities on colonial matters of this kind two Boston books, — Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay* (very intelligent and correct on finance, he says), and Douglass's *Summary* (unequal but valuable, as he accounts it). He also esteems of great value a pamphlet published in Boston in 1740, *Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations*. The reader who is curious to trace the instructive history of our currency in the pre-Revolutionary periods may find — beside Felt's *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, 1839, and the references noted in Vol. I. p. 354, and Vol. II. p. 467 — something of more or less advantage in the following: *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1863, and April, 1870 (by W. S. Appleton); *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 148; and *Proceedings*, March 16 and April 25, 1866; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1860, p. 261. The story will serve as an illustrative commentary on the financial history of our own day, and needs to be well written. — Ed.]

[2] [See further on its formation in the chapter by Mr. H. A. Hill, in the present volume. — Ed.]

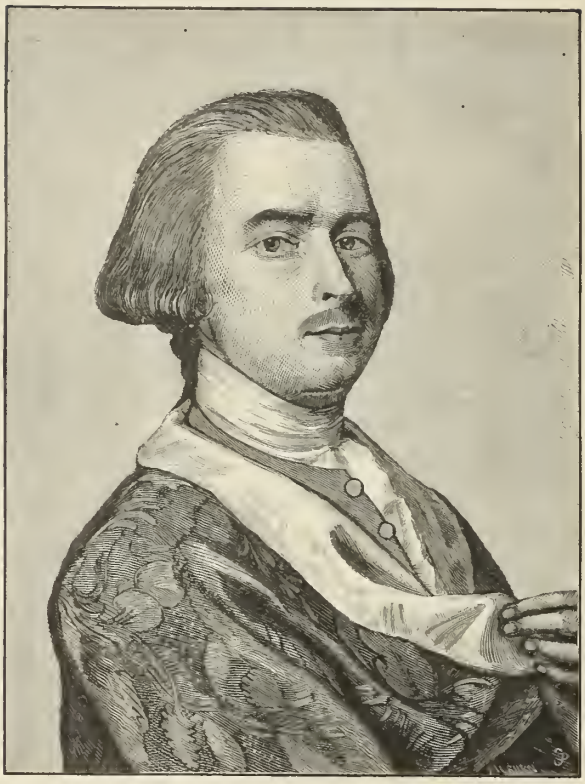
rules[1] adopted for the management of its business were of the most stringent character, but were exceedingly wholesome in their operation, and the Massachusetts Bank secured a good amount of profitable business. The dividends fluctuated somewhat during the early years of its existence, but the average of the years 1791 and 1792 was sixteen per cent. Its assured success led, in the latter year, to the establishment of a rival, — the Union Bank; and about the same time a branch of the United States Bank was opened in Boston. The Union Bank was the first of a series of banks organized under charters having some peculiar provisions. Its capital was fixed at $1,200,000, of which one third was subscribed by the State in its corporate capacity. The bank was forbidden to issue any circulating notes for less than five dollars, or to owe more than twice its capital in addition to its deposits, — the penalty for transgressing this last restriction being the personal liability of the directors for the excess. It was provided that one fifth of the bank funds should be appropriated to loans outside of Boston, for the benefit of agriculture, in sums not less than $100 or more than $1,000, secured by mortgages of real estate, and having not less than one year to run.[2]

Such was the origin of the system which not only rendered available the wealth of Boston merchants, but, becoming metropolitan, absorbed a large part of the banking reserves of New England, and thus made the surplus of the whole group of States helpful in carrying forward Boston enterprises.

At this time, and for many years afterward, Boston was chiefly a commercial port. The great fortunes that were made were acquired in the foreign trade, — like those of Russell, Phillips, Perkins, and others, and that of Mr. William Gray, who made his fortune as a Salem merchant, and then came to Boston to enjoy it. In the years from 1786, perhaps a little earlier, down to the time of the second war with Great Britain, the trade of Boston with China and the East Indies, and to a smaller degree with other countries, was the distinguishing feature of the town's commercial enterprise. But there was another movement going on at the same time which exercised even then, and was destined in after years to exert to a greater extent, an influence upon the future of Boston. The very smallness of the area of the town, and its inaccessibility, served to open a field for financial activity and

[1] The maximum loan to one person at one time was $3,000; no person was allowed to owe the bank more than $5,000 at the same time; and $7,500 was the largest sum for which any person could be liable to the bank as promisor and endorser. Renewal of notes was absolutely forbidden. The person who failed to meet his note was not only obliged to submit to the immediate sale of his security, but he was denied the privilege of having any further notes discounted for a period of eight months thereafter, unless the penalty were remitted by a unanimous vote of the directors The rules, which were "not to be deviated from in the smallest instance nor on any pretence whatever," also required that the names of delinquents should be posted in a conspicuous place in the bank.

[2] Most of the subsequent charters of Boston banks, until the year 1816, contain provisions similar to these, with some variations in detail. The State subscription became an ordinary feature of the bank charter, so that in 1812 the Commonwealth owned about $1,000,000 in stock of its own corporations, being nearly one eighth of all the banking capital of the State. This stock was all disposed of a few years later.



Mr Jackson presents his respects

Boston 11th March 1807 -[1]

speculation. Wharf property was more remunerative than almost any other kind of real estate, and vast sums for those times were invested in the filling

[1] [Copley painted five likenesses of Mr. Jackson (Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 78): one, a life-size crayon of the head, belonging to Jackson's granddaughter, Mrs. Oliver Wendell Holmes; a second, painted in 1768, in oils, half-size, belongs to Mrs. Charles Upham of Salem; a third, half-length, painted in England, belongs to a granddaughter, Susan Cabot Jackson; a fourth, an oval picture, belongs, with one of Mrs. Jackson, to Francis H. Jackson of Boston; the last is a pastel (23 × 17 inches), owned by Colonel Henry Lee, a grandson, and by his kind permission is followed in our cut. It was painted between 1761 and 1773. The morning-gown is of green, with a crimson collar.

Mr. Jackson was the first president of the Boston Bank, holding office from April, 1803, till his death in 1810. The first board of directors consisted of Thomas C. Amory, Samuel P. Gardner, Joseph Hall, Peter C. Brooks, Thomas K. Jones, James Lloyd, Jr., and James Perkins. The Editor is indebted to Colonel Lee for the following notice of Mr. Jackson: —

The Hon. Jonathan Jackson, descendant in the fourth generation from Edward Jackson, one of the first settlers of Cambridge, and afterwards of Newton, — "who brought a good estate to this town, and hath not been wanting to the ministry, or any good work among us," — and son of Edward Jackson (H. C. 1726) and Dorothy Quincy, was born in his father's house in Queen (now Court) Street, where Tudor's and a portion of Sears's Buildings now stand, June 4, 1743; graduated at Harvard

in of docks and the construction of piers. At the beginning of this century, too, ideas of the future greatness of Boston were strongly entertained by many of the wisest men of the town, and they took upon themselves the task of making preparations for the increase of business which they foresaw. Among the enterprises of this period, which can be barely alluded to in this chapter, were the connection that was made by means of bridges with Cambridge, Charlestown, and South Boston, the cutting down of Beacon Hill, so as to fit it for purposes of residence, the annexation of South Boston, and, later, the construction of the Mill-Dam, for the double use of a

College, 1761; moved afterwards to Newburyport, where he married Hannah, daughter of Patrick Tracy, Esq., an opulent merchant, and built by the side of the house of his friend Judge Lowell a splendid mansion, afterwards rendered absurd and notorious as "Lord" Timothy Dexter's house. Mr. Edward Jackson inherited £30,000 from his father, and increased it by commerce in partnership with his wife's brothers, Josiah and Edmund Quincy.

His son Jonathan, upon coming of age, received twenty thousand golden guineas. This and his wife's fortune were lost in commerce, or having been loaned to the Government were hence irrecoverable at the close of the Revolution, and from that time to his death he was dependent upon his salary. His public record is a long and honorable one: member of the Provincial Congress, 1775; representative, 1777; delegate to the Essex Convention, held in Ipswich, in 1778, whose report was the famous *Essex Result*; delegate to the convention to frame a Constitution for Massachusetts, and one of a committee to draft one; member of the Old Congress, 1782; State Senator, 1789; appointed by Washington marshal of the district of Massachusetts, a position held till 1791; inspector, then supervisor of excise, 1791–1802; treasurer of Massachusetts, 1802–1806; treasurer of Harvard College, 1807 till his death, March 5, 1810; also first president of the Boston Bank. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, also of the Humane Society; one of the founders and treasurer of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture. Caleb Cushing says of him: "He was one of the eminent Patriots of Essex during the Revolution and the early periods of our Constitutional history. He wrote some of the best political tracts of the day, etc." Theophilus Parsons, in his life of his father, the Chief-Justice, says: "From my boyhood I was accustomed to hear my father speak of him in terms which placed him before me as the embodiment of sound sense and absolute integrity, etc." In the *Memoir of John Bromfield*, he is thus spoken of: "Hon. Jonathan Jackson, the father of Mrs. Francis Cabot Lowell and Mrs. Henry Lee, a man distinguished in his day for his many excellencies of head and heart. He was educated at Harvard College, Cambridge, and was one of the most accomplished and elegant specimens of old-school manners known among us, or, as was once said of him by a friend, in the words of Sir Walter: 'He was, indeed, a princely knight and courtly gentleman.' Quincy, in his *History of Harvard University*, thus alludes to him: "The Hon. Jonathan Jackson was elected his (Storer's) successor, and retained the office until his death, which occurred in March, 1810; on which occasion the Corporation passed a vote of sympathy with his friends and the public in the loss of a man of talents, integrity, amiable and courteous manners, who discharged the duties of Treasurer and member of the Corporation with reputation to himself and distinguished utility to the University and the public." President Kirkland, writing to Josiah Quincy, April 12, 1810, notices the death of Mr. Jackson: "You have observed and know of the loss of Mr Jonathan Jackson. A great loss So true, so upright, so amiable a spirit cannot take its flight without leaving a melancholy chasm."

Two incidents in the life of this gentleman illustrate his chivalric spirit. The first is narrated by the historian of Newton, and is singularly omitted in Livermore's book: "He took an early and zealous part in the Revolution, was an ardent friend of liberty, and the owner of a slave. Seeing his inconsistency, he placed on record in the Suffolk Probate Office the following document, a noble testimony: —

"'Know all men by these presents, that I, J. Jackson, of Newburyport, in the County of Essex, gentleman, in consideration of the impropriety I feel, and have long felt, in holding any person in constant bondage, — more especially at a time when my country is so warmly contending for the liberty which every man ought to enjoy, — and having some time since promised my negro man Pomp that I would give him his freedom, and in further consideration of five shillings, paid me by said Pomp, I do hereby liberate, manumit, and set him free; and I do hereby remise and release unto said Pomp all demands of whatever nature I have against Pomp. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 19th June, 1776.

"'JONATHAN JACKSON.

"'Witness:
"'MARY COBURN,
"'WILLIAM NOYES.'

"This document is dated just two weeks before the glorious Declaration of Independence was issued, proclaiming all men to be born free. Pomp enlisted in the army as Pomp Jackson, served through the War of the Revolution, and received an honorable discharge. He afterwards settled in Andover, near a pond still known as Pomp's Pond."

The other incident exhibits the inviolability of his friendship, and the degree of his disinterestedness. Mr. Jackson, like many more, having lost his vast acquired and inherited fortune by capture of his ships and by loans to the Government during the war, was compelled to apply for an office to eke out his support. The evening before he was to leave home, his friend, General Lincoln, requested a private interview, and imparted his anxiety for the future, having come home from the war penniless, and expressed his desire to obtain the office of collector of the port of Boston. This was the office upon which Mr. Jackson had set his heart, but this did not affect his resolve. He went to New York, waited upon the President, and after some days' attendance, was admitted to an interview. Washington, taking out his watch, said curtly: "I will give you, Sir, fifteen minutes." Mr. Jackson began to set forth General Lincoln's needs and claims, when he was peremptorily stopped by, "You need not tell me about General Lincoln, Sir." He then explained why he spoke in his behalf, and the interview ended without a word spoken for himself, and General Lincoln was appointed collector. Judge Charles Jackson, Dr. James Jackson, and Mr. Patrick Tracy Jackson, sons of Jonathan, occupied as large and as high a position in their respective professions and in the esteem of their neighbors as any three men who ever lived in Boston. — ED.]

highway, on which tolls were collected, and the creation of a tidal water-power.[1]

The enumeration of these undertakings shows that Boston was even then an enterprising town. The money accumulated by merchants was well employed in improving and beautifying the place. That was before the time of foreign investments. There were no railroads to absorb accumulated earnings, no organized manufactures, no great corporate or municipal loans to serve as investments of trust funds. Even if there had been such, the time was now at hand when there was to be no large surplus for investment in any new enterprise. The first twenty years of the present century were trying times for business. The poverty caused by the war, aggravated by a wretchedly deranged currency, was soon increased by the interruption which the embargo and a second war gave to foreign commerce. Considering what that commerce was to Boston, — its life-blood almost, — the wonder is not that the suffering which was experienced was as great as it was, but that the evils of the time were so bravely borne and so speedily recovered from.[2]

Among those who devoted themselves at this time to the improvement of Boston with full faith in its future, none deserves more prominent notice or higher honor than Uriah Cotting. Mr. Cotting was the projector and the guiding spirit in nearly every enterprise involving the development of the town for business during the first twenty years of this century. He obtained the charter of the Broad Street Association, by which a large district, previously covered with small, inconvenient, and dilapidated buildings, was made available for purposes of commerce. He also led the way in the Central Wharf and India Wharf improvements. He devised the opening of Brattle Street and Cornhill. He was the largest proprietor of the Wheeler's Point estate, through which Sea Street, now Federal Street, was extended. He was, moreover, a large owner of lands on and near Leverett Street, and at the Neck. He acquired property consisting of flats near Lewis Wharf, where he planned the Marginal Wharf speculation, which was substantially carried out a quarter of a century later under Mayor Quincy, when the new streets east of North (then Ann) Street, were laid out, and the long market-house built. His greatest work, however, was the Mill-Dam, which he projected, and of which he was the first engineer, but which he did not live to see finished. He died in 1819 of consumption.

Mr. Cotting deservedly enjoyed during his life a reputation second to that of no other citizen of Boston. Mr. N. I. Bowditch, in a notice of him, printed in the *Boston Courier* of May 27, 1852, a week after the death of Mr. Cotting's aged widow, said that he was "a man to whom Boston is more indebted than to any other of her citizens. His sagacity, enterprise, and public spirit were truly unrivalled. . . . He was a man of the strictest integrity, in whose talents and judgment the most unbounded confidence

[1] [See Mr. Stanwood's chapter on "The Topography and Landmarks of the last Hundred Years." — Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. Hamilton A. Hill's chapter on "The Trade, Commerce, and Navigation of Boston, 1780–1880," in the present volume. — Ed.]

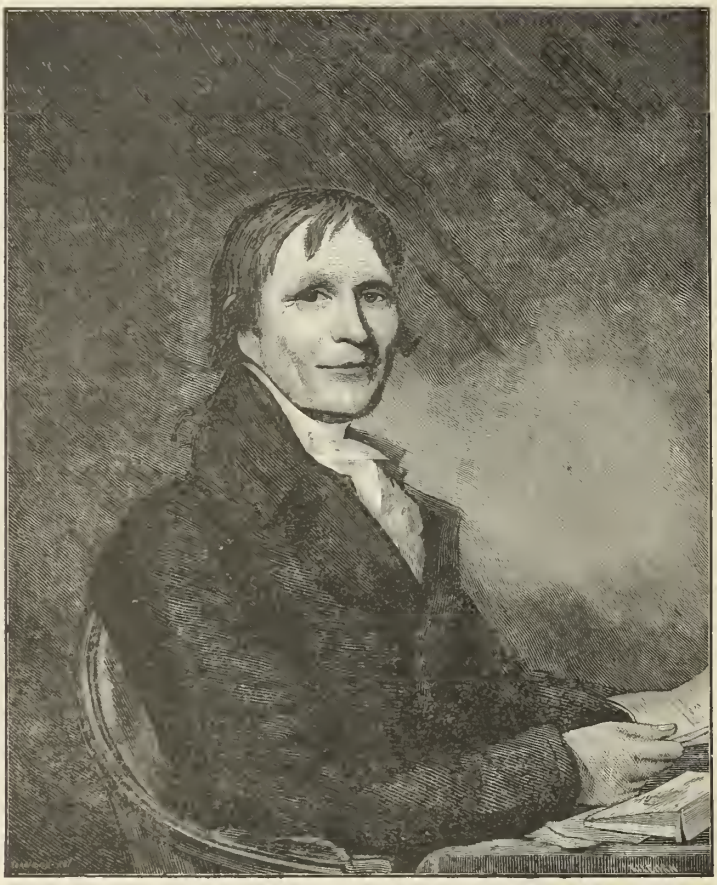
was reposed, and had he lived would undoubtedly have become one of our wealthiest citizens." Mr. Bowditch relates that, supposing himself to be wealthy, he began the erection of a magnificent house on Beacon Street, "which would have been, even for our times, truly a palace; but non-intercourse and the embargo, followed by war with England, came on. Commerce was prostrated; real estate declined in value; rents fell off; his own health began to fail." Under these circumstances Mr. Cotting not only ceased work on his house, but pulled down what he had built, and sold the land. At the time of his death the depression in all kinds of property was very great, and the sale of the equities which he held in a great number of estates brought but a small sum to the heirs.[1]

Unfortunate as was the influence of the disturbance preceding the war of 1812, and that of the war itself, upon commerce, and particularly upon the trade of Boston, there were some compensations. The story of those times, as it is to be gathered from the newspapers of the period, is amazingly beclouded with much that is probably false and still more that is unquestionably untrue. New England was bitterly opposed to the embargo, and opposed to the war even to the verge of unpatriotic selfishness. Its commerce was completely destroyed. What followed is not in the least degree surprising. Smuggling became common, and it was engaged in by wealthy and respectable men. Moreover, many rich prizes of war were brought into Boston. In this way the town became a most important centre of trade, and in fact almost the sole source of supply of certain classes of foreign goods that could not be legally admitted into the country at all. This traffic was nevertheless profitable to a few only, who made large fortunes while most of the people were suffering, with the rest of the country, from the effects of the war. Boston was, no doubt, as one historian of the times puts it, "the financial autocrat of the country."

In 1811, three years after the passage of the Embargo Act, the Democrats came into power in Massachusetts. One of the acts of Governor Gerry's Legislature was to charter a good Democratic bank. It was the State Bank, which is still in existence, and was intended as an offset to the two banks already established, which were run on Federal principles. It was designed also to be the financial agent of the Commonwealth. Federalists offered to pay $100,000 for a charter precisely similar, and the Democrats, in order to avoid the appearance of evil, laid upon the capital of the State Bank an annual tax of one half of one per cent, and rechartered the two already doing business, whose charters were about to expire. This judicious compromise restored peace, as well as the appropriate equilibrium of parties so far as banking was concerned; but the political warfare was

[1] Important pieces of land were sold for five or ten dollars over the mortgages upon them. Only a year or two later, real estate rose much in value, and the purchasers gained handsome profits. The conveyances to and from Mr. Cotting on the registries of Suffolk County number twelve hundred and thirty, on forty-one streets and wharves, in all parts of Boston. So extensive was his ownership on Fort Hill, that a mere abstract of his conveyances there occupies fifty-eight folio pages.

waged as hotly as ever. During the war loud complaints were made of the unpatriotic manner in which the capitalists and bankers of Boston kept their purse-strings tightly drawn. Such complaints were, no doubt, justified to some extent; but party rancor carried the accusation of disloyalty be-



WILLIAM GRAY.[1]

yond all bounds. In 1813 the currency was in a fearfully deranged condition. Boston, but to a still greater extent the western part of the State, was flooded with the notes of New York and Vermont banks. The banks of Boston, in order to keep themselves strong in those troubled times,

[1] [The likeness herewith given follows a portrait of the first president of the State Bank, painted by Stuart in 1807, and owned by the Hon. William Gray. Mr. Gray was born at Lynn, June 27, 1750, and died at Boston, Nov. 25, 1825, and had the reputation of being the largest ship-owner in the country. He lived on Summer Street, in the mansion previously occupied by Governor Sullivan, and built the wharf at the North End known as Gray's Wharf. He is said to have owned at one time sixty square-rigged vessels. Soon after his coming to Boston he was elected lieut.-governor on the ticket with Governor Gerry, with whom he agreed in politics, and he was one of the few Boston merchants who sustained the embargo. During the war he had done much to promote the purposes of the administration. Drake's *Landmarks of Boston*, 201. — ED.]

made but a small emission of notes. According to the returns made to the State, the four banks of the town had more than four and a half millions in specie in their vaults; but their aggregate circulation was less than a million and a half. Foreign notes (that is, those that were issued out of Boston), were at a discount of from three to five per cent. By a law passed in 1810, any Massachusetts bank which refused to pay a note on demand was liable to pay to the holder two per cent a month until the note was redeemed. By the same law, notes issued by banks beyond the limits of the State were made unbankable.

It was at this juncture that the New England Bank was chartered. Immediately upon beginning business it gave out that it would charge only the actual cost of sending foreign money home to the issuing bank and obtaining the specie, to any persons who might desire to avail themselves of the privilege. The result was that the discount on bills of Massachusetts banks out of Boston was at once reduced to one half of one per cent. The bank also sent home the notes of banks outside of the State. Notwithstanding the evident purpose of this policy, to restore order to the currency and to protect the merchants of Boston from loss, the suspicious politicians chose to put another interpretation upon it. They maintained that it was a part of a scheme to drain the country of specie, and to prevent those who were patriotic from contributing to the necessities of the government in the time of its peril. In January, 1814, the Legislature of Massachusetts received the memorial of the New England Bank, in which it was narrated that the bills of certain New York banks, amounting in the whole to the sum of $138,874, having been sent home for redemption, the specie having been received and loaded in three wagons and transported as far as Chester, the collector of New York had ordered the money back and deposited it in the Manhattan Bank of which he was a director. He assigned as a reason for this action that he suspected the money was to be sent to Canada. The General Court passed resolutions condemning the high-handed act, referring the matter to the President of the United States, and demanding the removal of the offending officer. The specie was restored, but there is no evidence that the collector was even rebuked.

The historians generally have done less than justice to this city and State in their accounts of the War of 1812. Lossing, for example, not only adopts the unwarranted suspicion of the bank-director of New York, who was in a position to worry the New England Bank for requiring payment of the circulating notes of his bank, but actually generalizes upon it, and intimates that Boston was in the habit of sending money to Canada. He goes so far as to lay it to the account of Boston that British bills of exchange were sold in New York and Philadelphia. He says that the terms were made attractive so as to draw specie away from the patriotic cities, and thus he makes Boston responsible for the sins of other cities. It can be said, however, that if any sums at all were sent from Boston to the Provinces the evidence does not appear in the bank statements of the time. From 1811

to 1814 the holding of specie in the Boston banks increased from $830,829 to $5,466,659. In the latter year all the banks of the country except those of New England suspended specie payments, and consequently the banks of this section became the reservoir from which the whole country drew. Thus at the very time when the use of silver in illicit trade with the enemy was charged upon Boston, the stock of silver was increasing at a rapid rate.

The period of non-intercourse with Great Britain, which was more or less complete from the beginning of 1808 to the Treaty of Ghent at the end of 1814, was fruitful of good to this country in one important respect. The people were forced to engage in manufactures, for the simple reason that foreign goods were not to be had. Home industry was protected by the most potent of weapons. Previous to this time the cotton manufacture had been begun, in a small and desultory way, at factories fitted with British machinery, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and other States; but they were all small and poorly equipped establishments. The war sent up the price of cotton goods enormously. Cloth that retailed previously for seventeen to twenty cents a yard, having been imported from England, now sold for seventy-five cents a yard by the package. The whole demand being thrown upon the domestic supply, factory building was greatly stimulated. Trustworthy statistics are not to be had, but it appears that more than seventy factories were built in Rhode Island alone, between the years 1810 and 1815. The growth of this interest in Massachusetts was quite as great in proportion, and larger in actual numbers. At this time was laid the foundation of the manufacturing supremacy of Massachusetts which, although figures seem to tell a different tale, she has never lost. The tariff of 1816, which followed soon after the close of the war, also helped to some extent in fostering the infant industry, although its purpose was to help the South rather than New England, which had so grievously offended the war party. Other manufactures, notably that of woollen goods, had been much stimulated by the non-intercourse policy, but it derived little or no benefit from the subsequent protective legislation.

The period succeeding the war, from 1815 to 1819, was one of severe pressure all over the country, but owing to the strength and soundness of the Massachusetts banks, and the comparatively excellent condition of the currency, the evil was not so great here as it was in most other States. Some new banks were chartered at this time, but they had difficulty in raising their capital, and numerous acts were passed by the Legislature extending the time for its payment. It was during this period that the Provident Institution for Savings, the first savings-bank in the country, was established, in the year 1816. It was highly successful from the start, and its experience led to the gradual extension of the system. The savings-banks of the State have been in general managed with much prudence, and have proved themselves to be of inestimable value in financial affairs. They have encouraged a spirit of thrift on the part of the poorer classes of the people,

giving them a safe place of deposit for their surplus earnings, and a small but certain income from them. The watchful care of the Legislature has been in nothing more wisely shown than in the restrictions laid upon the investment of the funds entrusted to the banks. At one time two or three of the earlier banks claimed exemption from rules imposed subsequent to the granting of their charters; but the opinion of the Supreme Court was asked, and, in consequence of the judgment rendered, it became an established principle that all these institutions were liable to be held under control. The chief part they have played during their whole existence has been in enabling large and small real estate improvements to be carried out, by mortgages upon the property to be improved. It is only necessary to say here, that, with a few scattered exceptions, each year has witnessed an increase in the number of banks of this class, and a still more important and rapid growth in the number of depositors and of deposits. The increase has frequently gone on in spite of general depression in business; and when at last the banks have begun to feel the effects of hard times, their recovery has not lagged behind that of the trade of the country.[1]

The period from 1819 to 1825 was one of expansion. Foreign trade was active and internal commerce was good.[2] This was the golden age of the insurance business in Boston.[3] How profitable it was may be gathered from the fact that when, in May, 1825, the American Insurance Company declared a dividend of six per cent on the business of the preceding six months, it was stated that in the ten years of its existence it had divided one hundred and eighty-seven per cent of its capital. Many banks of deposit and discount were also incorporated during this period; but some of them never went into operation. Nevertheless, the seven Boston banks of 1819 had become nineteen in 1825, and the capital was increased during the same time from $7,350,000 to $10,300,000.

It was towards the close of this period that the Suffolk Bank system, which has made New England banking famous for all time, was first introduced. The Suffolk Bank was chartered in 1818, as the seventh bank in Boston. Among the subscribers to its capital stock were Gardiner Greene, Patrick T. Jackson, John W. Boott, Nathan and William Appleton, William, Amos, Abbott, and Luther Lawrence, Ebenezer Francis, Augustine Heard, and other well known capitalists of Boston. The new bank, having organized by the choice of Mr. Francis as president and Matthew S. Parker as cashier, turned its attention at once to the "foreign money" business; that is, the redemption of bank-notes issued by institutions outside of Boston, then monopolized by the New England Bank. The principle on which this business was done may be seen from the votes of the directors in February, 1819: "That if any bank will deposit with the Suffolk Bank

[1] Only one serious disaster, affecting the soundness of many of the banks at once, has ever occurred, and that will be referred to in its appropriate place.

[2] [See Mr. H. A. Hill's chapter. — Ed.]

[3] [See the chapter on "The Rise and Progress of Insurance in Boston," by Mr. Osborne Howes, Jr. — Ed.]

five thousand dollars as a permanent deposit, with such further sums as shall be sufficient from time to time to redeem its bills taken by this bank, such bank shall have the privilege of receiving its own bills at the same discount at which they are purchased;" also that certain banks in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which were named, "shall have the privilege of receiving such of their bills as may be received at the same discount as taken, without the permanent deposit of five thousand dollars, provided such banks will make all their deposits at the Suffolk Bank, and at all times have money sufficient to redeem the bills taken;" further, "that should any bank refuse to make the deposit required, the bills of such banks shall be sent home for payment at such times and in such manner as the directors may hereafter order and direct."

A lively competition with the New England Bank was the result of this action of the bank, and the discount on foreign money was quickly reduced. After a short time the profits became so small that the Suffolk Bank was forced to reduce its expenses. A great deal of ill feeling was caused by the persistency with which the bills of country banks were returned for redemption; but the Suffolk Bank insisted upon its right, and the banks affected were forced to submit. In 1824 the city was flooded with the issues of these banks. Boston, having more than one half of the banking capital of New England, supplied only one twenty-fifth part of the currency. Accordingly, early in that year, a committee of two of the directors of the Suffolk Bank — Messrs. John A. Lowell and William Lawrence — were directed to consider, in connection with committees of other Boston banks, what measures might be adopted to check the evil of the enormous expansion of country, and especially eastern, currency. Correspondence and conferences ensued, and the result was that the Suffolk Bank became the agent of all the banks of the city except the New England, to send home the bills of outside banks for redemption. A fund of $300,000 was subscribed by these banks in proportion to their respective capitals, for the purchase, indiscriminately, of foreign money. Intense opposition arose at once to this combined effort of the Boston banks to relieve themselves and the city of the great over-issues of bank bills. The association was called in derision the "Holy Alliance," and the "Six-tailed Bashaw." But the opposition was unavailing. The Boston banks knew they were only acting within their rights when they treated a bank bill as a promise to pay money on demand. Yet long after the great benefits of the new arrangement had made themselves evident, giving as it were a certificate of soundness to all the banks whose notes were received by the Suffolk Bank, and warning all banks of the danger of taking any bills of banks thrown out at the counter of the Suffolk, the unreasoning hostility was continued.[1] Nevertheless the business increased very rapidly. With some minor modifications the Suffolk

[1] As an example of this hostility may be cited the angry remonstrance by the *Hartford Times*, in an article printed in July, 1827, against the too cautious acceptance of country bank-bills by the Boston banks, which were charged with being "up to their old tricks."

Bank system was continued until 1858, when the Bank of Mutual Redemption was established for the special purpose of serving as agent of all the New England banks in the redemption of their bills.[1] The amount of foreign money which passed through the Suffolk Bank in 1857, the last year of its service as the agent of the associated banks of Boston, reached the vast sum of four hundred millions, which is a much larger sum than the redemption agency at Washington, under the National Bank system, has ever been required to handle in the same length of time. The expense of doing all this work was but $40,000.

The years from 1825 to 1830 were marked by a very large increase in the number of banks in Massachusetts, though there were but three additions to the Boston list. It was at this time that a spirit of recklessness seemed to come upon the projectors of banks. Felt says, in his *History of Massachusetts Currency*, that "before 1825 these institutions were promoted and sustained chiefly by capitalists; but since, they have been much oftener made up for the purpose of borrowing and not of lending, for rash enterprises to gain fortunes at the risk of the community." The charters of three country banks, granted in 1825 and 1828, were repealed in 1830. They had been put in operation by means of perjury. They had violated nearly every provision of their charters, and were in an unsafe condition. Stringent laws were enacted to prevent a repetition of the scandal; but they were easily evaded, and the succeeding period was one of the most disgraceful and disastrous in the history of Massachusetts banking.

The severe pressure for money which had been felt at various times between 1825 and 1830 now began to pass away. With an abundance of money to be had at a low rate of interest, the spirit of speculation revived in its most active form. The bank fever was at its height. In seven years, ending with 1837, the number of banks in Boston was doubled, increasing from seventeen to thirty-four. Outside of Boston they rose from the num-

[1] It is hardly worth while at this time either to give the particulars of the history of Suffolk Bank redemption, or to dwell upon the incidents of the controversy which finally resulted in the overthrow of the system as it was originally. A very full and interesting account of the bank and its operations for sixty years may be found in Mr. D. R. Whitney's monograph, *The Suffolk Bank*, privately printed in 1878. But it may be worth while to give one example of the ingenious methods of opposition which were sometimes resorted to for the purpose of punishing the Suffolk Bank for its zeal in requiring debtors to pay what they owed.

The Veazie Bank of Bangor, Maine, was one of the most active opponents of the system. The officers of that bank procured the passage of a law by the Legislature of Maine, allowing to the banks of that State a certain delay after the presentation of their bills in which to redeem them. Mr. Whitney tells how this privilege was used. "Having received in the regular course of its business a quantity of Veazie Bank notes, the Suffolk Bank would send a messenger to Bangor and demand specie for the same. The bank would acknowledge the demand and claim the lawful delay. In the mean time it would collect Boston funds and send them to a well known Boston broker, who, himself no friend of the Suffolk Bank, would take great pleasure in exchanging them in one way and another for checks on that bank. He would then present himself at the bank, demand specie for his checks, and, with the coin thus obtained, pay it for the bills for which it had demanded specie some days before; in short, not only requiring the Suffolk Bank to hold the bills of the Veazie Bank for a certain specified time, but at the end of that time to furnish the specie for their redemption." The Veazie Bank, it may be remarked, flooded Maine with "shinplasters" at the beginning of the Civil War.

ber of forty-six to ninety-five. The new banks were used principally for the issue of circulating-notes, as may be seen from the following comparison of the situation of all the banks in the two years named: —

	Banks in Boston.		Country Banks.	
	1830.	1837.	1830.	1837.
Number	17	34	46	95
Capital	$12,350,000	$21,350,000	$6,945,000	$16,930,000
Deposits	2,194,230	6,560,076	1,380,726	1,907,122
Circulation	2,171,417	4,386,414	2,952,673	5,886,704
Specie	910,391	1,129,942	348,053	388,042

The excessive amount of capital to the business done, the increased amount of circulation, and the small proportion of specie in reserve, tell their own story of expansion and unsoundness. In 1836 the banks of Boston had barely ten per cent of the combined amount of their circulation and deposits in reserve, and the situation of the country banks was infinitely worse. The ratio of their circulation and deposits to the specie on hand was twenty-eight and one half to one.

While this strong tendency to the creation of unnecessary banks was one of the most prominent features of the financial history of this period, it was not the only one. Speculation in real estate ran riot. There has perhaps never been another time, either before or since, when this particular form of speculation assumed such proportions in the United States, or when it infected such numbers in the community. No better illustration could be given of it than may be drawn from the "Eastern Land Speculation," which brought ruin upon hundreds of persons in Boston and thousands in New England. The history of this craze has never been written; and the most that can be done now, until all that bears upon it is patiently collected from the records of the time, is to construct a brief narrative from the memories of the men, now all aged, who took part in the speculation.

There was a basis for the speculation, as there always must be for any general craze. Manufacturing by means of water-power was foreseen to be a great source of wealth for New England, and there were in Maine hundreds of unoccupied falls where the water was abundant and unfailing. The forests of Massachusetts were exhausted, and northern Maine was covered with a virgin growth of magnificent pines and other varieties of trees. The State had increased in population during the first ten years of its separate existence, not only more in proportion but more in actual numbers than the parent State. Emigration tended thither, and a strong belief existed in the future greatness of Maine. Add to all this that land

was almost incredibly cheap in the State[1] in 1830, and it will be seen that all the elements were present for a great speculation, particularly when money was plentiful and real estate was the favorite field for bold venture.

Nobody seems to be able to tell just how the madness began; but we find it in full control of New England in 1833 and 1834. In those and the two following years men apparently grew rich in a day. Mill sites, each suitable for a small grist-mill, rose to fabulous prices. Wild lands, which could hardly have been given away a few years before, and which were scarcely worth owning at any price, changed hands at an enormous valuation. It used to be a joke in Bangor that the hotels and boarding-houses were so full of Boston land-speculators that late comers were forced to pay high prices for the privilege of leaning, overnight, against a fence-post. The State sold lands by the township. A speculator would buy a township wholly on credit, like a pig in a poke, without the slightest knowledge of the character of the soil or the nature of the forest growth, if any, upon it. Then he would send an "explorer," of whom there were many professional ones, to investigate and report. In too many cases the explorer would find the attractions of Bangor too great to be resisted; and accordingly, after an ostentatious setting out on his mission, he would return secretly, and draw up from his imagination a report, favorable of course. It is related of one of these explorers that he was seen making a series of sketches of townships, upon each of which a liberal growth of pine-trees was exhibited, and through the centre of each of which was represented a fine stream of water. The gentleman who saw this expressed surprise that all the townships should be so favored. "Oh," replied the explorer, "Maine is well watered." It was, indeed! Fortified with a favorable report, the purchaser of the township would seek and quickly find a person eager to buy at an advance. As he had bought, so he would sell,—on credit. The second owner would repeat the process, taking a note for the purchase money; and so on.

This general method of operation was by no means confined to State lands. There were men who made it a business to go about taking bonds of all the real estate that the owners would sell. One who remembers well the incidents of the time says that almost the whole of the county of Kennebec was bonded to speculators. A bond for anything was salable. Women and boys engaged in this trade. Sorry as was the result of the craze, there are few men who were concerned in the speculation who do not recall the time with a twinkle of amusement in their eyes as soon as they begin to talk over old times, wondering at themselves as much as at others for their early folly. When the crash came, however, it was anything but amusing. Real fortunes, as well as paper ones, melted away in a night. The failure of any one of a series of holders of a piece of land toppled over the whole structure of credit. In a few short months the whole

[1] The land on which the State House in Augusta stands was sold for twelve and a half cents an acre.

speculation collapsed. So extreme was the depression which followed, that the land-agent of Maine, in his report at the beginning of 1838, urged the adoption of a system of cash payments for future sales of land, because "there are notes to a considerable amount in this office, taken in 1835, that can never be paid, all the parties to them having become bankrupt. . . . There is scarcely a man indebted to the land-office who would not find it exceedingly difficult to make immediate payment." A few men who took the precaution to sell out their lands and bonds at the high prices and get the money, or who were strong enough to hold on until prices became better, or who had kept out of the speculation until the collapse came and then bought properties for a song, became wealthy; but the largest part of the men concerned in the affair, among whom Boston merchants and capitalists were very prominent, lost heavily.

The period under consideration is to be mentioned for another undertaking, or class of undertakings, which have done more than anything else to increase the power and importance, in a financial sense, of this city. It was at this time that the railroad system was introduced. The connection of Boston with enterprises in this field, — both those which were designed to and did minister directly to the consequence of Boston among the cities of the country, and those which served only as outlets for the surplus capital of New England, and as remunerative investments in other parts of the country, — is told in another chapter.[1] It will be sufficient in this place to note very briefly the influence of railroads upon the wealth and business of Boston.

The purely local roads have consolidated the country within many miles of Boston into what is practically one city, and have concentrated, — more than is true of any other centre of population in the country, — the energies and the public spirit of all into one community. The roads which have a connection with the West or the South, or with both, have been most invaluable as agents for the distribution of New England products, and for the bringing of food either for consumption or export; and, although they have been merely independent termini of great systems, they have done their work as well, and with quite as great returns to the owners, as the railroads of any other State or district of the country. Finally, the investments beyond the State have been in the main so judicious that handsome profits have accrued to the capital placed in them, and have given Boston a financial standing which is directly comparable with that of New York, and is inferior to that of no other city on the continent.

The great interruption to business prosperity came at the end of a season of unexampled speculation and inflation, in 1837. The storm had been giving warning of its approach for many months. In Massachusetts the growing distrust had manifested itself late in the previous year by such incidents as the run on the Nahant Bank, which suspended with only $215 in specie on hand, but with liabilities outstanding, on circulation alone, of

[1] [By Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr. — Ed.]

$242,965. At the beginning of 1837 suspicion was entertained of the soundness of four banks, three of them in Boston, and an investigation was had. In spite of a whitewashing report, all four banks failed before 1840. In March occurred the New Orleans failures, which pulled down many New York houses, and these in turn prostrated mercantile firms in Boston. In a short time business had almost completely ceased. On May 10 the banks of New York suspended specie payments, and the next day a large meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, at which it was resolved that self-protection required the banks of Boston to do the same. On the 12th all the banks did so.

To most of the banks of Boston this was almost entirely a measure of precaution. There was then, as before and since, a class of banks which are distinguished for taking large risks in the hope of large profits. In 1837 the number of such institutions appears to have been unusually large. They were exclusively new banks, all the older banks being conservative and strong. This is shown by a letter written by the president of the Suffolk Bank to a brother president in Augusta, Maine, less than a fortnight after suspension. "In regard to resuming specie payments," he wrote, "I can only say that we are ready to commence again to-day, and intend to remain in this condition till others are also ready." Other banks in Boston were in quite as safe and ready a condition as the Suffolk.

The old Jacksonian controversy over the United States Bank is not worth reviving now; but there can be no gainsaying the fact that the inflation of the years from 1832 to 1837 was largely caused by the rush to get into a business which the repeal of the charter, or rather its non-renewal, was to leave more open to competition; that the distress was precipitated by the hard and unreasonable demands of the Government upon the banks for funds in large sums for the distribution of surplus revenue; and that after the suspension the Government aggravated rather than ameliorated the situation. The specie-circular of 1836, which required all payments for lands to be made in coin, was now followed by an order of the postmaster-general directing that specie alone should be received for postage. An immense indignation meeting was held in Faneuil Hall on May 17 to protest against this order, and some vigorous resolutions were passed, which of course had no effect. Business continued to be in a wretchedly prostrate condition all through the year 1837. Early in the following year it seemed to observers that the existing evil might be to a great extent removed, if the banks were to give evidence of their faith in the future by resuming. The Legislature passed a law which made it for the interest of the banks to begin paying their notes; and on May 10, just a year after the suspension, they resumed at the same time with the New York banks.

Although immediately after the suspension of 1837 the banks of the city, with one exception, banded themselves together for purposes of mutual protection and supervision, the period is strewn with wrecks of these institutions. The Associated Banks appointed a committee, "with full

power to examine into the condition of any bank in the association; to reprove and, if necessary, restrain banks which were disposed to transcend the limits of prudence; and to require them to give security for their circulating-notes held by any bank in the association."[1] By this action the Boston banks gave proof of the good faith of their long-continued policy of rigor towards the banks in other parts of New England, since they now applied to themselves a more rigid rule than they had ever attempted to impose upon others. While the supervision which was exercised over the banks operated to some extent as a restraint upon the more reckless members, it could not save those which were already insolvent. In July, 1837, the Franklin and Lafayette banks of Boston failed, with heavy liabilities and almost worthless assets. Some of the other banks expanded their circulation at the same time, but only to pay the penalty of their folly a little later. Confidence was gradually being restored as the excitement died away, when the public was startled, in January, 1838, by the failure of the Commonwealth Bank. This was the largest failure that had occurred among Boston banks up to that time; and it was particularly significant, owing to the circumstance that it was one of the institutions chosen by the General Government for the deposit of funds which were deemed unsafe in the Bank of the United States. Very soon afterward six other banks were forced to close their doors, four of them being Boston banks. The Legislature of 1838 promptly repealed the charters of ten banks, seven in Boston. These included, besides those already mentioned as having failed, the Commercial, Fulton, Kilby, and Hancock banks. Several other failures took place in following years, but only one, the Middling Interest, belonged to Boston. It is a fact worthy of notice that not one of the old Boston banks — those chartered before 1825 — was injured by the crisis. The mortality was heaviest among the latest comers into the field; not because they had not had time to strengthen themselves, so much as because they were created for purposes of speculation, and were conducted on a speculative basis. In addition to its vigorous action in annulling charters of failed banks, the Legislature of 1838 passed laws for the protection of the public in their dealings with banks, and created the Board of Bank Commissioners, who received large powers in the direction of examination and control of banks, — measures which fully justified themselves by their subsequent success in preventing reckless management, and in giving timely warning of disaster.

The period from 1840 to 1850 was one of large prosperity for Boston. It was then that the ocean carrying trade was most active at this port. Boston ships went everywhere. Here was the controlling market for many articles of foreign production of great importance; and even when the control of the sale was not here, a large part of the carrying was done in vessels owned in and sailing from Boston. During this decade the estab-

[1] *History of Banking in Massachusetts*, by Dudley P. Bailey, Jr.; *Bankers' Magazine*, October, 1876.

lishment of the Cunard Line, as a swift carrier of mails, passengers, and high-cost freight, gave increased importance to the city. Those who wish to learn how large a part of the life of Boston the arrivals and departures of the Cunard steamers made, may make the discovery by studying the record of events in the city at this period, as given in the *Boston Almanac*. Not once is the interesting fact of a movement of one of these vessels omitted. The pride of the people in the line is indicated by the enterprise with which a channel was cut for the "Britannia" to go to sea, that it might not be said that she was detained in the harbor because Boston was frozen up.

At the beginning of the last decade before the war, the memory of the terrible consequences of undue expansion which culminated in 1837 had mostly died out, and a new season of inflation set in. As before, the speculative rage manifested itself in a marked degree by the creation of new banks. But the legislatures of this period were more cautious than their predecessors in the period from 1830 to 1837 had been. The result of their wise caution was seen in the better resistance offered by all the banks when the disasters soon to come overtook the community. While the banks remained comparatively conservative, speculation of various kinds was rife; merchandise advanced rapidly in price, and all the elements conspired to prepare the way for a great financial revulsion.

Two events occurring in Boston at this time deserve more than a passing mention. The first was the establishment of the Boston Board of Trade, in 1854. This association was the result of an effort to concentrate the business energies of the city, then greatly divided, in order that a consistent and enterprising policy might be substituted for the hesitating and inharmonious methods that prevailed in reference to the interests of the port. The Board of Trade never succeeded in restoring Boston to its former maritime rank. New York, stimulated by the rivalry of sister cities, and aided both by natural advantages and by the systems of communication with the interior by means of canals and railroads, had gained a start which she easily maintained; and since the period under consideration she has greatly increased her lead. Nevertheless, the Board of Trade found its mission, and has served a useful purpose in the financial economy of the city. The early habit of Boston merchants to meet "on 'Change," which was in vogue until about 1850, had been abandoned, and it has never been resumed; but the Board of Trade has served to keep up a fraternal spirit among Boston merchants, drawing them together now and then for the purpose of discussing matters involving the interests of the commerce, both domestic and foreign, of the port, and acting as an organ and spokesman of the entire body of business men. Of late years, we may remark, as there will be no occasion to mention its work again, it has maintained one of the finest commercial news-rooms in the country.

The other event was the establishment of the Clearing-house. The New York Clearing-house went into operation in October, 1853; that of Boston,

in May, 1856. Twenty-nine banks formed the association at the start, but three others were admitted the same year. The exchanges in 1856 amounted to a little more than $1,000,000,000, — about one seventh of those at New York in the same year. The modern rule of estimating the amount of business done in a city at various periods, by a comparison of the clearings, can be proved correct, so far as Boston is concerned, by the statistics of this institution during the quarter-century of its existence. The effect of the crisis of 1857 is very distinctly observable; and so are the depression at the beginning of the war, the expansion which followed, the season of inflation from 1867 to 1873, the decrease of trade which ensued, and finally the revival of business in 1879 and 1880. In the last year the gross exchanges amounted to $3,326,343,166. This sum was rather more than one twelfth part of the clearings in New York in 1880; showing, so far as this is a test, that the business of the metropolitan city has grown at a more rapid rate by far than that of Boston, and in the actual amount of business done is now many times as much. It is a fact well worthy of mention, that no bank belonging to the Boston Clearing-house has ever failed. At present the association includes fifty-one banks, all under national charter. Ten banks, most of them located in Roxbury or other annexed districts, and the several trust-companies which do a banking business, "clear" through some member of the association.

The banks of Boston were much better prepared to withstand the evil of 1857 than they had been to meet disaster in 1837. In the first place, they were managed by more prudent men, — or rather, to be more accurate, there were not among them so many reckless spirits. Moreover, a law passed in 1854 had required the Boston banks to publish weekly returns of their condition, so that the business was conducted more in the sight of the public. Nevertheless, the city banks in February, 1857, had but $3,500,000 specie, as reserve against liabilities in the shape of circulation and deposits of more than $22,000,000. Warned of impending danger, the banks not only of Boston, but of New York and other parts of the country, began to curtail their loans and to reduce their liabilities to the public. This action, coming upon a business community accustomed to a free use of credit, produced such a strain that in the autumn there was a general suspension of specie payments, the Boston banks joining in the movement. The suspension lasted but fifty-nine days, and all the banks resumed payment on December 12, not one bank having failed in consequence of the crisis. Indeed, the suspension was merely nominal while it lasted. Specie flowed in rapidly, and there was no great difficulty in obtaining what was needed by the best borrowers.

The disaster of 1857, so far as it affected the banks, was thus of a brief and harmless character. It was quite otherwise with general business. Yet it is safe to say that hardly a person in the community had, at the time of suspension, even an approximate appreciation of the gravity of the situation. The one thing apparent to everybody was that the banks had con-

tracted at a terribly rapid rate,[1] and in an unfeeling manner. The principle of *post hoc propter hoc* was applied by everybody who sought for an explanation of what was occurring, and the banks were denounced, right and left, for their heartless action. The newspaper and periodical literature of the day teems with long expositions of the situation. So careful an observer and so wise a man as Nathan Appleton, in a letter addressed to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, on October 12, the day before suspension, maintained that business generally was in a sound and prosperous condition, or would be so but for the course of the New York banks. "In my whole experience," he wrote, "I have never known a crisis so severe as the present, and, I must say, so wholly uncalled for." The editor of the *Advertiser*, in printing this letter, said that Mr. Appleton "fixes the seat of the mischief in the true spot, namely, the banks of the city of New York;" and *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, in copying the letter, expressed its entire concurrence in this view. Mr. Amasa Walker led off in the magazine just mentioned (issue for November, 1857) with an article, which he began by saying that "the whole monetary system of the United States has fallen with a mighty crash, and now lies before us a magnificent and melancholy ruin."

It was not long, however, before a change was observable in the explanations given. Careful men learned to their surprise, but to their complete satisfaction, that the real cause of the panic and the financial and commercial ruin lay much deeper than the action of the banks; and they were honest enough to confess the mistake they had made. Even if they had not done so, the lesson of the appalling list of failures which ensued, becoming more frequent and more disastrous after the banks had resumed and were again discounting freely, was too plain to be mistaken. In Boston alone there were two hundred and fifty-three failures, with liabilities amounting to $41,000,000, — an amount which was larger than that of any year before or since. In 1858 the fact was generally recognized that overtrading had caused the evil. Immense investments had been made in manufacturing and railroad enterprises, far beyond any present necessities, and the money for these purposes had been for the most part borrowed abroad. The currency was bad; but the commerce of the country was carried on in such an artificial way that merchants and speculators, and not the representatives of concentrated wealth, were the real offenders.

The Suffolk Bank system came to an end in 1858. This was the result of a long-growing impatience on the part of many banks in New England at the restraints which that system imposed upon them, as well as of a desire to share in the supposed large profits of the Suffolk Bank on the redemption of foreign money. The Bank of Mutual Redemption was chartered in 1855, and began business in 1858. The division of the business of redemption

[1] The loans and discounts of the New York banks for the week ending August 8 averaged more than one hundred and twenty-two millions. In ten weeks, to October 17, the week of suspension, the amount of loans was reduced to a little more than ninety-seven millions, — a diminution of fully twenty per cent. The reduction in Boston was only about ten per cent; but even then it amounted to several millions, and caused great financial distress.

between two agents, and the withdrawal of deposits by many of the country banks, determined the directors to discontinue the assorting of country money altogether. The system was continued in a modified form by the Bank of Mutual Redemption, until the establishment of the National Bank system rendered it no longer useful or practicable. The great value of the Suffolk Bank system is seen, and will always be acknowledged, by those who study the reasons why, when the currency of the country was in a state of utter disorder, that of New England was sound and healthy; and who observe that while the notes of other banks had but a local circulation, or, if they wandered away from the place of issue, were only taken at a large discount, those of New England banks were current at par in far distant States.

The beginning of the Civil War found general business again in a prosperous state, and the banks in a condition of strength. While the strong arms of the sons of Massachusetts were offered to the country for its military service, its strong-box was opened to supply the means for prosecuting the war. The banks cheerfully took the assigned amounts of the national loans which were raised through the medium of the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, in 1861. They gave efficient help to business in the stirring times which followed. Boston had its full share of the trade which arose out of the necessities of large armies in the field. The last vestiges of its great fleet of ocean vessels were swept away, a part of them having been sold to British owners, and others having been captured by Confederate cruisers; but, in compensation, the factories of New England were pressed to their utmost capacity to supply woollen cloth for uniforms. The cotton-mills, if they had scanty supplies of raw material, were enabled to make handsome profits on the goods they could make. The boot and shoe makers and dealers enjoyed the benefits of an enormous demand for goods of a class in which they had almost a monoply. Other branches of business were also greatly favored by those kinds of trade which are made active by the dire necessities of war.

The first national banking law was passed in 1863, and re-enacted with some modifications in 1864. The Safety Fund Bank was the first Boston institution to take advantage of the new system, which it did by becoming the First National Bank of Boston, under the act of 1863. All the banks of Boston transformed themselves into National banks in 1864 and 1865, being encouraged to do so by a law of the Commonwealth passed in 1864, which facilitated the change. The provision of the National Bank Act which authorized the formation of gold-banks was availed of for the organization of the Kidder National Gold-Bank, the only one of the kind ever established except on the Pacific coast. This bank, however, discontinued business several years ago, and surrendered its charter.

There are now sixty-one national banks in Boston, with an aggregate capital stock of $52,300,000, and accumulated profits amounting to more

than $15,000,000. The Merchants' National Bank has the largest capital among the Boston banks, amounting to $3,000,000; the State and Tremont banks have each a capital of $2,000,000; and there are nine others with a capital of $1,500,000 each. The largest amount of bank loan ever reported by the Clearing House Association — comprising, as has been said, nearly all the national banks and all the large ones — was $166,110,700, which was the average for the week ended Aug. 20, 1881. The individual deposits at the same time amounted to $68,304,100, which was not the largest sum ever reported, the amount having been at one time over $70,000,000; and the amount due to other banks, being the deposits mostly of New England country banks, was $42,145,900. These figures show an enormous business, and are greatly in excess of those for any other city in the United States, excepting New York. But they do not show the full amount of the banking business of Boston. There are several trust companies doing a general banking business, receiving money on deposit subject to check, and discounting business paper, but issuing no circulation. Moreover, there are many private banking firms, some of them with large capital, whose operations are on an extensive scale, and whose credit is recognized all over the world.

The financial crisis of 1873 offers no matter for particular mention of Boston's share in its disasters and distresses. The causes of the panic were no doubt as much promoted by the course of business and speculation in Boston as by what happened in other parts of the country, and not more. Trade was carried on and financial affairs were managed with as much, perhaps not with more, prudence here than elsewhere. If there was any difference it was in our favor, since it can be said with truth that the majority of the failures among individuals, firms, and corporations were later in point of time than in most of the large cities; but in the end Boston suffered not less than her sister cities. She has also shared to the full extent in the revival of business which preceded, by a little, the resumption of specie payments by the Banks and the Government, after a suspension of more than fifteen years. Indeed, it is believed by many persons that Boston was the first to enjoy the season of returning prosperity. It is certain that the sudden and surprising recovery of confidence and business by some of the great railroads of the West in which Boston men chiefly were the stockholders and owners of the mortgage securities, — such as the Burlington & Missouri River, in Nebraska (now consolidated with the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy), and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé roads, — anticipated by months the appreciation of the stocks of roads in which other cities were chiefly interested.

Mention should, however, be made of one class of disasters which affected Massachusetts peculiarly at this time. The savings-bank system of New England was more highly developed than that of any other part of the country. In Massachusetts it had been under a most pervasive and efficient control. These banks, receiving as they did the scanty earnings of the poor,

who were least fitted either by education or by opportunities to investigate the safety of the institutions to which they committed their hard-earned savings, were justly deemed by the State authorities to be the most proper objects of vigilant watchfulness. The confidence inspired by this system was increased by the promptness with which they had met all their constantly increasing liabilities. The very excellence of the rules and restrictions under which they were managed, however, was in a certain sense the cause of disaster. They were required to invest a large part of the deposits committed to them in mortgages of real estate in Massachusetts. Unfortunately they were not all careful to what proportion of the actual value of such property they lent money upon this security; and when, in the progress of the long-continued depression, real estate took its turn at depreciation, the margin of value above the mortgages was in many cases wiped out, and the banks suffered loss. The first institution to succumb to the pressure was that at Lancaster; the West Boston Bank came next, — both failures having occurred within a fortnight of each other, at the end of 1875. The West Boston Bank, however, soon resumed, as it was believed that arrangements had been made by which further difficulties could be overcome; but later it was forced again to close its doors and to wind up its affairs. In 1877 the Mechanics' Bank of Boston, chartered after the panic of 1873, found its business unprofitable and retired. In the same year the North Bridgewater Bank of Brockton failed on account of the dishonesty of an officer, in April. In July the City Bank of Haverhill was obliged to suspend, after a run upon it. But the really serious troubles of the savings-banks began when, in August, there was a run upon the Sandwich Bank. Shortly afterward the Barnstable Bank was attacked and overcome, and the Hyannis Bank followed.

From this time on the failures were numerous; but it was evident that in many cases the disaster to banks was the result merely of panic. Their investments were properly of a character which did not allow of their responding promptly to all demands. No matter how safe and strong they were, they could not collect debts not yet due. Under these circumstances the Legislature interposed with a law which permitted the Savings-Bank Commissioners to give orders restricting the amount of money which banks might pay on deposits; and in the course of two years many[1] of the banks availed themselves of the law. The result was that of all the banks which took advantage of the law, all but one had resumed payments in full and were doing business as usual before the end of 1880. But the evil had overtaken many banks before the benefits of this restriction were permitted to them; about twenty of them, in various parts of the State, having been previously enjoined perpetually from doing any business, were wound up. The losses to depositors, however, were not as great as might have been at first feared. The deposits in the banks which failed were a little short of ten millions ($9,976,229). Up to the begin-

[1] About twenty in the whole State

ning of 1880 there had been distributed in dividends the sum of $6,568,799, and there remained in the hands of receivers assets estimated to be worth $2,417,440; so that the entire loss was but about $1,100,000, or eleven per cent. Under the new legislation, the necessity for which was fully proved by the events of the last few years, a repetition of these disasters is almost impossible, and the banks are now in a fair way to gain more than the confidence which they enjoyed up to the period when the troubles began.[1]

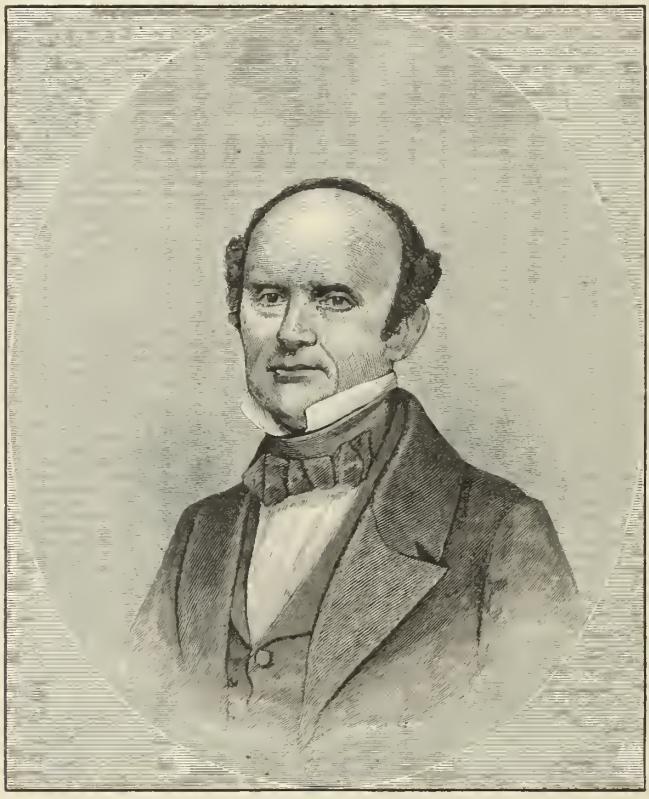
A consideration of the present financial position of Boston will give an opportunity for a brief reference to some features of the trade of the city which have been necessarily omitted thus far. In certain branches of business Boston has now, and has always held, a position of pre-eminence among the cities of the country. By far the most important of these is the boot and shoe trade. Much more than one half of all the boots and shoes made in the United States are the product of Massachusetts. The factories are owned in Boston for the most part, and the manufactured articles are sold here. Boston is also the largest wool market of the country, and it is the headquarters of the fish business. For many years it has been losing the leadership it once enjoyed in the domestic dry-goods trade, although the amount of business done in this department is still very large. It is second only to New York in the ownership of Western and Southern railroad stocks and other securities. The Boston Stock Exchange has the lead of all Exchanges in the country, except that of New York, in the extent and variety of the list of securities dealt in, and in the amount of business done.[2]

Its commerce, although conducted for the most part in foreign steamships, is large and growing. Its imports from abroad are in value far in excess of those at any other port save that of New York; and of its exports of general merchandise the same remark is true, — New Orleans surpassing it only by her very heavy exports of cotton. With many regular lines of steamships to Europe, the sailings of which very nearly average one a day, a great growth in their number, and in the value of the trade of which they are the medium, is only prevented by the necessary slowness of creating dock accommodations for them. The coastwise trade gives profitable employment to a large number of sailing and steam vessels.

[1] The growth of the Savings-Banks of Massachusetts is a very interesting and gratifying exhibit. In 1834, when the returns first began to be made systematically according to law, there were twenty-two banks, having deposits amounting to $3,407,773. The system grew, without the interruption of a single year, until 1860, when there were eighty-nine banks with deposits aggregating $45,054,236. In 1861, and again in 1865, there was a decrease; but with these exceptions there was an annual growth until 1877, when there were one hundred and seventy-nine banks, having gross deposits of $244,596,614. That was high-water mark. In 1878 there was a reduction in deposits of no less than $34,735,983. A further reduction took place in 1879, followed by a recovery in 1880. The last returns, those for the end of 1880, show that there were then one hundred and sixty-four banks doing business, having deposits amounting to the sum of $218,047,922.

[2] [There is a record of its development in Mr. J. G. Martin's *Seventy-three Years' History of the Boston Stock Market, from Jan.* 1, 1798, to *Jan.* 1, 1871; with notes, and also with an annual appendix from 1870 to the present time. — Ed.]

The enterprise with which Boston capitalists seek new investments of a promising character is proverbial. Sometimes these investments have been extremely fortunate and profitable, as in the case of many Western railroads, to which reference has already been made. Other investments have been notably unfortunate, as for example those in the copper mines of Lake Superior. A few of these latter have nevertheless returned large profits to investors; and in one instance, that of the Calumet & Hecla company, the exception is a brilliant one, exhibiting, as it has done, the rare combination of a valuable mine, handled with scientific skill and busi-



JOHN ELIOT THAYER.[1]

ness sagacity, and with wonderfully successful results. The most important feature of outside Boston investments of a new character, or rather in a new field, at present, is the construction of railroads in the Republic of Mexico. Capital in heavy amounts has gone from Boston for this purpose, the investors displaying great boldness, and the companies which have their headquarters in the city managing their affairs with masterly skill and ability.

A large measure of the success which Boston has had in the race for

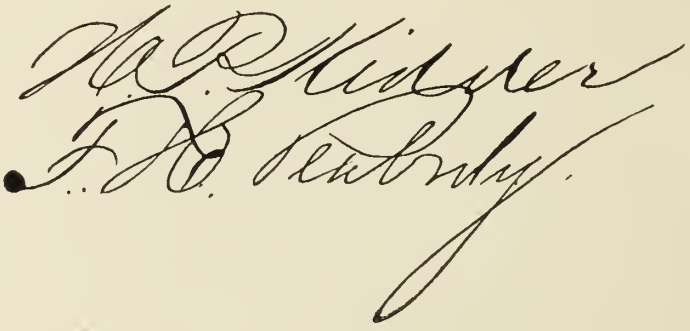
[1] [This cut follows a large photograph by Whipple, hanging in the offices of his successors in business, Messrs. Kidder, Peabody, & Co. — ED.]

wealth — a race in which she has succeeded to a far greater extent than her population or her geographical situation would have justified — has been gained by the character of the men who have represented her in the financial and commercial world. Volumes might be filled with the commendations which the merchants of Boston have received, from orators and writers in all parts of the land, for their integrity and faithfulness to high principle. And it has not been meaningless and undeserved praise. There has always been a strong public sentiment in Massachusetts which first created and afterward sustained the tradition that a Boston merchant or financier was expected to be honest. "Sharp," he might be in driving a bargain; but when the bargain was made, he must observe all the obligations which it laid upon him, both in letter and in spirit. It is to a tradition of a similar kind that we may trace the origin and the steadiness of the high credit both of the city of Boston and of the Commonwealth. It is held as a principle, about which no argument can be tolerated, that lawful debts are to be paid. When the National Government issued its legal-tender notes, and made them available for the payment of all debts incurred before as well as after the issue, neither the city nor the State took advantage of the privilege, but religiously paid both interest and principal in coin, at no matter what cost for premium on gold. The idea of repudiation, or of creating money out of nothing by the fiat of the Government, has never been able to obtain even a hearing in Boston; and the heretical notions about money which were encouraged by the long-continued use of irredeemable paper currency, have been less prevalent in Massachusetts than in almost any other State of the Union.

To all these generally true remarks there have been notable exceptions. There have been swindling banks and dishonest managers, defaulting cashiers and treasurers, merchants who sold worthless goods and gave short measure, fraudulent bankrupts, and cheats and rogues who succeeded for a long time in concealing their true characters. They have, however, been exceptions to the rule. When their real characters have been tardily exposed, they have suffered not only the severe penalties which the law imposes, but the indignant reprobation of an outraged community. The courts have never been guilty — or, if at all, in very rare instances — of allowing the previous reputation of a detected rogue to mitigate the punishment which should be meted out to all alike. Men who had occupied high station in mercantile affairs or in State concerns have been pitilessly pursued by the process of Massachusetts courts to their hiding places, tried with rigid severity, and condemned to take their appropriate places with the ordinary thieves and other miscreants to whose level they had abased themselves.

All the elements of strength which have conduced to the prosperity of Boston are still present to insure the continued progress of the city in wealth and importance. Her manufactures rule the markets for some of the articles in most constant and universal demand; her financial institutions

are among the safest and most famous in the land; her commerce, both internal and external, is extending as rapidly as it has ever done at any period in its history. It is entirely safe to predict, that while the enterprise of Boston capitalists shows no diminution, and while high principle continues to govern public sentiment, the era of growth and prosperity will also continue.



CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF INSURANCE IN BOSTON.

BY OSBORNE HOWES, JR.,

Secretary of the Boston Fire Underwriters' Union.

ALTHOUGH the general system of insurance may be traced back for several centuries in England and on the continent of Europe, its adoption in this country is of comparatively recent date. Indeed, when one considers how essential this method of mutual protection is to the well-being of society, and to the security of mercantile communities, it is hard to understand how those who lived in Boston less than one hundred years ago could have been so blind, or so indifferent to its advantages, as the records of that and of earlier times prove them to have been. Not less strange is the tentative and groping manner in which the first essays at insurance were made. It was, it is true, a new undertaking to insure life and property against death and destruction by shipwreck and fire; but at the present day we adapt with such ease the business customs of other countries to our own uses, when they are found to be desirable, that the slowness and inflexibility of our forefathers seems, by comparison, hardly credible.

Mr. Joseph Marion appears to have been the first underwriter ever known in Boston; and, what is more, the first person in America to enter definitely into this business. From the fact that he had received a commission as notary public from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the presumption is that he must have acquired some insight into the business while on a visit to England. In 1724 he established what was termed an insurance office, though beyond the fact that such an office was opened there is little evidence obtainable. It may be safe to assume that this enterprise took form in consequence of the demands of local trade. While the commercial relations of the colony were confined closely to trade between it and the mother country, it was probably thought best to obtain the needed insurance upon the vessels making these transatlantic voyages in the insurance associations of England; but as time passed on, and the colony began to build up an ocean commerce of its own, to send its vessels upon fishing

trips and coasting voyages, the inadequacy of the then prevailing method made itself manifest. The insurance had to be effected in London, and contracts made at such a distance were always expensive to the insured; while it must often have happened that those who desired the protection which a policy of insurance would have given them, were obliged to assume the risk themselves. Under these circumstances it is not strange that an insurance office should have been started; for now, under similar conditions, such a demand would be answered in a less number of days than it then required years to bring about. The office was, beyond question, a marine one, and carried on what is known as a personal underwriting business; that is, it copied the method then and now in vogue at the Lloyd's Exchange in London. A policy of insurance was made out describing the ship, the voyage, the rate of premium, the amount to be taken, and the conditions to which both parties to the contract were to be bound. To this those who chose to take a share in the risk subscribed their names, with the amounts they were willing to assume, the list remaining open until the entire sum had been made up.

It is highly probable that Mr. Marion found his business a thriving one, for four years after he had started in it — in 1728 — he made an attempt to develop it on an exceedingly comprehensive scale. He then proposed to erect, as it was termed, an assurance office to insure houses and household goods in any part of the province from loss and damage by fire; the organization to be called the "Sun Fire Office in Boston." The effort was an ambitious one, but Mr. Marion seems to have failed to find the support needed to carry it to a successful conclusion; at least, there is nothing to show that the enterprise ever went beyond its initiatory stages. That the projector of this fire office keenly regretted his failure may well be believed, for, thirty-two years later, his name is found among those who were sufferers by the great fire of 1760.

In all probability marine-insurance contracts, made in the manner mentioned above, were the only policies of insurance written in Boston for seventy years after Mr. Marion first opened his office. As these operations were carried on without license or authorization of any kind, it is impossible to determine the extent of the business; but as the commerce of Boston and the neighboring seaports increased greatly in volume during the years of the last century which preceded and followed the Revolution, and as the desirability, not to say necessity, of procuring guarantees of this kind against loss became more and more apparent, the business must, before the advent of the present century, have expanded vastly beyond what was done prior to 1750. The Revolution broke off the business connections with London existing previous to 1775; and, so far as the marine insurance of Boston is concerned, they do not appear ever to have been re-established.

These early underwriters must have borrowed the forms of policy and their methods of carrying on business wholly from the Lloyd's Association.

It is curious to notice their close adhesion to what may be termed the eccentricities of the English underwriters. These latter had copied their system of marine insurance from the Lombards, who, in connection with their banking business, began insuring vessels and cargoes in England as early as 1425. Even the word "policy" is a direct derivative from the term *polizza*, a promise, used by the Lombards. So, too, in their policies to this day the Lloyd's Association say: "And it is agreed by us the insurers, that this writing or policy of assurance, shall be of as much force and effect as the surest writing or policy of assurance made in Lombard Street," — a guarantee which at the present time is equivocal, to say the least, when it is taken into account that policies are no longer written in that thoroughfare. But this meaningless form seems to have been thought an essential part of the contract, and in some of the earlier American policies was copied verbatim. Later on, particularly after the Revolution, it was thought necessary to adopt some other enforcing clause; and hence some of the marine policies of the latter part of the last century read that the document was to have "as much force and effect as the surest writing or policy of insurance heretofore made," or "the surest writing, etc., heretofore made in any of the United States or elsewhere." This form does not seem, in Boston, to have survived the eighteenth century, the insured probably coming to the conclusion that the policy was only worth the value given to it by the credit of its guarantors, and that the comparative protestation, however forcible, did not strengthen it. Another feature, which does not seem to have been wholly borrowed from transatlantic authorities, was the abiding faith held by these old underwriters in the immediate supervision in mundane affairs of a Supreme Ruler. The policies grant insurance of such an amount on "the good ship . . . whereof . . . is master, under God, for the present voyage." And then go on to say: "And the assured, in case of loss (which God forbid!) to abate two per cent, and such loss to be paid in sixty days after proof thereof."

The marine-insurance business of that period was in the character of the risks assumed, — a very different occupation from that carried on by marine underwriters at the present time. These old policies give a striking illustration of the various hazards incident to a sea voyage no longer than one hundred years ago. The ship-merchant then had to encounter other risks than the ordinary ones of the sea; and to guard against these the policies read: "Touching the Adventures and Perils which we the Insurers are contented to bear, and do take upon us in this Voyage, they are of the Seas, Men-of-War, Fire, Enemies, Pirates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettisons, Letters of Mark and Counter-Mark, Surprisals, Takings at Sea, Arrests, Restraints and Detainments of all Kings, Princes, and People, of what Nation, Condition, or Quality soever, Barratry of the Master (unless the Assured be owner of said vessel) and Mariners, and of all other Perils, Losses, and Misfortunes that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment, or Damage of the said Ship." As this, like most of the other parts of the policy, was a

copy from the form then used by the Lloyd's Association, it might be assumed that it was held to more by force of custom than of necessity; but in opposition to this view it may be urged that the underwriters of that time were in all probability no more willing than their successors of to-day to take upon themselves an unnecessary liability; and if the insured had not desired this measure of protection it is not at all likely that it would have been granted. At that time these various interferences were positive perils to be guarded against; gradually their mention dropped from the policies made in our Boston offices, so that in those dating shortly after the War of 1812 no trace of them is found, the insurance companies and associations, then as now, insuring only against what may be called the ordinary perils of a sea voyage. And yet, in spite of these many dangers, the rates of premium asked for insuring vessels making long voyages were by no means high, being, as a rule, about the same as those charged at the present day for insuring similar ventures. This certainly speaks well for the seamanship of the officers and crews of the Boston merchant-marine of this early period. But in insuring vessels engaged in coasting voyages the scale of rates, as contrasted with our modern experience, seems to have been very high. Voyages to Norfolk were evidently looked upon as almost as hazardous as those up the Baltic; while the rate asked to insure a small craft on a trip around Cape Cod to New York was six or eight times larger than would be asked by the marine offices on State Street to-day. One does not have to look far for the cause of this difference. The vessels, though small, were stanchly built, the mariners were skilful navigators; but the various aids to commerce now existing in the shape of carefully drawn charts, beacons, buoys, and lighthouses, which reduce to a minimum the dangers of sailing along our northern coast, were wholly wanting; while in the event of a wreck, not only was the vessel hopelessly lost, but the wreckers along the shore from Maine to South Carolina were sufficiently active to prevent the underwriters from obtaining much salvage either upon hull or cargo. But the growth of our local commerce, added to the dangers to which those who were engaged in it were exposed, must have given to our marine underwriters during the latter part of the last century a large amount of business; for when, in 1795, the Massachusetts Fire and Marine Company was incorporated, and in 1799 the Boston Marine Company, they both found a wide field for operation.

Our Boston underwriters, with the possible exception of Mr. Marion, were unquestionably backward in discovering the advantages of carrying on their business by means of incorporated companies. In a somewhat crude way, under a deed of settlement, a fire-insurance company had been started in Philadelphia in 1752, and marine companies began operations in that town and in Baltimore a year or two before our first Boston company came into existence. The two Boston companies referred to must have confined themselves pretty closely to marine business, for though the Massachusetts company had the chartered right to insure against losses by fire, it is not at

all probable that at the outset it had much opportunity to exercise this privilege. The marine business was what these early companies mainly depended upon for their profits; and that they were well employed may be judged by the fact that in eight years after the first company was started — that is, in 1803 — the insurance capital of the stock-insurance companies in Boston was nearly $2,000,000, not to speak of the money indirectly invested in the business in the one mutual company, and by individual underwriters.

Although the possibility of carrying on the marine-insurance business even without the intervention of corporations had been clearly demonstrated by the usage of nearly three quarters of a century, there is no reason to believe that the practicability or utility of insuring property on land against loss by fire was generally conceded before the Massachusetts company was incorporated. As mentioned above, a Philadelphia organization, — which is still in existence, — known as the Philadelphia Contributionship, was started in 1752, having Benjamin Franklin as one of its original members; and a few years after that date its arbitrary course of action led to the formation of a rival company. These two associations were for years the only ones in America issuing fire policies. Before the year 1795 it is not at all likely that there was a single building in Boston insured against fire. Shortly before the War of 1812 some of the English fire-insurance companies established agencies in Boston and in New York, but this was after a desire for this species of protection had been built up by the exertions of local organizations. It is easy to believe that the individual suffering due to the relatively frequent fires in Boston, a hundred years or more ago, must have been in many cases intense; and it is well known that efforts were frequently made to equalize these losses. It was a common practice, for a citizen whose house or store had been burned, to send out a subscription paper calling public attention to the misfortune he had met with, and asking his fellow-townsmen to assist him, on the ground that the loss which had come to him might at any time visit them, if God should so will it, and that they then would need the help which he now implored of them. It may be assumed that these petitions for aid were generally responded to with great liberality, as they seem to have been made after almost every fire, and not unfrequently by those who were not in absolutely destitute circumstances. It was, in a word, a rude system of insurance, — a recognition of the principle that a loss spread out over a large number of individuals is more easily borne than when its incident falls sharply upon a single person; only, by this method the payment of premium was voluntary and always uncertain, and it must have been a rare instance where the sufferer by the fire received a sufficient amount in charity to make good his losses.

The first successful effort to protect the property of the citizens of the town of Boston against loss by fire was made by those who were instrumental in procuring the charter of the Massachusetts Mutual Company, in 1798. These men were Paul Revere, Henry Jackson, William Eustace, Edward Tuckerman, George R. Minot, Elisha Ticknor, and several other

prominent Bostonians. The company, by the limitations imposed by the State, was not allowed to do business until its incorporators had obtained in Boston and its immediate vicinity two million dollars' worth of property to be insured; and as the company was restricted to insuring only four-fifths of the value of the risk assumed, the incorporators had to find owners of property to the extent of $2,500,000. When one takes into account the low value of the entire building property of Boston at that time, and that quite a number of the local companies now doing business in this city have less than the amount named at risk in Boston and its suburbs, the demands of the Legislature seem unreasonable, and can only be explained on the assumption that the Great and General Court looked upon the enterprise as one of questionable utility, and was not willing to sanction it, without it could be shown, in an unmistakable manner, that there was a popular call for it. The charter, thus encumbered, was however accepted, and the gentlemen named, with some associate members, went upon a canvass among their personal and business friends to obtain the desired amount of insurance. The record books of the old company show that this canvassing was a trying task, particularly as the direct individual interest in it of any one person must have been very slight; for the opportunity to insure his property was the most that any member of the company could hope to obtain. A number of the canvassers relinquished the undertaking, and their places were supplied by others; but at the end of a year the total amount was obtained, and the company opened its office on State Street for business.

For a number of years this office seems to have done a greater part of the fire-insurance business of Boston. Its trustees must have borrowed the information needed for their operations from the experience of the companies in England and in Philadelphia. The policies they issued were for a term of seven years, and none were written for a shorter period. One of their first efforts was to teach their policy-holders the necessity of protecting themselves. They offered rewards of money, not exceeding ten dollars, for good service performed by citizens at fires. If any of the holders of policies allowed their pumps to get out of order, and permitted them to remain so after a notification from the office, they were fined two dollars, and two dollars additional for every week that they continued out of repair; while those who allowed their chimneys to get on fire were fined one dollar.

The question of rates of premium was one which they found it very hard to settle. The scale adopted at the outset did not give satisfaction, and after a number of changes a committee consisting of John Lowell, Tristram Barnard, Ebenezer Gay, Elisha Ticknor, and William Gay, which had been appointed to consider the subject, after due deliberation submitted the following report: —

"Your Committee are of opinion that brick or stone buildings, covered with slate, tiles, or metal, standing alone, similar to the store in Marlborough Street, occupied by William Leverett, or the house by Joseph Coolidge, Esq., of New Boston, may be

safely taken by the trustees at 35 cents per $100. That brick or stone buildings in blocks, with slate, tile, or metal, separated by brick partition walls and battlements, agreeable to law, similar to those on Mt. Vernon, at 45 cents per $100. That wooden buildings, standing alone, similar to Henry Hill's and Samuel Elliot's, Esq., at 55 cents per $100. That buildings, part of brick or stone and part of wood, and wooden buildings in blocks, similar to those of Samuel Smith and Stephen Higginson in Federal Street, at 70 cents per $100."

The scale thus given shows that in spite of the great height of our modern buildings, and the dangerous character in many ways of their appliances for heating and lighting, the liability to loss by fire is now very much less than it was when the committee prepared the above report. Another difficulty which the trustees of the company encountered was in determining questions of law. They had to work completely in the dark, in the entire absence of precedents to guide their action. Theophilus Parsons and other legal authorities of the day were frequently consulted; and though the advice given was no doubt judicious, it did not always save the company from litigation. In less than three years after it began business a fire occurred (Dec. 16, 1801) on Ann Street, which destroyed, besides other property, the dwelling-house, cooper-shop, and fish-store of Amasa Stetson. These latter were insured in the Massachusetts Mutual, but the trustees refused payment on the ground that the property had been changed after the policy of insurance was taken out, in such a manner as to increase the risk; and also on account of alienation of title. This disagreement led to the first fire-insurance lawsuit tried in the courts of this country; the Massachusetts Supreme Court, in 1807, rendering a decision in favor of Stetson.

It should, in justice to the fire underwriters, be said that this first dispute over a loss finding its way into the courts was not followed for a long time by other lawsuits. In the edition of 1825 of Bigelow's *Digest* the case of Stetson *v.* Massachusetts Mutual Insurance Company appears as the only one on record. In Willard Phillips's Treatise on *The Law of Insurance* (ed. of 1823) the author's intention seems to have been to cover the entire field of insurance, but the work, which is a fairly bulky one, is made up almost exclusively of precedents bearing upon marine underwriting. Fire underwriting is referred to, but in the simplest possible terms, as a form of contract but little understood for want of experience, and the laws laid down as governing it do not occupy more than two or three pages out of the entire work, — a comment which also holds good of life insurance, a branch of business in which the author, later on, greatly distinguished himself.

This absence of litigation, by means of which legal precedents could be established, was no doubt largely due to the contracted character of the business. The New England, Suffolk, and Union offices were opened in the early years of the present century; but they seem to have confined themselves very closely to marine insurance. As late as 1823 the Merchants' Insurance Company published a tract on fire insurance, of which only one

copy now seems to be extant, in which it is asserted that the fire policies issued by the Boston companies are for the most part taken out by those who are members or stockholders of the several companies. The directors of the Merchants' Company felt called upon to explain the nature of the business; and in their preface they say: "Presuming the subject of Fire Insurance has fallen under the consideration of but comparatively few persons, they trust no apology will be thought necessary for this publication." That they had but a dim perception of the dimensions the business was in after years to attain may be judged by the remark made, that "the only danger insurance companies have of losing their capital is that the directors may err in judgment and insure for too small a premium," — thus indicating that they did not think it conceivable that property-owners throughout the city would insure their buildings and merchandise, and thus make the companies liable to an overwhelming loss should a conflagration occur. They go on to say: —

"He who loses his all at sea by not insuring, instead of sympathy meets with reproach for his temerity. He who suffers by fire, although equally chargeable with rashness and imprudence, not only claims exemption from reproach, but appeals with confidence, and often with success, to public sympathy. The distress and misery resulting from this misfortune have been so often witnessed or felt, as to render it unnecessary here to enlarge on the subject. It is sufficient to refer to the frequent appeals to public charity. When the low rate of premiums is considered, it is matter of surprise that so great a proportion of the property in this country is uninsured, and the fact can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is not known at how small an expense insurance can be effected. Probably in no country in Europe is there so great a proportion of the property uninsured as in this country. There, more particularly in Great Britain, it is a very general custom to insure Furniture and Houses, as well as Merchandise and Stores."

This, and much more to the same effect, proves that in the first twenty-five years of its existence in Boston the business of fire underwriting made but very little progress. Merchants insured their stores or stocks of goods, on which they were obliged to obtain mortgages or credit; but the citizens generally did not comprehend the value of the protection which a policy of insurance afforded, or thought that their chances of suffering by fire were altogether too slight to make it an object to pay anything to a corporation to assume the risk. Hence, when a fire occurred, it was still a common occurrence to have a subscription paper started for the aid of the citizen whose property had been destroyed.

Indeed, in most matters appertaining to loss by fire the citizens of Boston at that time do not appear to have been particularly enterprising. The plan of using hose in the fire department for the purpose of carrying water to that point in the burning building where it could be employed to the greatest advantage, and also for pumping water from a distance, had been adopted in Philadelphia in 1808; and although many attempts were made here to have it substituted in place of the bucket supply, which the citi-

zens generally took part in serving, it was not until 1826 that the change was brought about. By that time quite a number of new companies had been organized. One was incorporated in 1816, one in 1818, one in 1822, three in 1823, one in 1824, and two in 1825. These new companies found ample ground for action in the growing commerce of the port, which was each year requiring a larger amount of insurance capital properly to protect it. The conditions under which the voyages of Boston ships were undertaken were not appreciably better than they had been in the last century; and therefore the marine policies of this period are noticeable on account of the exceedingly high rate charged for coasting ventures. A few of the larger English insurance companies seem to have established agencies in Boston subsequent to the War of 1812, for when the Exchange Coffee House was destroyed by fire in November, 1818, the only company called upon to pay insurance upon the loss was the Phœnix of London. It is noteworthy as indicating the low opinion entertained of the security given by insurance companies, that though this building, with its contents, was thought to be worth not less than $500,000, its owners had covered it with only a single policy for $10,000.

The business of life insurance was the last in Boston of these three forms of protection to develop itself. In the Old World life insurance seems to have antedated fire insurance, for the oldest work on underwriting, *Guidon de la Mer*, published in France about 1600, says that it was a common practice at the time of the Crusades for men about to go to sea to take out policies on their lives, the money to be used to ransom them when captured by pirates, and to revert to their relatives if they were never heard from. In 1769 a mutual association was formed by the clergymen of the Episcopal Church in the Province of Pennsylvania for the purpose of paying small annuities to the families of the insured, after the death of the latter, and the system was afterward extended to Maryland, New Jersey, and New York; but life insurance, in the sense that it is now understood, did not come into existence in this country until 1812, when the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances upon Lives was incorporated. There is every reason for thinking that insurances of this class were looked upon by the great mass of the people as immoral contracts. The duration of a man's life, it was held, rested upon the will of God, and if He chose in His divine wisdom to remove him from this world, it was an act of impiety on the part of the latter to speculate on the probable workings of Almighty power. This feeling was doubtless stronger in Massachusetts than in any other of the United States; and it is questionable whether in the second decade of the present century our Legislature would have sanctioned the incorporation of a life-insurance company on simple business principles. But on Feb. 24, 1814, the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital obtained the right to grant annuities on lives. That this venture into the field of life insurance was condoned by public opinion on account of the charitable disposition which was to be made of the resulting profits seems more than probable,

for six years later the trustees debated for some time over the question of whether they should also apply to the Legislature for permission to carry on a lottery, — an enterprise which might then have been sanctioned here, as it has since been in other parts of the country, for the direct aid its success would give to some deserving institution. Having obtained the right to negotiate for annuities, the trustees of the hospital did not care to exercise the privilege, thinking, no doubt, that it would necessitate a greater amount of labor in managing the financial details of the scheme than they could afford to give to it. Presumably for this reason, and because the plan could under a different management be better expanded, it was decided to organize what is now known as the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. This company was incorporated in 1818, with a capital stock of $500,000, and with the provision in its charter that it was to pay annually to the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital one third of the net profits which should arise from the insurance on lives made during the preceding year. Under these conditions the company must have found some difficulty in starting, for in 1823 its directors entered into an agreement with the trustees of the hospital, by which it was arranged that the annual payments were to be one third part of the net profits accruing to the company from insurance on lives, reversionary payments, and generally from all kinds of contracts in which the casualties and contingencies of life, and the interest of money, are principally involved, after deducting for the use of the stockholders the legal interest on the amount of capital actually paid in by them. That is to say, the stockholders were to be sure of six per cent per annum on their investment when that amount was earned, and two thirds of whatever profits the company made over that percentage. This agreement was on the following year ratified by an act of the Legislature. But in order still further to protect the stockholders, the special statute creating the Hospital Life Company contained the provision that so long as the company paid to the General Hospital the share of profits agreed upon, it should not be lawful for any persons or corporations within the Commonwealth to make insurance on lives upon land without they were empowered to do so by future legislatures; and if such grants were made, the obligation of this company to pay a part of its profits to the hospital should cease, unless the same obligation were imposed upon those to whom such rights were granted.

It is difficult at the present time to understand why such an agreement was made, except on the supposition that the State would not bestow the privilege to do a life business to a company that did not turn over a part of its profits to charitable uses. Mr. Bowditch, in his *History of the Massachusetts General Hospital*, says that his father, Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, who was the actuary of the company, thought that the arrangement was an eminently fit one, as it prevented a great deal of the jealousy which would otherwise be displayed against the insurance company; though why there should be more jealousy evinced at the success of a life company than at

the good fortune of a fire or marine company is not explained, and is comprehensible only on the grounds already stated. Certain it is that life insurance sometime in the not distant past was looked upon as an immoral proceeding, and was prohibited by statute in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and other continental cities, and by a general ordinance of Louis XIV. in France; the received opinion being that such a contract was opposed to the law of nature, and was therefore void.

The Hospital Life Company issued its first policy on Sept. 15, 1823, insuring the life of John Minot for two years. From that time for a number of years it did a small life business, granting policies in almost every case for short terms, these in most instances having for their object the securing of money loaned by third parties to the insured. Among these early policies was one on the life of Daniel Webster, which was issued, presumably, to protect the lender of a sum of money. The conditions then imposed on the insured are decidedly curious, considering the liberty now accorded to those who take out life policies. He was supposed to remain at home, and to subject his life to no hazard not coming in the ordinary course of his daily existence; hence, indorsements such as these are not infrequently found on the policies: "Permission is given to the assured to go to New York;" "The assured is to have the liberty to go to Portland by boat," etc.

During the first part of the second quarter of this century the business of marine and fire insurance seems to have been constantly on the increase. Between 1825 and 1835 ten new companies came into existence. Before the former date the chief occupation of the underwriters had been found in taking marine risks; but shortly after that period public opinion appears to have been educated up to a partial appreciation of the value of fire insurance. In this work of popularizing fire insurance, President Balch, of the Merchants' Insurance Company, was exceedingly active, and hardly a year passed at that time in which he did not send out printed circulars and tracts descriptive of the system of protection which his company offered to the citizens of Boston. In 1831 the Firemen's Insurance Company was organized for the purpose of doing a strictly fire business. For a stock company thus to limit itself was looked upon as a very venturesome undertaking, and the older underwriters did not hesitate to predict that it would be impossible for the company to sustain itself. In this they were so far correct, that the officers of the company must have had for a long time very hard work to make its operations profitable, and for a series of years it did not pay its stockholders as much as four per cent per annum on their investments. That our Boston companies limited their fire business very closely to this city may be assumed from the fact that the great fire in New York city in 1835, which destroyed fifteen million dollars' worth of property, and compelled twenty-three out of the twenty-six insurance companies of that city to suspend business, does not appear to have troubled them in the least. There was no appreciable falling off in their dividends, and their stocks are quoted as selling quite as favorably after the fire as before it.

It was not until the panic of 1837 that the Boston companies experienced any decided check to their onward progress, and this change was due to circumstances over which their managers had no control. In 1836 there were twenty-five stock companies in operation in this city, having capitals amounting to about seven million dollars. More than half of this sum was invested in bank stocks, and as these depreciated greatly in value, and dividends ceased to be paid upon them, the assets and incomes of the insurance corporations suffered a corresponding decline. This depression seems to have continued for six or eight years, and in the mean time eight of the companies were forced to discontinue business, and the insurance capital of Boston was reduced by more than thirty per cent. It was not alone the depreciation in the value of their assets that underwriters had to contend with, for fire and marine losses increased in their aggregates to an alarming extent. The worth of property upon sea and land was so far reduced, that the temptation became very strong on the part of its owners to "sell it out" to the insuring companies. Although positive instances of incendiarism and barratry were not frequent, it is not at all doubtful that owners who found their property greatly over-insured were much less careful than they had been in guarding against the possibilities of a loss. In 1838 the Boston stock companies had at risk about $50,000,000 on marine ventures, and $52,000,000 under fire policies; amounts which were respectively reduced in 1844 to $33,000,000 and $42,000,000.

In the year 1838 the companies first began to make returns of their operations to the State. The law directing these reports to be made was passed by the Legislature of 1837, much to the disgust of the underwriters, who held that it was quite as unfair to call upon them to exhibit to the public the details of their business affairs as it would be to make the same request of individual merchants. These returns were sent for a number of years to the Secretary of State of the Commonwealth, and though crude and imperfect are the only obtainable data of the aggregate experience of insurance companies in this country prior to the current half of the present century. The records of these early years would indicate that the marine business of our Boston companies was fully as large, if not larger, in 1835 than it is at the present time. The fire business, on the contrary, has increased during the last forty-five years not less than three hundred per cent; but the Boston capital invested in this business was considerably larger then than it is now.

But if Boston companies did not extend their operations abroad, they held a fairly firm possession of the home field. At the present day much the larger part of the fire-insurance business in Boston is done by companies that have their main offices outside of our municipal limits, and in quite a number of instances in England; but in 1838, when this first report was made, there were only eight or ten New York and Hartford companies that took risks in this city, and these must have had their operations greatly circumscribed.

In 1835, by an act of the Legislature, Ebenezer T. Andrews, George Bond, Willard Phillips, and others were made corporators of the New England Mutual Life Company. The Hospital Life Company had then been doing business for twelve years, but had turned its attention more and more to the management of trust estates, so that the field of life insurance in this city was practically unoccupied. It was the intention of the founders of the New England company to raise the money needed as a guarantee capital, and begin business immediately, but the panic of 1837 coming on before they had completed their plans, it was deemed expedient to abandon the attempt until the financial crisis had passed, so that it was not until 1844 that the company issued its first policy. According to its reports it would appear that not a little misunderstanding existed as to the tax upon the business which would be exacted by the Massachusetts General Hospital, and in consequence of this some persons were deterred from taking out policies in the new company; but in time, when the guarantee capital was paid off, it was held that the hospital could no longer collect its annual levy, for as the company was carried on upon a strictly mutual plan there were, in the proper acceptation of the term, no profits arising from the business. For this reason the payments were discontinued, the trustees of the hospital and the directors of the Hospital Life agreeing to this construction. The New England Mutual Company started at a time when the experience of underwriters in this country was hardly worth anything as a guide to action. The marine and fire underwriters were repeatedly lowering and raising their rates of premium, in the hope of reaching a satisfactory average; but it was obvious that where a contract was made for life these frequent fluctuations could not be indulged in. For this reason the directors of the New England Company believed that their safest course was to establish at the outset a definite line of policy. They had as a guide the *Carlisle Table*, published in England in 1815, and the "Table showing the Probability of the Duration, the Decrement, and the Expectation of Life in the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire," prepared by Professor Edward Wigglesworth, of Harvard University, in 1782, besides the limited experience of the Hospital Life. Taking these, the first work of the directors was to employ Professor Benjamin Peirce, of Cambridge, and James Hayward, Esq., of Boston, to calculate separately the different parts of the table of premiums. Probably no company was ever started in which the determination was stronger to establish business upon a scientific basis. Hon. Willard Phillips, for many years the President of the New England Mutual Company, was at the time the highest recognized authority upon insurance law of all kinds in this country; and the annual reports issued by him in his official capacity, as head of this corporation, were received and read everywhere as standard treatises on the subject of life insurance, and for many years were used as guides by those starting other companies. At the outset the experience of the New England was somewhat similar to that of the Hospital Life Company; that is, the majority of the insured preferred to take

out policies for a term of years instead of life policies; and it was not until the company had been a number of years in existence that this proportion was reversed, allowing it to enter fully on the life business in the manner as now conducted.

From 1844 to 1854 the marine-insurance business of the Boston companies was constantly increasing. During that period came the discovery of gold in California, which gave to the shipping interest of this port an impetus such as it had never before and has never since received; and by this augmentation of tonnage the insuring companies were able to secure large and favorable contracts. But in 1854 a reaction set in, and in that and in the two following years the losses at sea were enormous. The stock of the companies declined in value, and quite a number of them wholly ceased paying dividends. But during the same time the fire-insurance business had been steadily increasing in volume; though, as the ratio of loss was also enlarged by the growth of the city, the profits to the companies did not exceed a reasonable return on the money invested. The number of companies was not, however, materially increased, experience proving that the profits of the business did not admit of its division among a large number of competitors with any degree of satisfaction to those who invested money in these ventures.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the conditions of business were materially changed. The "Alabama," "Florida," and other rebel cruisers, in driving the American commerce from the seas, inflicted a severe blow on the marine companies of this city, and one from which they have never fully recovered. For a time they were able to make good the diminution in regular marine premiums by the returns which they received for taking war risks; but after the war was over the complete measure of their loss was made apparent, for nearly half the ocean tonnage on which they had been called upon to take risks in 1860 had either been sold, destroyed, or condemned; and the character of maritime business was not promising enough to induce merchants to replace it by newly constructed vessels. As an offset to this, the investments made by the companies during the war, in United States bonds and in the stock of national banks, had been to them a source of exceeding profit, so that in 1865 they were financially in a better condition than they had ever been before, though the outlook for business in the future was not in the least promising. The fire business — and most of the companies took fire as well as marine risks — continued to grow with great steadiness. In 1860 the Boston companies received in fire premiums about $1,300,000; and, as they did but a small agency business at that time outside of the State, it is fair to estimate their Boston receipts at not less than $800,000. But for a number of years the Boston companies had not been sole possessors of the local field. Year after year companies from other cities had established agencies here, so that in 1860 the number of non-State companies thus represented was fifty-one. The prestige acquired by our local offices was sufficient, however, to make this outside competition

of little moment, for in the year referred to the aggregate premium receipts in Boston of the non-State companies was less than $250,000. By degrees, however, a change took place, and thus in 1866 there were seventy non-State fire and marine companies doing business in our city, and thirty-seven life companies; while, in 1870, ninety-one fire and marine companies from other States and countries made returns to the State Insurance Commissioner of their Boston business. But while these non-State companies came in large numbers to our city, the Boston local companies, with the exception of the life institutions, did very little to extend their business abroad. A few of the fire companies entered to a limited extent into the agency field, but the system of scattering risks over a vast area was not popular with our underwriters. The most thoughtful of them never supposed for a moment that a fire could occur in Boston of sufficient magnitude to make it impossible for them to pay their losses in full. The home business was one which they thoroughly understood; and when they compared the experience of their companies with those of other States, they were strengthened in their conviction that the profits in the agency field were altogether too meagre and uncertain to pay for the risk and trouble involved in entering it. Two or three of them took risks in Chicago, and the others did at times a small business in some of the cities on the Atlantic seaboard; but with the exception of one company, — the National, — none did what is termed an agency business; and even in this solitary instance the change was an experimental one. In consequence of the confidence reposed in them by the property owners of this city, their business at home was sufficiently large to preclude the necessity of seeking for risks abroad. During the period from 1860 to 1871 these companies paid their stockholders dividends which averaged higher than fifteen per cent per annum, and at the same time laid up large surpluses; and this was almost wholly due to the fire business, as there was a constant decrease in the volume of marine risks taken, and a disproportionate falling off in the premium received for assuming these, — a result doubtless due to the keen competition which the steady diminution of the business occasioned.

In 1871 the Chicago fire occurred, causing the sudden bankruptcy of three of the four Boston companies that had ventured to establish agencies there. If this was a warning to owners of property here not to trust too implicitly in the value of indemnity promised by local companies, it was also looked upon by the officers of these institutions as positive evidence that they were sound in their reasoning that an extended agency business could not be carried on with success through a term of years. After this fire quite a number of the merchants of this city divided their risks, so that they might have the guarantees of non-State as well as local companies; but, in spite of this change, the latter still held the larger part of the business.

In November, 1872, the great Boston fire occurred, and, as a natural result of what has just been said, it found our local companies burdened down so heavily with risks that in all but three instances they were wholly

incapable of meeting the claims that were presented to them. This fire taught the underwriters and the property-owning classes in this city a very severe lesson. The former were made to realize that though under favorable conditions a highly profitable business could be done by confining their attentions to a limited field of operations, yet, in order to avoid the overwhelming loss resulting from a conflagration, it was necessary to be content with smaller profits, and to take isolated risks covering a wide area of territory. On the other hand, the latter were made to perceive that a company that did not practise this system of dissemination was not in great emergencies a safe company to depend upon.

The consequence of this has been that the fire-insurance business in Boston has, during the past eight years, undergone a complete change. In 1860 about two thirds of the risks in this city were protected by policies issued from Boston offices, the companies having agencies here taking the remainder. In 1870 the risks were nearly evenly divided between the two, while in 1880 the non-State companies, numbering one hundred and thirty, were doing more than three fourths of the fire insurance business of Boston. By far the larger proportion of Boston fire underwriters are the agents of non-State companies. A new class of men have sprung up to meet the present demands of the business. Young, active, and progressive, they have in many instances brought with them the results of experience acquired in other cities and States. Forced by the contraction in their local receipts to make good the deficiency elsewhere, the Boston companies have established agencies in hundreds of different places in the Eastern and Western States. The officer of a Boston fire company at the present time is obliged to inform himself as thoroughly of the various hazards connected with the business in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, as he is to acquaint himself with the risks of his own city. In a like manner the marine companies of Boston, having found the local field too narrow for them, have been compelled to appoint agents in the various great centres of commerce. Thus, with the life, fire, and marine insurance companies of this city, the business begun upon a small and contracted scale has gradually spread out until it embraces the larger part of the United States. The companies are still Boston companies, and their officers are still Boston men; but, as applied to them, these terms do not convey the significance which they once did, for many of the pleasing features of the so-called provincialism of the past are fast disappearing.

Osborne Howes, Jr

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRADE, COMMERCE, AND NAVIGATION OF BOSTON, 1780–1880.

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WHEN the struggle between the Colonies and the mother country culminated at length in actual hostilities, Boston was the most flourishing town on the North American continent.[1] It had a population estimated by different authorities at from sixteen to eighteen thousand, actively and profitably engaged in various industrial and commercial pursuits. Its merchants had dealings with Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, the Canaries, and even with Guinea and Madagascar, and many of them had accumulated large wealth. In fact, it was its commerce, and the persistent determination of its citizens that this commerce should be untrammelled in its movement and unconfined in its scope, which during many years had kept it in a state of almost constant antagonism with the authorities at home,[2] and which at last, in the month of December, 1773, had led to the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor.[3] The Home Government had been determined to break up the contraband trade of the colonial merchants with Holland and her possessions, and to secure the colonial markets for the supply of tea[4] to the British East India Company. The risk of seizure for many years had been small, and it is said that not one chest in five hundred of that which was landed in Boston fell into the hands of the officers of the customs.[5] The despatch of the tea-ships, and their reception, had indicated that the parties on both sides were now in serious earnest, and that the character of the pending controversy was to be changed from angry correspondence to actual and open warfare. The Port Bill followed, by which Boston was to be punished, humiliated, and, if possible, crushed; and it was executed with a rigor, probably, that went beyond the intentions of its authors.

[1] Bancroft's *Hist. of the United States*, vii. 48.

[2] "The American Revolution was not so much a liberation from political as from commercial thraldom." — Hunt's *Lives of American Merchants*, ii. 390.

[3] [See Vol. III. chap. i. — Ed.] The value of this article annually consumed in America is estimated to have been £300,000, and "nearly the whole quantity was smuggled." Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts were the great marts.

[4] Tea is said to have been first introduced into this country in the year 1721. In 1750 a duty on tea and coffee was laid by the Province, but it was felt to be a burden by the people of the town.

[5] Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, i. 8, 9.

The people of Boston had many gloomy forebodings which were not altogether realized; nor did the war, when it came upon them, bring immediate and utter ruin. As has been said, there was a reserve of wealth to be drawn upon in the time of necessity. During the entire period of the Revolutionary struggle, and particularly as the seat of war came to be more and more distant, an irregular commerce was carried on, and privateering also, which proved very profitable.[1] Mr. Sabine says that during the most distressing periods of the contest useless articles of luxury were imported, and that those who remained at home showed themselves able both to maintain themselves and to provide for those who served in the field.[2] Indeed, as has been only too plainly and sadly seen in our own day, the period of war became a period also of luxury and of dissipation. Extravagance in living in the year 1782 would seem to have exceeded anything of the kind previously known in Massachusetts. Samuel Adams, on his return from the meeting of Congress in that year, sought in co-operation with some of his friends to stem the tide of dissipation then carrying all before it; and public meetings, at which he presided, were held with this end in view. As his biographer says, he was "far from being a bigoted opponent of innocent pleasures, but he was filled with misgivings at the state of things which then prevailed."[3]

But the prevailing prosperity was largely fictitious, — the commercial activity as well as the lavish expenditure being the result of a depreciated currency, which is ever the fruitful source of demoralization and social corruption. The public debt for those times was enormous, the taxes were wellnigh ruinous, and private debts had accumulated fearfully in the effort to meet the tax payments. In July, 1782, the Tender Act was passed, by which debts were made payable in other property than money, so that executions might be legally satisfied by neat cattle and other enumerated articles. The effect of this, we are told, was to weaken implicit reliance on the inviolability of legal engagements as between debtor and creditor.

With the depreciation of the paper currency, the prices of commodities advanced in more than corresponding ratio. Efforts were made to check the advance, and to maintain an artificial value to the paper obligations of the Commonwealth. At a meeting of merchants and others concerned in trade in Boston, held in Faneuil Hall, June 16, 1779, it was determined that no advance upon any article of merchandise should be made upon the prices then current; that from and after July 15 following, the prices should be as they had been on the previous first day of May; and that after that date there should be a monthly reduction of prices, provided the other towns in the State should adopt similar measures. It was further agreed by the merchants and traders that they would neither buy nor sell silver or

[1] [See Vol. III. pp. 90, 92, 118, 182. — Ed.]

[2] Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, i. 144, 145.

[3] In a letter to John Scollay, about this time, he wrote: 'I love the people of Boston; I once thought that city would be the Christian Sparta. But, alas! will men never be free? They will be free no longer than while they remain virtuous." — *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, iii. 156–158.

gold, that they would not fail to expose any person who, to their knowledge, demanded hard money for goods or rents, and that they would exert themselves to bring to punishment all offenders against an Act of the State "entituled an Act against Monopoly and Forestalling." One of the resolutions adopted was as follows: —

"*Resolved*, That all those who shall hereafter dare refuse Continental money, or require hard money for rents or any article whatever, shall not remain among us, but be transported to our enemies as unworthy or dangerous members of society." [1]

On the 14th of July of the same year a convention was held at Concord, the object of which was stated to be to regulate prices for the purpose of making "the currency stable;" and at another meeting held in Faneuil Hall, August 16, at which Samuel Adams presided, it was resolved, "That all holders and retailers of European wares and merchandise shall, from this time forward, sell all such articles at twenty per cent, or one fifth part, less than the prices at which the same articles were sold in the month of July last, that being the average reduction in the prices of West India goods." [2]

But the endeavor to keep down the price of commodities and to keep up the value of the paper promises of the Government, by resolutions adopted in town-meeting or elsewhere, failed signally, as all such endeavors must fail; and the harsher and more violent remedies with reference to those who might demand a full equivalent for their wares were not long persisted in, for in August, 1780, we find various articles of merchandise — English goods, sterling Madeira, Malaga wines, currants, etc. — openly advertised in the papers as for sale by W. & J. Molineux, in State Street, with the announcement that "Hard or paper money, French, Spanish, or Dutch Bills of Exchange," would be received in payment for any of the above goods.[3]

[1] The following are some of the prices at wholesale, fixed at this meeting: Windward rum, £7 10*s.* a gallon; New England rum, £5 8*s.* a gallon; molasses, £5 2*s.* a gallon; coffee, 18*s.* a pound; brown sugar, 65*s.* to 80*s.* a cwt.; tea (by the chest), 8*s.* a pound; cotton wool (by the bag), 36*s.* a pound; German steel, 36*s.* a pound; and salt (until July 15), 15*s.* a bushel. A committee of merchants appointed to carry the action of the meeting into effect consisted of "John Rowe, Esq., chairman; William Cooper, Esq., Deacon Sharpe, Captain Isaac Philips, Colonel Edward Procter, Captain Gustavus Fellows, Major Thomas Mellvil, Mr. Henry Prentiss, Mr. William Hoskins, Captain Alexander Wilson, Dr. Nathaniel Noyes, Mr. Samuel Ruggels, Captain John Pulling." — *Independent Chronicle*, June 17, 1779.

[2] At this meeting the prices of labor were also fixed.

[3] The following table, taken from the *Independent Chronicle* of Oct. 12, 1780, shows the course and extent of the downward movement in the Continental currency: —

		Value of Gold and Silver.	*Value of Continental Currency.*
1777.	January	$100	$105
„	December	100	310
1778.	April	100	400
„	December	100	634
1779.	February	100	868
„	May	100	1,215
„	September	100	1,800
1780.	January	100	2,934
„	February	100	3,322
„	March	100	3,736
„	April	100	4,000

It was resolved in council in Philadelphia, May 2, 1781, "that the rate of exchange be estimated at one hundred and seventy-five Continental dollars for one dollar in specie."

On the 19th of August, 1781, prices of merchandise and of labor were again "fixed" at a meeting of free-holders held in Faneuil Hall.

In the mean time taxation had been bearing heavily on the people, and there seemed to be no prospect of relief from its pressure. In 1782, and for several subsequent years, the taxes were as high as they had been during the six years preceding. Besides the immense debt, the annual instalments and interest of which required a large amount of money, and the arrears of old taxes to be collected, Congress was calling continually for the means with which to discharge pressing demands on the United States, and to make partial payments to the officers and soldiers when they should be discharged.[1] Peace, and the recognition by Great Britain of American independence, came in the winter of 1782–83, but the burden of public and private debt still remained. The debt of Massachusetts for expenses incurred for its own protection during the war was nearly five millions of dollars, without taking into the estimate its liability to pay the demands of those who held the paper money which had been emitted during the war. The available resources of the State were inadequate to discharge this debt, and for several years the interest had not been paid.[2]

With the advent of peace, every description of merchandise arrived from abroad in large quantities, and prices fell rapidly.[3] The newspapers of the time are filled with advertisements of goods just received from British and other European ports.[4] Many representatives of English houses made their appearance, and some Boston business men returned who had been residing in England during the war, and all brought speculative ventures with them. Dr. Price, an intelligent writer on economic questions, and a steadfast friend of the newly independent States, in a letter from London, said: "The imports into the United States will probably be much greater this year than for a year or two afterward, through the eagerness of adventurers to introduce goods, whereby the market will be overstocked. It will be some time before trade can get into the regular course of circulation, and the exports be procurable to tally with the imports." These predictions were speedily fulfilled; supply far exceeded demand; prices declined to a

[1] In 1782 the tax in Massachusetts was £200,000. In 1783 it was the same amount. "New loans were obtained, and the law for an impost went into operation and produced no inconsiderable revenue. An exhibit by Congress stated the sum wanted for the year to be $6,000,000, — $4,000,000 to be borrowed in Europe and $2,000,000 to be furnished by the States, of which $320,000 would be the proportion of Massachusetts. At the same time, Congress recommended to the States to raise a million and a half annually for twenty-five years, the proportion of which for Massachusetts would be $224,000." — Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, pp. 302, 303.

Soon after the peace, an additional tax of $470,000 was voted for the purpose of paying the officers and soldiers a part of their dues.

[2] Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 317. Four millions of the debt referred to above were assumed by the Federal Government, and, at a later period, a million and a quarter more.

[3] In the *Independent Chronicle* of May 16, 1783, David Sears offers goods for sale at his store in State Street, "at peace prices." [This gentleman had gone to England in May, 1775, in the same vessel with Mrs. Copley, and it is probable that a miniature of him by Copley, now in the family, was painted in London. Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, supplement, p. 6. He was the father of the late Hon. David Sears. The Sears genealogy is worked out in an appendix to Edmund H. Sears's *Pictures of the Olden Time*. Boston, 1857. — Ed.]

[4] One announcement is worthy of special mention. Under date of June 5, 1783, we read: "This morning arrived a ship from Cork, loaded with beef, pork, and butter."

ruinous point; failures followed; and, in the absence of exports, the country began to be drained of its specie. A London paper of March 9, 1784, remarks: —

"Two ships are arrived in our river from Boston in New England, both in ballast, not having been able to procure cargoes of any kind, though they had (what is most desirable in that country) specie to pay for all they should have brought away. It appears from hence that the northern parts of the American States are in a much worse situation than the provinces to the southward. Boston was once the most flourishing place in America, and employed near five hundred sail of shipping, besides coasting and fishing vessels, which were numerous to a degree. Besides the trade which subsisted within themselves, they were to America what Holland has been to Europe, — the carriers for all the other Colonies. At present, their distillery is entirely at a stand; their peltry and fur trade, once so considerable, is entirely over; the fishery is exceedingly trifling; instead of the vast exports of hemp, flax, tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, lumber, and provisions, the only thing that offered at Boston, when the above ships sailed, was train-oil, which they got up at a high price." [1]

We are indebted to English writers of the day, not only for the sombre but graphic sketch of business affairs in Boston just after the peace, quoted above, but also for a generous estimate of what the commercial capabilities of the country were, and for an intelligent judgment as to what its policy should be. The *London Evening Post*, commenting on the steady drain of specie from the United States to pay for importations from Europe, said:

"Can a country want trade who can build ships cheaper than any part of the world; whose cod fisheries can be carried on with such advantages; who can manufacture the valuable exports of pot and pearl ashes; whose produce of lumber, naval stores, tobacco, rice, indigo, and flour are so abundant; and who lay so convenient to supply the West India Islands with all necessaries? These are the grand objects of America, and the system to be adopted by them is to make their exports exceed the amount of their imports, and instead of being debtors, they may establish themselves as creditors in the trade of Europe." [2]

[1] See *Independent Chronicle*, April 16, 1784.

[2] Ibid., May 27, 1784. Although the article from which we have given an extract above referred to the country at large, its real significance and force related to Massachusetts. In reference to this province, more than sixty years before, in 1721, the Board of Trade had made a report to the King, in which it was said that its products proper for the consumption of Great Britain were "timber, turpentine, tar and pitch, masts, pipes and hogsheads, staves, whale fins and oil, and some furs;" that it had a trade to "the foreign plantations in America, consisting chiefly in the exportation of horses to Surinam and to Martinico and the other French islands," whence came in return sugar, molasses, and rum, "which was a very great discouragement to the sugar planters in the British islands." The same report said further, in reference to the people of Massachusetts: "The branch of trade which was of the greatest importance to them, and which they were best enabled to carry on, was the building of ships, sloops, etc." About a hundred and fifty vessels were built in a year, measuring six thousand tons. Most of these were built for sale abroad, but there belonged to the province "about a hundred and ninety sail, which might contain six thousand tons, and were navigated by about eleven hundred men, besides a hundred and fifty boats, with six hundred men, employed in the fisheries on their own coast." — See Palfrey's *History of New England*, iv. 429.

In a foot-note on the same page Dr. Palfrey says: "According to information which the historian Neale professed to have obtained from the King's Custom House, 24,000 tons of shipping cleared annually from Boston about the year 1719."

The shipment of specie under the circumstances which have been described could not be maintained for any length of time, and the cessation of remittances, when it came, brought disaster to those who had sold or consigned goods from the other side of the Atlantic. London dates to Aug. 27, 1784, reported: "No less than five great American houses tumbled in the City yesterday, one to the tune of £140,000. With regard to American connexions since the peace, it may be safely said, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.*" Again, under date of September 3, it was said: "But few large fortunes have been made shipping goods to American houses, even before the war. Those who got money in that country had stores of their own, kept by their partners or factors, who had no separate interest, and were anxious to make early remittances. Where the same plan has been followed (with this difference, that no credit has been given) money was got last year, and to these people the prospects of this summer are by no means discouraging." And later (September 24): "Very few of the last orders from America will be executed, as the tradesmen are coming to their senses. Very few dollars make their appearance now; indeed, the new States are almost exhausted of specie already." [1]

In the winter of 1783–84, some of the leading merchants of Boston took measures for the establishment of a bank of deposit and issue, believing that such an institution would have a conservative influence on the trade of the town, by promoting promptness in the payment of debts, and by maintaining the standard of individual credit, while it would facilitate the transaction of legitimate business. In December, 1783, an advertisement appeared in the papers, as follows: "The utility of a bank established on right principles being generally known and acknowledged, a plan has been projected, and is now ready for the patronage of those gentlemen who wish to derive the many public and private advantages which have resulted from such institutions in other countries. Copies of the plan are lodged with, and subscriptions received by, William Phillips, Isaac Smith, Jonathan Mason, Thomas Russell, John Lowell, and Stephen Higginson, Esqrs, and at the offices of Edward Payne, John Hurd, and M. M. Hays, Esqrs." [2] On the 12th of February, 1784, the committee reported progress, and advertised for "three or four iron chests." An act of incorporation had been obtained under the name of the Massachusetts Bank; and on the 26th of February William Phillips, Isaac Smith, and Jonathan Mason, by virtue of the powers vested in them by the act, called a meeting for organization "to be holden

[1] "The excessive importations of 1784 and 1785, and the drain of specie which followed had the effect of deranging the State finances; for many who had been extravagant in their purchases thought it first necessary to pay the debts they had thus incurred, so far as they were able, and to leave the payment of their taxes to a future day. Had the taxes from 1781 to 1784 been promptly paid, the pressure in the years which followed would have been less severe." — Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 312.

In 1785, Governor Bowdoin proposed the establishment in the interior of the State of a large manufactory of pot and pearl ashes. He believed that by the production of these articles in sufficient quantities to meet the demand for export, the shipment of specie would be checked; but the plan was not adopted. Ibid. p. 310.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 18, 1783.

at Colonel Martin's in State Street, on Thursday, the 18th of March next, at ten o'clock A. M." The call concluded with the following monition: "As punctuality in all respects is of the greatest importance in such an institution, the stockholders or their substitutes will observe the hour fixed, and govern themselves accordingly."[1] The meeting was held pursuant to notice, and the following directors were chosen and announced in alphabetical order, as follows: James Bowdoin, president; Samuel Breck, George Cabot, Stephen Higginson, John Lowell, Jonathan Mason, Samuel A. Otis, Edward Payne, William Phillips, Thomas Russell, Isaac Smith, and Oliver Wendell.[2] The directors advertised for a "cashier, accomptant, teller, clerk, and sub-teller," and for a banking house. The bank first occupied the old Manufactory House;[3] but it purchased the American Coffee House in State Street, in April, 1792, and put up a building there for its own use.[4]

The citizens of the United States might well have supposed, that, having achieved their independence, their commercial enterprise would now have free play upon the ocean; and that although they could no longer lay claim to the precise privileges and immunities which they had formerly enjoyed as subjects of the British crown, they would be able to put in exercise on the sea, no less than on the land, all the rights attaching to the citizens of a sovereign State. But if such was their expectation, they were soon to be disappointed. The same mischievous disposition as of old, to prescribe and to limit the channels in which American trade should flow, was manifested by the British Government, notwithstanding the results of war and dismemberment of the empire which this policy, persisted in, had brought to pass. It had been found impracticable to negotiate a commercial treaty in behalf of the United States with Great Britain, and another course of restrictive legislation was now entered upon by the Government of the latter country, more severe in some respects, and certainly more galling to the citizens of the former, than that which previously had driven them into rebellion. The trade with the West India Islands had been very large and remunerative. In the prosecution of this, the merchants found themselves hampered and crippled, and in imminent danger of being cut off from it altogether. American vessels were forbidden to carry the products of the British West Indies to England; only American products could be imported direct from the United States into England, not even British ships being allowed to bring West India products as formerly from America.

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Feb. 26, 1784. [See further on the Massachusetts Bank in the chapter on "Finance in Boston" in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Ibid. March 25, 1784.

[3] [For the previous history of the Manufactory House see Vol. II. pp. xxvi., 511, and the chapter on "Industries" in this volume. — Ed.]

[4] It was announced in June, 1784, that the Bank of New York would soon commence operations, as the president and directors had been qualified on the 22d of the preceding month, "before His Worship the Mayor, to conduct the business of the bank to the best of their knowledge and abilities for the interest and benefit of the proprietors, and agreeable to the true intent and meaning of their constitution." — *Independent Chronicle*, June 10, 1784. The Union Bank of Boston was incorporated in 1792. It was "predicated on principles designed and adapted to the accommodation of landholders."

The Order in Council of April 17, 1784, permitted only unmanufactured goods (except oil) and pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, masts, yards, and bowsprits, being the growth or production of any of the United States, to be imported directly from them into any of the ports of the United Kingdom, either in British or American ships, by British subjects or by any of the people inhabiting in or belonging to the said United States, or any of them. The products of the West India Islands could be exported to the United States only in British ships, and the products of the United States could be imported into the West Indies, including the Bahamas and Bermudas, only by "British subjects in British-built vessels, owned by His Majesty's subjects and navigated according to law."

These harsh and indefensible regulations provoked much indignation in the American cities and towns, and led to serious deliberation and consultation among the merchants as to the course they should adopt in their own defence. It was seen that a general policy of some kind would have to be agreed upon, and that it might become necessary to retaliate.[1] A meeting of merchants, traders, and others was held in Faneuil Hall on the 16th of April, 1785, at which a very spirited and positive preamble and series of resolutions were adopted. The preamble was as follows: "Whereas no commercial treaty is at present established between these United States and Great Britain, and whereas certain British merchants, factors, and agents from England are now residing in this town, who have received large quantities of English goods and are in expectation of receiving further supplies, imported in British bottoms or otherways, greatly to the hindrance of freight in all American vessels." The resolutions called for the appointment of a committee to enter into correspondence with other seaports, ordered a memorial to Congress, and pledged the honor of the citizens not to purchase from, or have commercial connections with, the said British merchants, factors, and agents, and not to sell or let to them warehouses, shops, houses, or any other place for the sale of their goods.[2]

In July, 1785, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act for the regulation of navigation and commerce. It prohibited the exportation of any of the products of the United States from the ports of the Commonwealth in British ships, until the removal of the restrictions imposed by Great Britain which have been enumerated; it laid a heavy tonnage duty, a light money tax, and double duties on goods brought into Massachusetts in British vessels. This was followed by similar legislation in Rhode Island and New York.[3]

[1] The Philadelphia merchants addressed circular-letters to the other great trading communities, urging that restrictions be laid on the trade of all the nations which forbade their carrying even the products of their own country into their ports; for Great Britain had not been the only power which had thus sought to interfere with their commerce, although both in the extent of its restrictions and in the method of enforcing them it had shown more severity than any other.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, April 21, 1785.

[3] Ibid., July 7, 1785. In the same paper, of July 21, an extract is given from a letter written from Boston, June 17, to a merchant in Halifax, in which it is said: "After August, a British vessel arriving here will be obliged to pay five pounds a ton, and twenty-five per cent on all

In July, 1785, there was not a single British merchantman in the harbor of Boston, and it was beginning to be understood that no free entry would be granted until there had been an abatement of the rigor of the British navigation system. It began to be seen, also, that the restrictive policy did not make it the more easy to the business men of the United States to meet their engagements with their English creditors. In the month of November London dates were received to September 3, and among other news it was said: "Thursday, three capital houses in the City were obliged to stop payment, on account of the remittances from America not arriving according to promise for goods sent to that country."

The intelligence of what had been done by the Legislature of Massachusetts made a great impression in mercantile circles in England; but the Government were not to be turned aside from the purpose to which they had committed themselves. A letter from the West Indies reached Boston in April, 1786, in which it was said: "The ministry suppose they have now put a finishing stroke to the building and increase of American vessels; an act has lately been passed in England, and instructions arrived in February, that no American-built vessel should be employed or owned by British subjects on any pretence whatever, except such as were built before the year 1776; and in case of dispute, the carpenters of the ships of war are to determine the build. American vessels condemned for smuggling are to be burnt hereafter, not sold." It was further stated that three hundred sail of brigs, schooners, and sloops employed in the trade among the Islands would be rendered useless by this legislation.[1]

Notwithstanding the various drawbacks and hindrances to which we have referred, the merchants of Boston gave way to no feeling of discouragement; and their enterprise, as we shall see, so far from abating in any degree, was at this very juncture pushing toward more distant fields of effort, and reaching toward larger and richer rewards than had yet been attained. While they did not propose to abandon to their rivals the trade of the Atlantic, they determined to participate in the commerce of more distant seas; and they might well expect that they would thus be able to avoid the vexatious interference with which they had always had to contend nearer home. The *New York Gazetteer* said: "Thank God! the intrigues of a Christian court do not influence the wise decrees of the Eastern world."

In July, 1784, we find an advertisement of "fresh teas taken out of an Indiaman and brought by Captain Hallet from the Cape of Good Hope,"

goods on board, so that you will govern yourself accordingly."

"The General Court prohibited British vessels to carry the products of the State; they were also forbid entering and unlading when they brought cargoes from ports from which American vessels were excluded, and only three places of entry were allowed within the State." Bradford's *History of Mass.* p. 311.

This legislation was made to apply at first to other countries besides Great Britain; but it was repealed, so far as it related to them, on the 29th of November in the same year.

[4] *Independent Chronicle*, April 13, 1786. The American shipping employed in the foreign trade of Great Britain had been a good deal more than half as much as the British, and as ships could be built in New England and sold in Britain for one third less than British-built vessels, there had been a constant demand there for them. All this was now to be stopped.

to be had at P. Bowen's store, Dock Square.[1] American mercantile enterprise was just beginning to venture beyond the Cape, but with doubtful results. A London paper of March 16, 1785, said: "The Americans have given up all thought of a China trade, which never can be carried on to advantage without some settlement in the East Indies. The ship they fitted out for China, soon after the peace, has been offered to sale in France for a sum less than the outfit."[2] The judgment thus expressed was rather premature; as two months later, almost to a day, May 18, the ship "Empress of China," Captain Greene, arrived at New York from the East Indies, after a round voyage of fourteen months and twenty-four days. She had sailed from New York in February, 1784, touched at the Cape de Verdes, and reached Canton in August.[3] On the 5th of December, 1785, Elias Hasket Derby of Salem despatched the "Grand Turk," under command of Captain West, on the first voyage from New England to the Isle of France, India, and China. In some of Mr. Derby's later voyages to the East Indies he was joined by Boston merchants, among others by David Sears and Samuel Parkman.[4]

Mr. Samuel Shaw[5] had gone out and returned as supercargo in the "Empress of China," and he had brought with him much valuable information, which he was able to turn to good account. He sailed again from New York, in the ship "Hope," Captain James Magee, Feb. 4, 1786, having been commissioned as American consul at the port of Canton, and being accompanied by Mr. Isaac Sears and Captain Thomas Randall.[6] In

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, July 29, 1784.

[2] Ibid. May 5, 1785.

[3] The "Empress of China" was three hundred and sixty tons. A large part of the cargo taken by her was ginseng (four hundred and forty piculs), to be exchanged at Canton for teas and manufactured goods. The English ships were then carrying out lead and large quantities of cloth, which latter the East India Company was obliged by its charter to export annually to China for the encouragement of the home woollen manufacture.

[4] These new and longer voyages required much more capital than the trade to which the merchants had been accustomed, and it was found convenient by them to combine for the purpose of engaging in it. The following advertisement appears in the *Independent Chronicle* of June 23, 1785:—

"Proposals for building and fitting out a ship for the East India trade have been approved of by a considerable number of citizens, who met at Mr. Walter Heyer's in King Street, on Thursday evening last. Several gentlemen are named to receive subscriptions, and this is to give notice that another meeting is appointed on Wednesday evening next, at the same house, when any citizen who wishes to become interested may have an opportunity. A single share is only $300."

[5] Mr. Shaw was born in Boston in 1764, and was educated at the Latin School. He served in the army of the Revolution, held the rank of major, and was on the staff of General Knox. At the close of the war he gave himself to commercial pursuits, for which he had originally been destined. He was a finished scholar and an accomplished gentleman, as well as a sound and able merchant; and his early death was a public as well as private loss. While at home, in 1792, he married a daughter of the Hon. William Phillips. He died at sea May 30, 1794. The late Robert Gould Shaw was his nephew.

On his arrival in China for the first time, Mr. Shaw was taken for an Englishman, and he had to make it known to the Chinese authorities through the French consul that he and his companions were Americans, "a free, independent, and sovereign nation, not connected with Great Britain." He says in his Journal: "They styled us the 'New People,' and when by the map we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of their own empire." [See Josiah Quincy's *Life of Samuel Shaw*, and the note to Mr. Porter's chapter in Vol. III. p. 38. — ED.]

[6] Captain Randall had been his companion on his first voyage, and had shared in the duties and emoluments of the supercargoship.

June, 1787, he wrote a despatch to the Hon. John Jay, "Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs," in which he said: —

"The inhabitants of America must have tea, the consumption of which will naturally increase with the increasing population of our country. And while the nations of Europe are obliged to purchase this commodity with ready money, it must be pleasing to an American to know that his country can have it on easier terms, and that the otherwise useless product of her mountains and forests will in a considerable degree supply her with this elegant luxury. The advantages peculiar to America in this instance are striking, and the manner in which her commerce has commenced and is now going on with this country has not a little alarmed the Europeans. They have seen, the first year, a single ship, not one fifth part of whose funds consisted of ready money, procure a cargo of the same article and on equally good terms as those of their own ships, purchased for the most part with specie. They have seen this ship again here on her second voyage, and four others in addition. They see these ships depending, and that too with sufficient reason, upon the productions of their own country to supply them with the merchandise of this; and though a very small portion of their funds consisted of specie, they see them all returning with full and valuable cargoes. Such are the advantages which America derives from her ginseng.

"Until the American flag appeared in this quarter, it had been generally supposed that forty or fifty piculs (one hundred and thirty-three and one-third pounds) were equal to the annual consumption; but experience has proved the contrary. Upwards of four hundred and forty piculs were brought here by the first American ship in 1784, which did not equal the quantity brought from Europe the same season, the greatest part of which must have been previously sent there by citizens of the United States. The present year more than eighteen hundred piculs have been sold, one half of which came in the American vessels. Notwithstanding this increased quantity since 1784, the sales have not been materially affected by it, and it is probable that there will always be a sufficient demand for the article to make it equally valuable."

Mr. Shaw's expectations in relation to ginseng were not destined to be fulfilled. The article continued to be, and still is, shipped to China in moderate quantities,[1] but other forms of remittance were to be brought to light far more profitable than this could ever have been.

At the session of the General Court in March 1787 it was ordered that a portion of the tax then in process of collection might be paid in public securities, and this proved a great accommodation to the people, who were able to purchase them at a price far below their nominal value. "Commerce increased, and afforded a revenue which was a great help; but the avails were less than if there had been uniform regulations in all the States."[2]

Ship-building was active in Boston, and the general condition of trade satisfactory, in the summer of 1788,[3] as we learn by way of London, in one

[1] The export of ginseng in 1806 reached 448,394 pounds, valued at $139,000. — *Pitkin's Com. of the U. S.* p. 49. Ginseng imported into Canton, during the year ended Aug. 31, 1879:

Clarified	piculs,	179	$44,623.50
Crude	„	184	34,968.00
		363	$79,591.50

[2] Alden Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 327.

[3] In August, 1788, the exports from the port of Boston "for the year past," were stated to have been £145,146, 5*s*. 4*d*. The principal articles were boards and staves, fish, rum, flour and provisions, pot and pearl ashes, furs, oil, candles,

of the papers of which city it was said: "Saturday, some despatches were received from Boston, which are dated July 20. They contain an account of the builders going on very fast on the shipping; that four large ships of three hundred tons were to be launched the beginning of August; that trade continued brisk, and that everything was quiet in that quarter."[1] Under date of November 20, in the same year, we find the ships "Hercules" and "Omphale" advertised for the Isles of France and India; "any person wishing to adventure to that part of the world may have an opportunity of sending goods on freight. The terms may be known by applying to Thomas Russell, at his store in Boston." On the 25th of December the ship "Adventure" was cleared for the Isles of France, and on the 16th of April, 1789, the ship "Friendship" arrived from Madras.[2]

The tax in Massachusetts for 1788 was $220,000. In 1789 it was much less. At this period, we are told, "lands rose in value, agricultural produce bore a high price, commerce increased and was very profitable, and the labor of mechanics was in demand and well rewarded." Under a judicious management of the finances the amount of the revenue was far greater than had been anticipated, and public securities, which had been often sold at one sixth of their face, rose to par.[3]

Captain Magee, on his return from China in the "Hope," took command of the ship "Astræa," belonging to Mr. Derby of Salem, and sailed again to the same destination from Boston in February, 1789.[4] Mr. Thomas

leather and shoes, tea, coffee, molasses, and naval stores. We give a few of the values: —

	£	s.	a.
Fish	66,245	17	00
New England Rum	52,620	10	00
Oil	34,864	00	00
Pot and Pearl Ashes	30,485	00	00
Flour	13,420	16	00
Flaxseed	10,360	00	00
Furs	10,000	00	00

At this time, or a little later, there were two hundred and forty establishments in the Commonwealth, engaged in the manufacture of pot and pearl ashes, nearly, if not quite, all the product of which came to Boston for exportation. [See the chapter on "Industries" in the present volume. — Ed.]

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 6, 1788. The London dates were to September 6.

[2] Ibid. April 23, 1789. Nathan Bond advertises for sale by auction, at his store in Cornhill, goods ex "Friendship" from Madras, consisting of chintzes, calicoes, book-muslins, ginghams, cottons, sheetings, silks, and saltpetre.

[3] Bradford's *History of Mass.* pp. 331, 341.

[4] "In those days a Canton voyage was a serious undertaking, and as six months were required to provide the specie, ginseng, and other cargo, the ship ['Astræa'] was sent in the spring up the Baltic for iron, a schooner was sent to Madeira for wine, and letters were addressed to Mr. Derby's correspondents at New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for ginseng and specie. The 'Astræa,' on her return, met with stress of weather, and put into Newfoundland. This detention delayed her voyage until the close of the year. Upon her arrival from Russia, Mr. Derby had her thoroughly repaired, and then submitted her to a survey of three experienced merchants, who reported her to be in fine order for an India voyage. In February, 1789, he despatched her for Canton with an assorted cargo." — *Life of Elias Hasket Derby*, pp. 57, 58.

Mr. Nathaniel Silsbee, afterward Captain Silsbee, and later a prominent and successful merchant, and a Senator from Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, came home as a passenger in the "Astræa." He had gone to China as supercargo of another of Mr. Derby's vessels, the brig "Three Sisters," which had been sold there.

Mr. Silsbee studied navigation on the voyage with Captain Magee, and in December, 1790, he shipped as second mate on board a small brig and made a voyage to Madeira, the West Indies, Baltimore, Madeira again, and back to Philadelphia. In December, 1792, he sailed in command of a new ship belonging to Mr. Derby, the "Benjamin," one hundred and ninety tons, for the Isle of France and the East Indies. Neither he nor his chief officer, Mr. Cleveland (afterward Cap-

Handasyd Perkins (connected by marriage with Captain Magee), went as supercargo; and both for himself personally, and for the community in which he was to become an eminent merchant and a distinguished citizen, the voyage was to have, as we shall presently see, most important results.

Mr. Shaw having written to his friends at home, urging them to extend their trade with China, a vessel of eight hundred and twenty tons was built at Braintree, larger than any merchant ship previously built in the United States. She was called the "Massachusetts," and was launched (or, as the papers announced the fact, she "slipt into her devoted element") in September, 1789, in the presence of six thousand people.[1] Messrs. M. M. Hays (State Street), Samuel Parkman (Merchants' Row), and William Shaw ("opposite the Golden Ball")[2] were, with Mr. Samuel Shaw who had returned to take charge of her, the parties in interest.[3] She took her departure from Boston at the end of March, 1789, saluting the fort, as she passed out, with thirteen guns, and was "esteemed as fine a ship of her dimensions as ever went to sea."[4] She touched at Batavia, having merchandise on board which had been purchased for that market, and on her arrival at Canton was sold, for what reason does not appear.[5] Mr. Shaw came back to the United States to procure another ship and prepare for another voyage. From this fourth voyage he did not live to return.[6]

tain Cleveland) had then attained the age of twenty-one. "It is not probable that the annals of the world can furnish another example of an enterprise of such magnitude, requiring the exercise of so much judgment and skill, being conducted by so young a man, aided only by those who were yet younger, and accomplished with the most entire success." — Cleveland's *Voyages*, I. Introd. p. xxxiv. The only spare canvas for the repair of a sail on board this vessel bound on a voyage of eighteen months' duration or longer, and beyond the Cape of Good Hope, was what was on the cover of the log-book. In those days vessels were sheathed with wood; they were supplied with neither chronometers nor charts; and lunar observations were unknown. As late as 1827, Mr. Silsbee records in his autobiography (which exists only in manuscript and was in the possession of his son, the late Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, who has died while these pages have been going through the press) that he made a passage in a brig to Rotterdam, and that then they had no chronometer and knew nothing of lunar observations, but navigated by dead-reckoning.

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Sept. 24, 1789. [See further in Admiral Preble's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] The Golden Ball was in Dock Square, "near the head of Green's Wharf" (1760). — *Drake's Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, p. 810.

[3] *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 27, 1789. The ship "Massachusetts," Job Prince, master, is advertised to sail from Boston for Canton in February, and to return to New York. "Samuel Shaw goes and returns as agent for ship and cargo." His card says that after a second voyage he had resided three seasons in China.

[4] Ibid., April 1, 1790.

[5] Ibid., May 19, 1791. "We are happy in learning that the ship 'Massachusetts' of this port, Job Prince, Esq., commander, has safe arrived at Canton, and has been sold there."

[6] We glean from the papers of the day additional particulars of the movements of Boston shipping engaged in the East India trade, as follows: —

The ship "Favorite," Captain Cook, cleared for the East Indies, July 16, 1789. The arrival of the ship "Sally," Captain Cleveland, from the East Indies, is reported December 17; she left at the Isle of France Captains Folger and Frazier of Boston. The departure of the ship "Ruby," Captain Rich, for the East Indies, is announced, December 24. On the 26th of August, 1790, we read of the arrival of the "Massachusetts," under command of Captain Carpenter, from the Isle of France, after a passage of four months and two days. On the 12th of September it is stated that of twenty-three sail of American vessels which arrived at the Isle of France from the United States in the year 1789, sixteen were from this port and Salem.

Captain Cleveland, in his *Voyages*, refers to the "active and lucrative commerce with the Isles

The publication in 1784 or 1785 of the journals of the great navigator, Captain Cook, called the attention of the commercial world to the immense numbers of sea-otter to be found on the northwest coast of America. "The fur of this animal, which was first introduced into commerce in 1725, is described as a beautiful, soft, close, jet-black." The excitement produced by Cook's discovery was intense, and adventurers from many countries hastened to the Pacific to participate in the trade to which their attention had been directed. The merchants of Boston were among the first to explore this new field of enterprise, and they soon obtained, and for many years held, almost exclusive possession of it. The first expedition sent out by them consisted of the ship "Columbia," Captain Kendrick, and the sloop "Washington," Captain Gray, which sailed Sept. 30, 1787, bound to the Northwest Coast, China, and thence home to Boston. In May, 1790, the ship "Federalist," at New York from Canton, brought news of the arrival at the latter port of Captain Gray, in the "Columbia," and of the discovery of the great river to which the name of the ship had been given. The assorted cargoes of the two vessels had been exchanged for furs; these had been carried to Canton in the "Columbia" (which touched on her way thither, "for refreshment and provisions," at the Hawaiian Islands) and disposed of, and a cargo of teas had been taken on board for Boston. Three months later the now celebrated vessel made her appearance in our harbor. She fired a Federal salute as she passed the Castle, and another on coming to her moorings. It is doubtful whether her destination was generally known when she went away; but the announcement of her achievements by the "Federalist" had filled the community with enthusiasm, and the wharves were covered with people who gave her a hearty welcome on her return. Of her voyage it was said: "To Messrs. Barrel, Brown, Bulfinch, Hatch, Derby, and Pintard, who planned the voyage, their country is indebted for this experiment in a branch of commerce before unassayed by Americans. . . . The 'Columbia' and 'Washington' are the first American vessels who have circumnavigated the globe; and the 'Washington,' which is only of ninety tons burthen, is the first sloop of any nation ever sent on so great a voyage."[1] Captain Gray sailed in the "Columbia," on a second circumnavigatory voyage, in the month of September following.[2]

of France and Bourbon, which was continued up to the period of the conquest of those islands by the British, since which it has nearly ceased."

[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Aug. 12, 1790. The smaller vessel may have given her name to Washington Territory. Gray's Harbor, so called, lies to the north of the mouth of the Columbia River.

[A medal was struck and taken out by the ships. Its legend read, "Columbia and Washington, commanded by J. Kendrick. Fitted at Boston, N. America, for the Pacific Ocean by J. Barrell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Darby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard, 1787." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* April, 1870, p. 299; and 1871, p. 41.— Ed.]

[2] Canton was the only port in the Chinese empire to which foreign ships were then admitted. The port dues were very burdensome, and there was a trading company, consisting of ten or twelve native merchants, known as the Cohoang, which had a monopoly of the trade, and which paid a considerable sum to the Government for the exclusive privileges which it enjoyed. "Though the first adventures in the fur trade met with a good market at Canton, as the number increased the profits diminished, and it

This new opening for trade had not escaped the shrewd observation of Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, during his residence in China. While making himself acquainted with the habits of the Chinese, and collecting a fund of information relating to the trade of the empire in all its branches, he had ascertained the value of sea-otter skins and other furs from the Northwest Coast, "which formed the basis of action for him afterward in planning numerous voyages and directing mercantile operations of great importance between America, Asia, and Europe." On returning home, he found the country united and established under the Constitution of 1789; and although under the Federal government it had been found necessary to lay heavy customs duties for revenue, especially upon teas, he was satisfied that the confidence and stability to trade which were given by the new order of things more than compensated for the tax.[1] He immediately despatched the brig "Hope," Captain Joseph Ingraham, for the Northwest Coast and China. In April, 1791, Captain Ingraham discovered a cluster of islands in the Pacific, a few degrees south of the equator, to two of which he gave the names of Washington and Adams. The islands are now known as part of the Marquesas group, but the names then given still appear on the maps. The main objects of the voyage of the "Hope" were defeated by untoward circumstances; but before this could have been known to Mr. Perkins, he and his friend Captain Magee had built another vessel, the "Margaret," for the same trade. A paragraph in the *Independent Chronicle* of Oct. 27, 1791, informing the public of the departure of this ship, gives us a glimpse at the commercial activity then prevailing in the town: —

"Upwards of seventy sail of vessels sailed from this port on Monday last for all parts of the world. Among them was the ship 'Margaret,' James Magee, Esq., commander, bound on a voyage of observation and enterprise to the northwest coast of this continent. This vessel is copper-bottomed, and is said to be the best provided of any one that ever sailed from this port."[2]

was always in the power of the Coho-ang, to be regulated by its members at their pleasure." — *Independent Chronicle*, June 16, 1791.

[1] "No State was more benefited by the adoption of the Federal Constitution than Massachusetts. The pursuits of a large portion of her people were directed to commerce and navigation, and these prospered under the new government. The debt had been a heavy burden, and a cause of constant complaint; this was to be provided for by Congress, except a comparatively small amount which the State was required to take care of." — Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 330.

The arrivals from abroad at the port of Boston in the year 1790 were 60 ships, 7 snows, 159 brigs, 170 schooners, 59 sloops; total, 455. This was exclusive of the vessels employed in the coasting trade, which were supposed to amount to 1,200 sail. The duties on tonnage (foreign and American) collected from Oct. 1, 1789, to Sept. 30, 1790, in the States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York, were as follows: —

Massachusetts, ...	197,368 tons.	$21,027
Pennsylvania, ...	109,918 "	30,449
New York, ...	92,114 "	25,480

For the same year the net amount of duties collected in the same States, on goods, wares, and merchandise, was: —

Pennsylvania	$472,756
New York	446,646
Massachusetts	320,430

— *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 27, 1791.

[2] "Captain Magee carried out the frame of a vessel, with three or four carpenters, and set up the little craft of about thirty tons, under Captain Swift, then the chief carpenter; and the schooner collected some twelve or fifteen hundred sea-otters during the season, which added

In 1792 Mr. Perkins entered into partnership with his elder brother James, who had been in business in the West Indies, under the firm name of J. & T. H. Perkins, and from that time forward the brothers prosecuted the trade with the Northwest Coast and China, as well as with other parts of the world, with the utmost vigor.[1]

While the enterprise of the business men of Boston was thus pushing toward every port open to them across the seas and beyond the capes, it sought also to increase its facilities for communication with places in the interior of the State and with the adjacent States. Nearly one hundred years previously it had been proposed to cut a canal across Cape Cod, to connect the waters of Buzzard's Bay on the southwest with those of Barnstable Bay on the northeast.[2] In the autumn of 1790 this project was renewed, and an elaborate report was presented, showing its feasibility. On the 12th of May, 1791, the arrival at Springfield is mentioned of "Captain John Hills,[3] employed by General Knox, secretary at war, to explore the country from Springfield to Charles River, and make accurate survey thereof with a view to ascertain whether an inland navigation would be practicable." The Bridgewater canal, and that between the Forth and the Clyde, had been opened, and similar works were in progress in France. Travellers who had explored China had brought home accounts of canals in that country a thousand miles in length, connecting Canton in the south and Pekin in the north, "with their ten thousand vessels kept at the public expense;" and it was said that by means of these canals the country was rendered "the most fertile and pleasant in the world." In 1793 the Middlesex Canal Company was incorporated, and the work was completed

much to the profit of the voyage, as the skins were worth thirty or forty dollars when Captain Magee reached China." — *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, pp. 43–44.

In a sketch of the life of Ralph Haskins, recently published, we find some interesting particulars concerning the Northwest Coast trade. In the year 1800, Mr. Haskins went out as supercargo in the "Atahualpa," Captain Dixey Wildes, owned by Messrs. Theodore Lyman, Kirk Boott, and William Pratt. The ship was of two hundred and nine tons, mounted eight guns, and was loaded with an assorted cargo consisting of broadcloth, flannel, blankets, powder, muskets, watches, tools, beads, wire, looking-glasses, and other articles. In a letter to Mr. Lyman, Mr. Haskins said: "The navigation here is more hazardous and the business worse than I expected, especially the inland navigation. Sunken rocks, strong tides, fogs, calms, no bottom for anchoring, and a large proportion of bad weather are among the difficulties we are obliged to combat." — *Mem. Biog. New Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc.* i. 468–469.

From June 11, 1800, to January 9, 1803, 34,357 sea-otter skins were imported into China, worth on the average from $18 to $20 each. Of this quantity 30,407 were brought in Boston vessels. During the same period 1,048,750 seal skins were imported, worth from 80 to 90 cents each. Of the total number of vessels, — 80 ships and 9 brigs and schooners, — 27 ships and 5 brigs belonged to Boston. Pitkin's *Com. of the U. S.; Appendix*, pp. v–vii.

[1] In later years, when the sons of the original partners, and Mr. Samuel Cabot, a son-in-law, were taken into the business, the firm was James & T. H. Perkins & Sons. Later still, it was Perkins & Co.

[2] "By the annals of Prince, it appears that for now about an hundred years it has been meditated to cut off the Cape, or the whole county of Barnstable, by means of a canal through the town of Sandwich." — *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 16, 1790.

At the time of writing this chapter, the Cape Cod ship-canal is still only a project. The last company incorporated for its construction received its charter from the Massachusetts Legislature of 1880.

[3] Captain John Hills, of Philadelphia. He is spoken of as a very skilful surveyor.

and opened ten years later.[1] Turnpike roads also were built in different directions.

The coastwise shipping trade was very valuable in itself, and it was an important feeder to the European and East India commerce of the port. During the month of October, 1791, there were two hundred and eighty-seven entries coastwise, from different parts of the Union, and ninety clearances for the same.[2]

Boston must, at this time, have presented an animated and attractive appearance. We are told, in a descriptive sketch written in 1794: —

"There are eighty wharves and quays, chiefly on the east side of the town. Of these the most distinguished is Boston Pier, or the Long Wharf, which extends from the bottom of State Street one thousand seven hundred and forty-three feet into the harbor. . . . Here the principal navigation of the town is carried on; vessels of all burdens load and unload; and the London ships generally discharge their cargoes. It is the general resort of all the inhabitants, and is more frequented, we think, than any other part of the town."

The same writer says: —

"The harbour of Boston is at this date (November, 1794) crowded with vessels. Eighty-four sail have been counted, lying at two of the wharves only. It is reckoned that not less than four hundred and fifty sail of ships, brigs, schooners, sloops, and small craft are now in this port." [3]

The foreign commerce of those days required not only large capital for its successful prosecution, but general ability of a high order. Comprehensive and authentic information, shrewd and sound judgment, and bold enterprise had to be brought together in combination when voyages were planned which were to compass the globe, and which were to be prolonged during two or three years. All the requisite qualities to this end the merchants of Boston possessed; but as time went on and their operations multiplied and extended, serious complications arose, for which neither they nor their country could be held responsible; and difficulties and dangers presented themselves which no foresight could have antici-

[1] [See Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. —Ed.]

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 10, 1791. The total amount of duties collected at all the ports of the United States in the year ended Sept. 30, 1791, was $3,006,722. The collections in five States were as follows: —

Pennsylvania, $707,955; New York, $619,534; Massachusetts, $420,707; Virginia, $334,995; Maryland, $322,964. — *Independent Chronicle*, May 3, 1792.

The total exports from the United States in the year ended Sept. 30, 1792, were $20,518,014. For the same States as above, the exports were: —

Pennsylvania, $3,820,646; Virginia, $3,549,499; Massachusetts, $3,389,922; Maryland, $2,550,258; New York, $2,528,085. — *Columbian Centinel*, July 20, 1793.

Among the exports from Boston in 1792 were 50,000 barrels beef and pork, of which 20,000 barrels, at least, were packed here. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* iii. (1794) 287–288.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. (1794) 248, 287. The same writer (Mr. Pemberton) gives the foreign entries and clearances at the port during the year 1793, as follows: —

	Entries	*Clearances*
The West Indies	187	119
Great Britain	28	11
Other ports	161	162
	376	292

— Ibid. p. 288.

pated, and no prudence averted. In the long wars between Great Britain and France, which seemed to keep the whole world in a turmoil, the commerce of neutrals suffered almost if not quite as severely as that of the belligerents; and American merchants and shipmasters found themselves constantly and almost hopelessly involved, to their very great loss.[1]

The Government and the more enlightened portion of the community desired and honestly sought to maintain a strict neutrality as between the combatants. At a meeting of merchants and traders held in Faneuil Hall July 22, 1793, the Hon. Thomas Russell presiding, a committee consisting of Thomas Russell, Stephen Higginson, John Coffin Jones, Nathaniel Fellows, Samuel Brown, Charles Jarvis, and Eben Parsons reported a series of resolutions, which were adopted by a unanimous vote, sustaining the proclamation of President Washington in favor of neutrality, and protesting against the fitting out of armed vessels or privateers by American citizens. The sentiment of the meeting was this: the preservation of neutrality is important to the interest and honor of this country.

There was an existing treaty between the United States and France, by which "free bottoms were declared to make free ships;" but this principle was not recognized by the French men-of-war in their interference with American commerce. The *Columbian Centinel* of Sept. 11, 1793, says: "The prizes taken by the Marseilles privateer, now in this port, are seven in number, besides the ship 'President,' of Baltimore;" and, in reference to this vessel, it is added: "She is an American built and registered vessel, owned by Americans, sailing under American colors, had American property on board, and has been a constant trader between Maryland and Great Britain. The pretence for her capture was that she had English property on board, which, if every article had been, would not warrant the outrage." On the other hand the British vessels of war captured a large number of American ships with their cargoes, for their alleged violation of the paper blockade of the French ports, and on the suspicion that French property was covered by the American flag; and this suspicion extended to all vessels bound to or from a French port. The decisions of the prize-courts were often arbitrary and flagrantly unjust; and the demeanor of the naval officers was in many instances overbearing and insulting. Much hardship and serious disaster ensued, and excitement and indignation prevailed in every shipping community along the coast. The history of this period of decrees, orders in council, and non-intercourse will be told elsewhere in these volumes,[2] and cannot be detailed here.

At a meeting of the merchants of Boston held Sept. 12, 1793, a com-

[1] Mr. John Bromfield, writing to his mother from London, April 18, 1808, said: "My fears of a bad voyage are completely realized. I have been obliged to land my cargo, and make a ruinous voyage for the gentlemen who were good enough to give me employ. My own loss will be total of all that I have earned during my past life. The decrees of France and England are ruinous to American commerce, which is a whip-top, scourged by both parties. Though a neutral, it is attacked by all the belligerents."—*Lives of American Merchants*, ii. 472.

[2] [See Vol. III., Mr. H. C. Lodge's chapter. — Ed.]

mittee was appointed, consisting of Thomas Russell, Stephen Higginson, John Coffin Jones, Caleb Davis, and David Sears, to receive and transmit to the President "authenticated evidence of injuries done to our commerce by the armed vessels of any belligerent power." Soon after this, President Washington sent Mr. John Jay on a special mission to England, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty which should set at rest the vexatious questions in dispute; but so strong and bitter was the political feeling then prevailing, that the treaty which Mr. Jay was able to arrange was condemned in this country before its terms had been made known. It was assumed that a weak surrender had been made to the pretensions of England, and serious riots took place among the lower classes in many of the towns, Liberty Square in Boston being one of the scenes of disturbance. It is to the credit of the merchants that they took a more calm and dispassionate view of the condition of affairs. A meeting had been held in the town, at which resolutions were passed condemning the treaty as injurious to the commercial interests of the United States and derogatory to the national honor and independence. The Chamber of Commerce, on the contrary, passed a vote expressing its acquiescence in the terms of the treaty, and addressed a memorial to that effect to the President, who, in his reply thereto, expressed "his satisfaction to learn that the commercial part of his fellow-citizens, whose interests were thought to be most deeply affected, so generally considered the treaty as calculated upon the whole to procure important advantages to the country." [1]

The rulers of France, jealous of the commercial relations existing between the United States and Great Britain, seemed determined to force the two nations into war with each other, if this could possibly be brought to pass. They issued a decree (Jan. 18, 1798) forbidding the entrance into any French port of any vessel which at any previous part of her voyage had touched at an English possession, and declaring good prize all vessels having merchandise on board, the production or manufacture of England or her colonies, whoever the owners of the merchandise might be. This was regarded as being little short of a declaration of war, and authority was given to the American navy to seize vessels under the French flag which had committed encroachments upon American commerce; commercial intercourse between France and the United States was suspended; treaties were declared to be no longer binding upon the latter; and letters of marque and reprisal were authorized.[2]

But notwithstanding the perplexities and perils thus superadded to the ordinary risks of ocean commerce, the merchants of Boston, Salem, and other communities went forward in the prosecution of their plans with all

[1] Barry's *Hist. of Mass.*, iii. 332, 333. The New York Chamber of Commerce concurred with the Boston chamber in its estimate of Mr. Jay's treaty. [See the *Life of John Warren*, ch. xxii., and Mr. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. and references there — ED.]

[2] John S. Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 352, 353. "History will record the fact that France has been willing to see us independent of Britain, but not independent of herself." — George Cabot, in the *Columbian Centinel*, May 31, 1797.

their accustomed energy and spirit. Captain Cleveland in his journals mentions four Boston ships met by him on the Northwest Coast in the spring of 1799, and says that ten others were to be despatched thither from Boston during that season; and while at Calcutta, in the following winter, he records: "During the three months of my residence in Calcutta, no less than twelve ships were laden with the produce and manufactures of Hindostan for the United States, whose cargoes would average about two hundred thousand dollars each." [1]

In 1798 the Messrs. Perkins bought and sent to Canton direct the "Thomas Russell;" and Mr. Ephraim Bumstead, then the oldest apprentice in their counting-house, went out as supercargo. In 1803 they made an arrangement with this young man to go to China and establish himself there for the transaction of their own business and such other as might offer. Mr. Bumstead took passage in a ship from Providence, belonging partly to merchants there and partly to the Messrs. Perkins, and had as his clerk a nephew of theirs, John P. Cushing, who had also been in their employ. Soon after his arrival in China Mr. Bumstead became very ill and embarked on a voyage for the benefit of his health, expecting to return before long; but he died at sea, and Mr. Cushing, at the early age of sixteen, found himself in sole charge, with many consignments to care for and important concerns to manage. He had "a good head," and he conducted affairs with so much ability that he was soon after taken into the firm, remaining in it until its dissolution. He visited the United States in 1807, but soon returned to China, and did not leave it until twenty years after that time. "He was well repaid for his undertaking by the result." [2]

Mr. Cushing was succeeded in the management of the Canton house by Mr. Thomas T. Forbes, another nephew of the Perkins's, and a young man of much promise, who was lost soon after in the Canton River with his yacht "Haidee." Mr. Cushing was in Europe when the news of this calamity came to hand, and immediately returned to China to protect the interests of his firm. He and Mr. Forbes had been on intimate terms with the firm of Russell & Co., of which Mr. Samuel Russell was then at the head. It was now arranged to reorganize this house, and to transfer the business of Perkins & Co. to it. Mr. Augustine Heard was admitted as a partner, and Mr. Forbes's youngest brother John, then sixteen years of age, as a clerk. Mr. John M. Forbes subsequently became a partner, and, later, his older brother, Captain Robert Bennet Forbes, who was the head of the house for several years. Mr. Russell Sturgis, now of Baring Brothers & Co., was admitted to the firm in 1842. Mr. Paul S. Forbes, cousin of the three brothers just mentioned, Mr. W. Delano, Mr. John C. Green, and Mr. A. A. Low, were also members of this eminent firm.[3]

[1] Cleveland's *Voyages*, i. 74, 112. The four ships referred to were the "Eliza," Rowan; "Hancock," Crocker; "Despatch," Breck; and "Ulysses," Lamb.

[2] *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, pp. 207, 208.

[3] In 1816, Captain Forbes entered the counting-house of S. Cabot and James and Thomas

Another youth, who was afterward to become a most intelligent and successful merchant, graduated from the counting-house of the Messrs. Perkins in the early years of their business, and went to sea in one of their ships. This was William Sturgis, who had been with them for a few months only, when it became necessary for him, on the death of his father, to push his fortunes for himself (1798); and he shipped before the mast in the "Eliza," 136 tons, then fitting out for a voyage to the Northwest Coast, San Blas on the western coast of Mexico, and China. The vessel was under the command of Captain James Rowan, who had made several voyages in the same trade, and had been very successful in his intercourse with the Indians. On reaching the coast Captain Rowan advanced young Sturgis to be his assistant in the trading department; [1] and the latter displayed so much industry, ability, and tact in his new position, and had improved himself so much in the study of navigation that he attracted the attention of other ship-masters, and was called from the forecastle of the "Eliza" to be chief mate of the "Ulysses," the officers and crew of which vessel were in revolt against their captain. He proceeded in her to China, where he met the "Eliza," and, by consent of all parties, rejoined her as third mate. On his return to Boston in the spring of 1800 he was engaged as first mate and assistant trader on board the "Caroline," owned by James and Thomas Lamb and others, and fitting out for a three years' voyage to the Pacific and China, under Captain Charles Derby of Salem. The ship touched at the Sandwich Islands on the way out, and Captain Derby died there; whereupon Mr. Sturgis, then nineteen years of age, became commander of the vessel and sole manager of her business. He came back to Boston in 1803, having made the voyage "to the great satisfaction and profit of his employers." He made another voyage, terminating in June, 1806. In the autumn of the same year he started on his fourth voyage round the world in the "Atahualpa," belonging to Theodore Lyman and others, with supervision over two other vessels, belonging to the same owners, already on the Coast. Returning in June, 1808, he sailed in the same ship for Canton direct, with an outfit exceeding three hundred thousand Spanish milled dollars; and accompanied by Mr. John Bromfield, who had an interest in the adventure and a share in the responsibility.[2] It was

H. Perkins, Jr., being twelve years of age, and in 1817 he shipped before the mast in a ship belonging to his uncles, the "Canton Packet." In 1824 they gave him the command of their favorite ship the "Levant;" and afterward he commanded the "Nile," the "Danube," and the "Lintin."

[1] Of this voyage the Messrs. Perkins wrote to Mr. Samuel G. Perkins, then in London, under date of Nov. 9, 1799, as follows: —

"We wrote you the 'Eliza' had succeeded on the Northwest, and had proceeded to China; that is, she was about leaving the coast for China. We presume from the letters, which are dated off St. Blas, that she would dispose of her dry-goods for about one hundred per cent advance. The collection of skins exceeded that of Magee in the 'Margaret,' or Swift in the 'Hazard,' although they were two years, and the 'Eliza' ninety days."

[2] John Bromfield was born in Newburyport, April 11, 1779, and was brought up in the counting-houses of Larkin & Hurd, Charlestown, and Soley & Stearns, Boston. After making two trading voyages to Europe, he sailed in the "Atahualpa" as supercargo, with Captain Sturgis, being under engagement to remain a year in Canton as Mr. Lyman's factor. He subsequently went into business for himself, and was very successful. Many of his ventures were with his

on this voyage that he had a desperate encounter with pirates in the mouth of the Canton River. He reached Boston again in 1810, and then joined Mr. John Bryant in business under the firm name of Bryant & Sturgis. Their business was principally with places on the Pacific and with China, and "from the year 1810 to 1840 more than half of the trade carried on with those countries, from the United States, was under their direction. They occasionally, however, had commercial intercourse with nearly every quarter of the globe." [1]

The "Thomas Russell" was despatched in May, 1800, under command of Captain Henry Jackson, to Malaga and ports in the Mediterranean, loaded with teas and nankeens, "the ultimate object of the voyage being the purchase of a cargo in Calcutta, and the speedy conversion of the present lading into dollars to be the governing object in the operations." [2]

Passing on to the year 1807, we come to the English Orders in Council, the Milan decrees of Napoleon, and the non-intercourse policy of President Jefferson. All the industrial interests of Massachusetts, including the agricultural, were seriously checked by the embargo laws, and the days of the Boston Port Bill seemed to have come back again. Ship-building was suspended, and the fisheries were abandoned. "The transfer of flour and grain from the Southern States to the northern and eastern ports was interdicted; and when this was found to be very injurious, the President proposed to grant license to such individuals to transport flour for the necessary consumption of the people, as Governor Sullivan should select or designate. Great complaints were made against this measure as partial and unjust. A petition was preferred to Congress at this time for liberty to send fish to foreign markets as had formerly been done, and when there were large quantities on hand exposed to decay in a short time; but the request was not granted, nor was any sympathy expressed for the petitioners." [3] Commissioners were sent to England, and a treaty was negotiated by them; but this was so unsatisfactory to the President that he declined to submit it to the Senate. At this time the encounter took place between the "Leopard" and the "Chesapeake," near the Capes of Virginia, and the historian says: "The country had never been in such a state since the battle of Lexington." [4] In 1809 there was a temporary relaxation of hostilities, and a thousand vessels were cleared for foreign ports. The Embargo Act was modified, so far as related to provisions and the exclusion of foreign armed vessels, but the

friends Bryant & Sturgis, and Henry Lee. He died Dec. 9, 1849. [See Hunt's *American Merchants*. — Ed.]

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1863, 1864, p. 433.

[2] In 1794, Pemberton writes: "Our trade to the Mediterranean is at present interrupted by the Barbary corsairs." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii. (1794), p. 286.

[3] Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 372. The registered tonnage of the United States engaged in the foreign trade in 1807 was 848,306. Of this, 319,309 tons, or more than one third of the whole, were owned in Massachusetts. Mr. Cabot wrote to Colonel Pickering, in reference to the non-importation law of 1807: "Our trade with France was comparatively small, and restrictions as to that nation were not so injurious. With reference to England the case was different. Of all the surplus products of the United States, that country bought annually one half, and of all our foreign purchases she supplied two thirds."

[4] John S. Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 363.

restrictions upon importations were continued, with a proviso empowering the President to legalize trade with Great Britain by proclamation. In 1810 the Federal Government found itself compelled to relax still further the rigor of its non-intercourse policy; but many intelligent men were coming to see that war with Great Britain was inevitable. In 1812 the declaration of war was made, in opposition, undoubtedly, to the feelings of a majority of the people of this Commonwealth. They were engaged principally in commercial pursuits; "their spirit of thrift was greater than their thirst for military renown; and they were inclined to peace, not from cowardice nor from a willingness to sacrifice the interests of their country, but from a profound conviction that peace was the policy of the nation, and would subserve its interests better than war." [1]

Great suffering followed. A vast amount of capital, and a large number of vessels and seamen were thrown out of employ; the prices of imported articles rose enormously; the produce of the country was held at high rates; work was scarce; money also was scarce, and it was difficult to supply family wants.[2] Mr. Nathaniel Silsbee, in his autobiography,[3] says: —

"On the 18th day of June, 1812, after an embargo of sixty days, the Government of the United States declared war against England, which had a most depressing effect upon the commercial interests of the country; the vessels that were at home were generally dismantled and hauled up, except such as were suitable for privateers; and although a much larger portion of vessels and property which happened to be abroad at the commencement of the war escaped capture than was expected, yet a number of these vessels and a considerable amount of property fell into the hands of the enemy, and caused large losses to the commercial part of the community."

Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, writing of these times in his journals, says: —

"Embargoes and non-intercourse, with political and other causes of embarrassment, crossed our path; but we kept our trade with China, and during the war of the Peninsula embarked largely in the shipment of provisions to Spain and Portugal. Our general plan was to freight vessels, load them with flour at the South for Europe, and have the funds remitted to London. To make some necessary arrangements respecting them, I took passage in the brig 'Reaper,' belonging to my friend Henry Lee, for London, in August, 1811. The intention of Mr. Lee was to proceed to India in the brig, taking funds from England, and returning to Boston with Calcutta cloths, which then paid a great advance. I sent funds in her, and she returned in the year 1812, during the war with Great Britain, and with great profit. Long-cloths of India then brought twenty-five cents a yard, though an inferior article to what is now made at six cents, being less than one fourth of the price the India cloths then sold at. I remained in London during the year, or until the summer, and returned after war had been declared. While in London I bought, with the elder Mr. Higginson, goods brought into England for France, which resulted in great gain."

In December, 1813, Congress passed a further restrictive measure, which added to the suffering already existing and increased the complaints of the

[1] Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 387. [2] Ibid., p. 392. [3] See *Note*, pp. 206, 207.

people. It was so severe as to interdict the coasting trade between ports in the same State and the fishing business in small craft near the coast. The fishermen of Boston, who were thus deprived of the means of obtaining their daily bread, petitioned the General Court for relief.

The following extracts from the correspondence of the Messrs. Perkins will serve to throw light on the commercial history of the period now under review: —

"To Messrs. Perkins & Co., Canton.

"January 1, 1814.

"You say a cargo laid in at Canton would bring three for one in South America, and your copper would give two prices back. Thus, $30,000 laid out in China would give you $90,000 in South America, one half of which laid out in copper would give one hundred per cent, or $90,000, — making $135,000 for $30,000; 60,000 lbs. of indigo, even at 80 cts., $48,000; 120 tons of sugar at $60, $7,200; and cotton, or some other light freight, say skin tea, $20,000, — in all $75,000, — would be worth here $400,000, and not employ the profits of the voyage to South America. Manilla sugar is worth $400 to $500 per ton, clear of duty. The ship should be flying light, her bottom in good order, the greatest vigilance used on the passage, and make any port north of New York."

"January 6, 1814.

"Teas have risen to enormous prices, but are now declining. . . . Teas will rise with you immediately after a knowledge of peace takes place. Many voyages will be undertaken after the war, and the country will be again flooded with teas."

"July 15, 1814.

"A messenger has recently arrived in this country, offering in the name of the Prince Regent propositions for concluding a peace between this country and Great Britain. . . . A final settlement, such as will enable us to navigate in safety, may be protracted, by the diplomatic habits of our Government, to the ensuing autumn. It may be concluded sooner. All will depend upon the complete prostration of Buonaparte. God grant that this obstacle may not long intervene! How far we shall, in time of peace, be permitted to pursue our former commerce, is a question difficult to decide. Great Britain has neither affection nor respect for us. Her interest will guide in relation to her future stipulations. When she can, consistently with her own rights, restrict us, she will naturally do so."

"November 17, 1814.

"We hear that the 'Jacob Jones' went safely into Canton, and presume she may be despatched before the river is blockaded. In such case, she ought to be here at the time appointed, unless captured. Our coast is closely invested, and the hazard of getting in very imminent.[1] Some insurance has been done on her, owing to her being

[1] The risks were great, and so were the possible profits. A son of Colonel Perkins sailed for China during the war "in a private armed ship that was prepared to fight her way for a rich cargo," and this she did literally and successfully. The ship "Sally" arrived in the bay without knowing of the war. Two British frigates were off the harbor; she received advice from a fishing boat, and ran into Plymouth. Her cargo was brought by land to Boston. The arrival of the schooner "Russell" at New Bedford, ninety-two days from Canton, is reported in the *Columbian Centinel*, April 5, 1815, and it is said: "Information had been received at

a war-built vessel and having the reputation of being a swift sailer, at fifty per cent, but very little can be had. We have only $8,000 written at present, and fear we shall not be able to effect more by safe men, even at that. Vessels built before the war cannot be insured at seventy-five per cent, which premium has been given on prizes taken near this coast and ordered in. Owing to the decline of public credit consequent on a continuance of the war, and the many failures which have taken place, it is extremely difficult to effect sales of any sort except for immediate consumption, and those are made only for cash, no one being inclined to sell on credit at this critical juncture. . . . Public funds here (six per cent) are down to sixty-five, and growing worse. Nothing but peace can prevent an utter downfall of governmental credit and means. We have no expectation that the duties will be reduced for several years, if at all.[1] Keep the 'Levant' safe in port till you hear of peace. Then she may do well with black teas for European markets."[2]

There had been a wide divergence of opinion in the country on the questions of declaring and continuing the war; but there was no difference in the spirit with which the news of peace was welcomed by the people of both parties and of all classes. Mr. Silsbee says: "The news was received with demonstrations of universal joy in every part of the country." Colonel Perkins was in Washington with two other commissioners from Massachusetts, and he wrote from that city, Feb. 16, 1815, to Mr. John P. Cushing: "The joyful event of peace has suspended the mission on which I came. You will hear with delight of this event. No sacrifice is made of territory or commercial rights. It is a treaty formed on the basis of that of 1783. . . . I trust I shall never see another war."

We can almost hear the hum of the reviving industries as we read the announcements which now appeared in the papers of the day: —

February 18. "The lights in the light-houses off this harbor and Cape Ann have recommenced by order of Government. The moderate weather, which we hope is now commencing, will raise the ice blockade of this and other harbors, and permit the numerous vessels now preparing for sea to spread their white canvas to the gale."

"Since the arrival of the peace news, the vessels in this port have been actively preparing for sea."

"The first effects of peace have been seen in the rapid declension in the price of foreign goods, West India produce, etc. In New York, sugars have fallen 100 % (*sic*), teas from 75 to 100 %."

March 11. "Many gallant vessels have left port on voyages, and others are in stages of readiness. The beautiful ships 'Liverpool Packet' and 'Milo' will un-

Canton from Columbia River of the capture of ship 'Charon,' Whittemore, of Boston, with her cargo of furs, and ship 'Isabella,' Davis, of Boston, particulars not known. All the American vessels on the Northwest Coast were considered as lost or in danger of capture. The establishment at Columbia River had been broken up."

Captain Black, of the British sloop of war "Raccoon," took formal possession of Astoria in the name of the King, Dec. 12, 1813. The ships "Jacob Jones" and "Levant" are reported as being at Canton, Dec. 26, 1814; and the ships "Levant" and "New Packet," and the brig "Brutus," — all of Boston, — Feb. 27, 1815.

[1] The duties on all merchandise were doubled on the breaking out of the war. Hyson teas paid sixty-four cents a pound; Young Hyson skin, forty cents; Souchong and Congo, twenty-four cents.

[2] *Memoir of Thomas H. Perkins*, pp. 298–300.

loose their sails to-morrow, if the wind will permit. The elegant new ship 'Galen' will sail for London in all the month. Vessels which now sail for any European ports cannot run into danger." [1]

Mr. Abbott Lawrence was one of the passengers in the "Milo" for Liverpool. He managed to ship his first English purchases by her on her return trip, and they reached Boston and were sold within ninety days from the time of his departure.[2]

Of the many other Boston merchants of this period of returning prosperity, worthy then, and not forgotten now, the shipping record[3] of the

[1] *Columbian Centinel.*

[2] Mr. Amos Lawrence began business in Boston in December, 1807. His brother Abbott came here in 1808; and the firm of A. & A. Lawrence was formed Jan. 1, 1815. The first set of books by double entry in Boston was opened in their counting-house in 1816 or 1817. They occupied for many years a store in what is now known as Cornhill, but which was called Market Street when it was laid out in 1817, until the year 1828. They then moved to 11 Liberty Square, and later to Milk Street, on the corner of Bath Street, — a locality which was obliterated by the changes which followed the fire of 1872.

Bath Street was first called Tanner's Lane, and afterward (until 1807) Horn Lane, because of its crookedness. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*, pp. 811, 813, 817.

[A Lawrence tabular pedigree, by H. G. Somerby, was printed in 1856; also in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1856, in connection with a memoir of Abbott Lawrence; and *The Genealogy of the Family of John Lawrence*, Boston, 1857, and third edition, 1869, also covers the ancestry of the well known Boston merchants of this name. Their lives are also traced in Hunt's *American Merchants.* — ED.]

[3] The new and superior ship "Canton," B. P. Tilden, supercargo, was advertised for Canton by Benjamin Rich, 75 Long Wharf, to have immediate despatch. The ship "Hope," Captain Bachelder, sailed for Calcutta April 1, 1815. On the fourth of the same month the ship "Flor de Brazil," Silva, from Pernambuco, *via* Bermuda, arrived with a cargo of molasses and sugar, consigned to Ropes, Pickman, & Co.; and a few days later the brig "New Hazard," Endicott, came in from Matanzas, with thirty-eight thousand gallons of molasses to the same firm. The name of this brig is suggestive of the perils from which our commerce had just escaped; so is that of the schooner "Catch-me-if-you-can," which arrived at the same time from Baltimore, with a cargo of flour consigned to Hall & Thacher. (*Columbian Centinel*, April 8, 1815.) The first arrival from Liverpool after the peace was reported May 3, — the British ship "Kingston," Captain Smith, with "dry-goods, crates, hardware, pig-iron, and lead, to David Hinckley, Giles Lodge, Daniel Hastings, and others."

"This day (Monday, May 3d) arrived and fired salutes the fine letter-of-marque brig 'Rambler,' Captain Edes, and ship 'Jacob Jones,' Captain Robarts, both in 108 days from Canton, with rich cargoes of silk, teas, and other articles, to the Messrs. Perkins, Bryant & Sturgis, Mr. B. Rich, etc. They escaped dashingly the British blockading squadron, consisting of the 'Grampus,' 50, and 'Owen Glendower,' who had long been watching for them." (*Columbian Centinel*, May 10, 1815.) Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., and Mr. Edes came passengers in the "Jacob Jones." The cargo of the "Rambler" consisted of Canton crapes, sewing-silk, black-fringed handkerchiefs, dimitics, sarcenets, ribbons, pongees, teas, cassia, and six thousand walking-sticks.

A few days later the letter-of-marque schooner "Tamaahmaah," Captain Porter, arrived from the Northwest Coast, September, 1813, and one hundred and fifteen days from Canton, with a full cargo of teas, nankeens, cassia, alum, etc. She had sailed from Boston in the month of February, 1813, with supplies for various vessels on the coast, and to give them information of the war. These Canton cargoes were sold at auction immediately on their arrival, in accordance with the custom of the trade.

On the 17th of May fifty-three vessels arrived "coastwise," with large quantities of flour, tobacco, hemp, molasses, whiskey, rice, oil, tar, coal, sugar, corn, gin, candles, grindstones, turpentine, plaster, oysters, etc., consigned to numerous merchants. May 19, arrived Swedish ship "Mercurius," forty-eight days from Liverpool, with dry-goods, hardware, tin-plates, coals, crates, etc.; also the Russian ship "Alexander," fifty-one days from Lisbon, with salt, bar-iron, duck, and corkwood. May 27, arrived the British brig "Speedy," fifty-six days from Liverpool, with dry-goods, hardware, shot, iron, crockery-ware, to Andrew Elliot, C. R. Codman, Trott & Bumstead, O. Everett, Lewis Tappan & Co., J. Sewall, J. Carter, S. G. Perkins, H. Higgin-

Centinel makes frequent mention; but space is wanting here to enlarge upon their careers.

Soon after the war the export trade in ice was started and carried forward under the enterprise of Mr. Frederic Tudor. In the winter of 1805–6 Mr. Tudor had taken a cargo to Martinique, and although the venture had

son, John Tappan, F. Cabot, S. Torrey & Son, B. & C. Adams, K. Boott & Son, Rice & Read, T. Cordis. The ship "Milo," Glover, arrived from Liverpool June 3. The passengers by the "Milo" were "James Creighton, Esq. of New York, Bearer of Despatches to the Government from our late Commissioners at Ghent;" also, Gustavus Tuckerman, Joseph B. Henshaw, Ralph B. Forbes, and others. The "Liverpool Packet," Nichols, and "Roscoe," Amory, arrived on the fifth, with assorted cargoes to a large number of consignees. Among those who advertised dry-goods received by these vessels were Tuckerman, Rogers & Cushing, Benjamin C. Ward & Co., John Grew, Lane & Lamson, Henry Gassett & Co., Isaac Osgood, Phineas Foster, James Read. Those who advertised hardware were J. & E. Phillips, Samuel May, Charles Scudder, John Bradford, Fairbanks & Burbeck. June 7, arrived schooner "Union," of Beverly, forty-four days from Lisbon, with lemons, salt, duck, etc., to Ray & Gray; and the British schooner "Matchless," fifty-four days from London, with a cargo of cordage, duck, porter, iron, copperas, tin, steel, alum, crockery, paints, chalk, whiting, and thirty pianofortes.

The brig "Panther," Lewis, cleared for Liverpool and the northwest coast of America June 8. "The fine new ship 'Union,' of six hundred and nineteen tons, belonging to the Hon. Mr. Gray, sailed from the outer roads on Monday last (June 5th), for Calcutta." Mr. William Gray had moved to Boston from Salem in 1809. [See his portrait in the chapter on "Finance." — Ed.]

July 13, arrived ship "Hannibal," Burgess, fifty-five days from Liverpool, with an assorted cargo; she brought about two thousand letters. On the same day, ship "Beverly," Edes, was cleared for Canton. July 20, arrived brig "Mary," from Gottenburg, with iron, steel, block-tin, hones, slates, pencils, brass and card wire, pins, camphor, copperas, flats for hats, and dry-goods, to Walley & Foster, T. Williams, E. & J. Breed, and Beckford & Bates. The junior member of this last firm was Joshua Bates, who went to Europe in 1816, as Mr. Gray's agent, and afterward became a member of the firm of Baring Brothers & Co., London. From a brief outline by Mr. Bates of his earlier history, drawn off by years, we make the following extract: 1803 to 1812, with William Rufus Gray, in Boston and Charlestown; 1813 to 1815, Beckford & Bates; 1816 to 1819, William Gray's agent in Europe; 1828, joined Baring Brothers & Co. [See the chapter on "Libraries." — Ed.]

Cleared, August 21, ship "Jacob Jones," Oxnard, for Canton; and 23d, ship "Sultan," Reynolds, for the Northwest Coast and Canton; the latter by Boardman & Pope. Arrived, August 25, ship "John Adams." Downing, forty-three days from Liverpool, with assorted cargo, to Walley & Foster, owners, and others; September 7, ship "New Packet," Bacon, from Canton, with teas and cassia to Ropes, Pickman, & Co.

Among the prominent business men of the day, besides those whose names have been already mentioned, were Samuel Parkman, Robert G. Shaw, John Parker & Sons, Israel Thorndike, Thomas C. Amory & Co., Thomas Wigglesworth, Isaac Winslow, James Ingersoll, Josiah Bradlee, and Cornelius Coolidge & Co. The leading auctioneers were Plimpton & Marett, Whitwell & Bond, T. K. Jones & Co., and Coolidge, Deblois, & Co. How nobly these men and their fellow-merchants had maintained, as a whole, their financial position and the credit of the town, during all the vicissitudes of the previous decade, is illustrated by the following paragraph which we find in the *Columbian Centinel*, July 12, 1815: —

> "In many of the Southern prices-current, gold and silver and Boston bank-bills are quoted at the same prices, and from twelve to sixteen per cent above their own bank-paper."

Mr. Bromfield was proud of the financial position maintained by New England during the war with Great Britain from 1812 to 1815, at a time when all south and west of her borders failed to fulfil their engagements, and suffered dishonor; "but he was sadly troubled and deeply mortified at the course taken in 1837, when, in a time of profound peace and apparent prosperity, all the moneyed institutions in the country suspended payment, not as they alleged, but because they chose to consider it for the public good that they should violate their engagements and refuse to pay their debts." — *Lives of American Merchants*, ii. 478, 479.

The taxable valuation of Boston rose, between the years 1810 and 1820, from $18,500,000 to $38,000,000. In the period from 1800 to 1810 it had increased only from $15,000,000 to $18,500,000.

not been a pecuniary success, it had been demonstrated that this article could be carried to a warm climate. After the war the British Government offered him the monopoly, for a term of years, for Jamaica, upon certain conditions, which were readily acceded to; and further encouraged him by releasing all ships bringing ice from port charges. The first prominent and permanent establishment of ice-houses in the West Indies was at Kingston. Soon after the monopoly was secured for Havana, and liberal concessions were made for the introduction of ice into other ports in Cuba. The first cargo for Charleston was shipped in 1817, and ice-houses were established in Savannah in 1818, and in New Orleans in 1820.

In May, 1833, at the request of English and American merchants resident in Calcutta, Mr. Tudor sent a small cargo, about two hundred tons, to that port. "The result, like that of the first shipment to the West Indies, was not a pecuniary success; but it proved that ice brought twenty thousand miles could, with all the attendant waste and loss, successfully compete in prices with that prepared by the natives." The result was the establishment of a trade which steadily increased in volume and importance, and which, for many years, enabled Boston "to hold the key to the rich and extensive commerce between Calcutta and the United States."

A cargo was sent to Rio Janeiro in 1834. In 1842 Messrs. Gage, Hittinger, & Co. shipped a cargo to London in the bark "Sharon," but it was not a success; and subsequent attempts to introduce the American article into that market were not more fortunate. In 1855 twelve companies were engaged in the business in and about Boston; and the estimated value of the plant, including ponds, ice-houses, wharves, and tools, was $600,000. The quantity shipped to the East Indies in 1857 was ten or eleven thousand tons, and during the next two or three years it increased to twenty thousand. In 1867 it reached twenty-seven thousand tons, and then gradually fell away, until now the annual shipment has declined to one or two thousand tons. The total export of ice from Boston, foreign and coastwise, according to the Custom-House returns, was one hundred and forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-three tons in 1860, which was the highest point reached. In 1865 it was one hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and seventy-five; and in 1866, one hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-one tons. Of late years it has been fifty or sixty thousand tons per annum.[1]

In this connection it will be appropriate to give some particulars about the Calcutta trade. We have seen that in the year 1800 twelve vessels were loaded at Calcutta in one season for the United States, with cargoes valued altogether at about $2,400,000. These cargoes consisted largely of cotton and silk manufactures. In 1840 twenty-one vessels arrived with Calcutta cargoes, amounting in quantity to seventeen thousand tons, and in value

[1] See *Reports of the Boston Board of Trade;* also an article on "Ice," by F. H. Forbes, in *Scribner's Monthly*, x. 462–470; and F. Tudor's letter on the "History of the Ice Trade," in the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, January, 1856.

(first cost and freight money) to $1,250,000. The tonnage had increased, but the value had been reduced by one half, owing to the change in the character of the goods imported. The trade steadily increased until, in 1857, one hundred and twenty-two ships were loaded at Calcutta for the United States, bringing one hundred and eighty-nine thousand two hundred and sixty-seven tons, valued at $17,000,000. The following table will show how Boston controlled this trade at the period of its greatest development [1]: —

Year.	Boston.		New York.	
1856	78 ships.	110,113 tons.	14 ships.	20,813 tons.
1857	96 „	147,131 „	22 „	37,055 „
1858	59 „	86,013 „	16 „	25,801 „
1859	81 „	141,825 „	14 „	26,234 „

From and after 1859 New York began to gain upon Boston; but it was not until 1867 that the tonnage imported at the former city actually exceeded that at the latter.[2]

The Russia trade of Boston deserves special mention. We find the arrival of a ship from Riga reported as early as Dec. 25, 1783. In the summer of 1784 Mr. Derby of Salem sent his barque, the "Light Horse," from that port to St. Petersburg, the first vessel to go there from New England. The ship "Thomas and Nancy" arrived at Boston from St. Petersburg Aug. 31, 1786; and the ship "Garrick" Nov. 15, 1787. Mr. George Cabot once said: "The hemp, iron, and duck brought from Russia have been to our fisheries and navigation like seed to a crop." But for many years the trade was carried on at a disadvantage. The same intelligent merchant, writing to Colonel Pickering in 1806, remarked: "In Russia we sell little or nothing, and buy to a great amount. We go there *dead-freighted*, and pay all in cash, or rather in bills on London, better to us than money, having cost us a considerable premium in Spain or elsewhere."[3]

After the War of 1812, American vessels began to go to Havana and Matanzas to load with sugar for Cronstadt, the port of St. Petersburg, and

[1] See *Reports to the Boston Board of Trade*, by J. R. Lee.

[2] Tonnage imported from Calcutta to both cities, from 1862 to 1867: —

	Boston.	*New York.*
1862	40,786	19,705
1863	31,416	22,142
1864	37,845	17,989
1865	29,213	13,711
1866	50,622	45,371
1867	74,094	85,073

We have an illustration of the changes which take place in trade in the course of time, in the history of the importation of gunny-bags and gunny-cloth. In 1840 the quantity was less than five thousand bales; in 1856 it was ninety thousand bales; in 1859, eighty-seven thousand; in 1860, eighty-eight thousand; and in 1867, eighty-six thousand. The importation has since almost entirely ceased.

[3] In the same letter, Mr. Cabot said that in the trade with Spain and the south of Europe American merchants were selling much more than they bought, and there was often a loss, because the ships had to come home *dead-freighted*. *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, p. 358.

to return with Russia cargoes to Boston and New York. Among the articles brought were hemp, bolt-rope, cordage, oakum or turned hemp, codilla, occasionally flax and flax-tow, junk both for oakum and paper, sail-cloth, ravensduck, diaper, crash, bar-iron, sheet-iron, feathers, down, horse-hair, hogs' hair, felt of cows' hair, occasionally red leather, cantharides, and China rhubarb. In 1829 Mr. William Ropes, previously of the firms of Ropes, Pickman, & Co., Ropes & Ward, and Ropes, Reed, & Co., made a voyage, by way of Havana, to Cronstadt, as supercargo in the ship "Courser," and was so favorably impressed with the prospect for business there, that after another voyage he removed, in 1832, with his family to St. Petersburg, and established the house of William Ropes & Co., which still continues. Mr. Ropes was the first to import cotton from the United States direct into Russia. Among other Boston merchants engaged in this trade were Curtis & Stevenson, Robert B. Storer, Josiah Bradlee, and John Dwyer. It was extensive and profitable for many years. Since the development of native industry in Russia, and the adoption of an extreme protective policy there as well as in the United States, the mutual trade between the two countries has been nearly destroyed. In 1857 twenty-three cargoes arrived from Russia at Boston, against eight at New York.

From 1820 to 1830 the trade of Boston, both foreign and domestic, grew and advanced steadily; and from 1830 to 1840 it prospered still more. This prosperity was only temporarily and slightly checked by the general disasters of 1837. During this latter period the taxable valuation increased fifty per cent;[1] and the arrivals of shipping from abroad were more than doubled, the ratio of increase being much greater in this particular than at New York or Philadelphia.[2] The railroads to Providence, Lowell, and Worcester were built, and the line from Worcester to the Hudson River was almost completed. But the succeeding decade was still more prosperous, and in its development was one of the most marked in the history of Boston. This was the result of the energy and public spirit with which its business men had pushed the work of railway construction, and of the opening of steam communication with Liverpool by the ships of the Cunard Company.

In 1838, after the successful passages of the "Sirius" and "Great Western" across the Atlantic and back again, the British Government advertised for tenders for the conveyance of the mails, by steam, between England and North America. Mr. Samuel Cunard of Halifax went to England,

[1] We give below the valuation of Boston in 1800, and in every tenth year since: —

1800	$15,095,700
1810	18,450,500
1820	38,289,200
1830	59,586,000
1840	94,581,600
1850	180,000,500
1860	276,861,000
1870	584,089,400
1880	639,089,200

These figures show that the valuation of Boston has doubled itself in three decades of the present century, — from 1810 to 1820; from 1840 to 1850; and from 1860 to 1870.

[2] Arrivals from foreign ports at the three cities: —

	New York.	*Boston.*	*Phila.*
1830	1,510	642	415
1840	1,953	1,628	538

— *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 6, 1844.

concluded a contract arrangement with the Government, and then put himself in the hands of Mr. Robert Napier, the great marine engineer, by whom he was introduced to the Messrs. Burns of Glasgow, and the Messrs. MacIver of Liverpool. These firms were running steamboat lines between the two cities, in active competition with each other. Mr. Cunard and they united forces, and what is known now as the Cunard Company was the result.[1] Four vessels were built, with as little delay as possible, each of twelve hundred tons gross register, and four hundred and forty horse power. A pioneer steamer, the "Unicorn," which was to be kept in reserve at Halifax, sailed from Liverpool May 18, 1840; and the "Britannia," the first of the regular line, on the 4th of July following. Boston had been selected as the American port of destination, and it continued to be so exclusively until 1848, when a service from New York was begun by the "Hibernia" sailing on the 1st of January of that year. These first vessels were paddle-wheel steamers, and as the engines then in use made it necessary to take large quantities of coal on board, there was little room for general cargo.[2]

Importers soon saw the advantage to be gained by bringing their English goods to this market by steam, and it was not long before the ships were used to the utmost of their limited capacity for cargo.[3]

When the line was started, the sailing days were the 4th and 19th of each month from Liverpool, and the 1st and 16th from Boston. During the winter season the departures were monthly; all the ships called at Halifax. The "Columbia" came out for the first time in January, 1841; the "Hibernia" in May, 1843; and the "Cambria" in January, 1845. In 1842 the February and March packets came only to Halifax, and the passengers and mails were brought to and taken from Boston in the "Unicorn."

[1] The company was a private one, and was called the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company. In its organization there were what were called inside and outside partners. The former were Samuel Cunard of Halifax, afterward of London; George and James Burns of Glasgow; and David and Charles MacIver of Liverpool. They transacted all the business and received certain commissions, sharing the surplus profits with the outside partners, — Thomas Buchanan, Sir James Campbell, John James Kerr, Robert Napier, and others of Glasgow, and Henry and John Bannerman of Manchester, who supplied most of the capital.

[2] The amount of duties paid at the Custom House by the first arrivals is worth recording, for the sake of comparison with the figures to which we are now accustomed: —

Ships.	*Date of Entry.*	*Am't of Duty.*
Britannia	July 20	$ 91.58
Acadia	Aug. 18	29.38
Britannia	Sept. 18	274.78
Caledonia	Oct. 2	$ 211.11
Acadia	Oct. 17	339.88
Britannia	Nov. 3	497.81
Caledonia	Nov. 20	380.65
Acadia	Dec. 22	1,103.80
	Total for 1840	$2,928.99

[3] The duties collected upon them during the succeeding five years were: —

1841	21 arrivals	$73,809.23
1842	18 „	120,974.67
1843	20 „	640,572.05
1844	20 „	916,198.30
1845	20 „	1,022,992.75

The average in 1845 was about fifty thousand dollars for each ship; but two steamers, the "Cambria," in January, and the "Hibernia," in February, brought cargoes, the duty collected on which was more than one hundred thousand dollars each. At the present time the duties collected on the cargo of a Cunard steamer amount to about fifty thousand dollars, the character of the goods being coarser and cheaper than those formerly brought by steam.

In July, 1843, the "Columbia" was lost on Seal Island. In January, 1844, an ice embargo, like that which aggravated the situation at the close of the war of 1812, gradually suspended all communication between the harbor and the bay; and after the arrival of the "Britannia," it looked as though there might be very serious delay in sending her to sea again. As her sailing day, February 1, approached, the papers commented with many misgivings on the ice blockade, which had become complete and threatened long continuance, and on the 30th of January a meeting of merchants was called on the Exchange to consider the situation.[1] The mayor, Mr. Martin Brimmer, presided, and after some discussion it was decided that the steamer should be cut out without expense to her owners, and sent to sea as near the advertised time of her departure as possible. A committee to collect the requisite money was chosen, consisting of Benjamin Rich, Caleb Curtis, Ozias Goodwin, Thomas C. Smith, Samuel Quincy, Thomas Gray, Charles Brown, Thomas B. Curtis, and Ammi C. Lombard. A contract was made with Messrs. Gage, Hittinger, & Co., and John Hill, for cutting two canals in the ice,—one from the East Boston Ferry to the open sea, and the other from the Ferry to India Wharf, into which other channels might be opened by such as desired it. For this work the contractors were to receive $1500. It was promptly and effectively completed, and the steamer sailed on the afternoon of February 3, thousands of spectators being on the ice to witness her passage through the canal.[2] This vigorous action of the business men of Boston made a very favorable impression on the other side of the Atlantic, and rather astonished the people of New York, who had never regarded the coming of the Cunard ships to Boston with much complacency, and who, especially since the loss of the "Columbia," had had a great deal to say about the extraordinary perils attendant upon ocean steam navigation at this port.[3]

The Cunard line was destined to furnish the entering wedge for the overturning of the wall of separation between the United States and British North America. Hitherto the Canadian mails had been landed at Halifax. As the result of Mr. Cunard's personal efforts at Washington, an act of

[1] Persons who started from Boston for New York on Monday, January 29, after staying at Stonington for several days, and being unable either to go through the Sound or to cross over to Greenport to connect there with the Long Island Railroad, returned to Boston on the evening of Friday, February 2. As late as February 12 the channel was closed for a mile and a half from the wharves.

[2] The scene has been perpetuated by a sketch from the pencil of Mr. King, the sculptor, which was lithographed at the time. Mr. King has told us that he was on the ice with Captain Hewitt of the "Britannia," when it occurred to him to make the sketch, and the only material at hand was a piece of brown parcel-paper. The dense masses of cloud charged with snow are very finely and, it is said, accurately given.

[3] Only once since has a similar work been necessary, and the same public spirit was manifested as before. In the month of January, 1857, the steamship "America" went to sea through a canal cut for the purpose; and on the following day the steamship "Arabia," from Liverpool, passed up through the same canal. The writer of this chapter was a passenger in the "Arabia" at the time.

The *New York Herald*, in commenting on the loss of the "Columbia" in 1843, had said of the dangers of the Boston route: "Four hundred and fifty miles of rock, ledge, shoal, fog, and narrow intricate channels."

Congress was passed (approved June 15, 1844) which authorized the postmaster-general to make such arrangements as might "be deemed expedient with the post-office department of the British Government, for the transmission of the British mail, in its unbroken state or condition, between Boston and Canada." This prepared the way for the provisions in Mr. Walker's Warehouse Act of 1846, which permitted Canadian importations to be landed at United States ports, and to be sent forward, *in transitu*, without payment of duty, or more than a nominal examination of the packages. This in turn led to the mutual arrangement for the passage of through trains, under lock and seal, on the international routes of the two countries; and, as the natural result of all this freedom of intercourse, came the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which, unfortunately for the people on both sides of the frontier, was abrogated in 1865; but which, we feel sure, will before long be succeeded by another arrangement, more comprehensive it may be, and more mutually beneficial, than that which preceded it.

Early in the summer of 1844 Mr. Enoch Train, who had been engaged in the leather trade, and in connection with this in the trade with South America, started his celebrated line of Liverpool packets, which for twelve or fifteen years, or until the general use of screw-steamers, proved so valuable to the trade and commerce of Boston.[1] Mr. Train had gone to England in the "Hibernia," in January, and had arranged with Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. to take charge of the proposed line in Liverpool until he should establish a house of his own there. On the 2d of May the ship "Dorchester," Captain Caldwell, was advertised to sail for Liverpool June 8, and it was added: "A first-class ship will hereafter be despatched from Boston on the 8th, and from Liverpool on the 24th, of each month." On the 20th of May a new announcement of the line was made, and the following ships were named: "Dorchester," 500 tons; "Cairo," 600 tons; "Governor Davis," 800 tons; "St. Petersburg," 800 tons,—"all first-class, Medford-built, copper-fastened, coppered, and fast sailing ships," to begin running from Liverpool June 24, and from Boston July 8.[2]

[1] The Warren line of steamers, now running between Liverpool and Boston, is the direct successor of the old Train line of sailing packets. Mr. Train sent his young partner, Mr. Frederick W. Thayer, to reside in Liverpool in 1848 or 1849; and when, several years later, Mr. Thayer came home, Mr. George Warren was sent out to take his place. On the failure of Mr. Train, and after the death of Mr. Thayer, the firm of George Warren & Co. was formed, and a new and prosperous business was built up on the ruins of the old.

[2] The "Dorchester" sailed May 28, and was followed by the barque "Ellen," June 10, and the "Cairo," July 8. Mr. Train's enterprise fully kept pace with the growth of the business, and he built in rapid succession the "Joshua Bates," "Anglo Saxon," "Anglo American," "Washington Irving," "Ocean Monarch," "Parliament," "Daniel Webster," "Star of Empire," "Chariot of Fame," "Staffordshire," "Cathedral," and "John Eliot Thayer." Through him Donald McKay was first brought into prominence as a ship-builder. Among Mr. Train's captains, all men of ability and high character, were Caldwell, Murdock, Thayer, Brown, Howard, Richardson, and Knowles. [Another well known East Boston ship-builder of this period was Samuel Hall, who, like several others, had established his reputation while his yard was in

The Cunard and Train lines gave an immediate and very marked impulse to the general trade of the city, and especially to its foreign business. The imports increased from about $14,000,000 in 1840, to $28,659,733 in 1850, and to $44,840,043 in 1857. At no time have there been so many importing and jobbing houses in Boston as between the years 1840 and 1857, although a few houses now do a larger business than was done by them all then.[1] The coastwise shipping trade during this period was also very large. The supplies of cotton for the mills of New England came by sea; also the products of the Southwest, such as provisions, lard, lead, etc. In return we shipped to the Southern ports domestic dry-goods, boots and shoes, furniture and wooden ware; and when everything else failed, there was always a tonnage supply of ice and granite for every vessel seeking a cargo for that direction.

Boston participated largely in the commercial activity created by the discovery of gold in California and Australia, while it lasted. The clearances at this port for those countries were: —

1852	98	1855	16
1853	149	1856	54
1854	59	1857	47

Forty-four vessels were built in and about Boston, in the year 1855, with a tonnage amounting to 45,988; and twenty-two more, of 27,877 tons, were on the stocks at the close of the year. The tonnage owned in Boston in 1855 was larger than ever before or since, — 541,644 tons.

From this time forward the foreign trade of the port began to wane, and it was many years before it was able to recover itself, as at length it has fully succeeded in doing. In 1867 the importations and the foreign arrivals were no more than they had been in 1857. The changes in ocean commerce brought to pass by the introduction of steam, and the effect of the Civil War upon the shipping interest, made themselves felt in Boston as at other ports in the United States; but, independently of all this, causes local and peculiar in their nature had been and were at work here, which as we

Duxbury. He built the steam-schooner "Midas," which, in 1844, was the first American steamer to pass the Cape of Good Hope. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1874, p. 327. — Ed.]

[1] Among the houses then prominent as importers in the foreign dry-goods trade were Adams, Homer, & Co.; Almy, Patterson, & Co.; Geo. B. Blake & Co.; Hovey, Williams, & Co.; Lane, Lamson, & Co.; Little, Alden, & Co.; W. & S. Phipps & Co.; Stoddard & Lovering; Whiton & March; and, as jobbers, Ammidown & Converse; Blanchard & Blodget; Holbrook, Bowman, & Co. (afterward Ammidown, Bowman, & Co.; Blanchard, Converse, & Co.; J. W. Blodget & Co.; Holbrook, Carter, & Co.); James M. Beebe & Co.; Chace, Grew, & Co.; Davis, Bates, & Turner; Dutton, Richardson, & Co.; Gassett, Bullard, & Co.; Jenness, Gage, & Co.; Parsons, Denison, & Co.; Daniel P. Stone & Co.; Towne, Waldo, & Co.; Wetherell, Whitney, & Co. (afterward Whitney & Fenno).

A few of the larger houses sent their own buyers abroad, but the majority gave orders a season in advance, which were executed by such commission houses as A. & S. Henry & Co.; Thornton, Atterbury, & Co.; and Crafts & Stell of Manchester; and John Munroe & Co. of Paris. The Messrs. Henry did an enormous business in the United States for many years. One of the partners, Mr. Samuel Henry, was lost in the "Lexington," on Long Island Sound, in 1840. The house was afterward represented in this country by Mr. Wm. F. Schofield, Mr. Nicholas Carter, and Mr. Henry Hitchcock.

now look back upon them seem to have been unnecessary and easily preventable, and which therefore are to be especially deplored. It has been said that Boston began to lose its hold upon the Calcutta trade after 1857. Previously to this it had lost the Canton trade, and it had lost it in a very foolish way. It had been the custom to sell China cargoes, immediately on their arrival, at public auction. The Legislature of Massachusetts in 1824, having discovered as it thought a valuable and permanent source of revenue, laid a tax of one per cent *ad valorem* on all merchandise sold in this way. The merchants remonstrated, and declared that the effect of the tax would be to transfer the China business to New York; but it was all in vain. One by one the ships were ordered elsewhere, until in 1857 there were forty-one arrivals from China in New York (half of these being ships owned in Boston), and only six here.[1] In 1849 the auction tax had been reduced on merchandise imported from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to one quarter of one per cent; and in 1852 it had been repealed altogether. But this remedial legislation had come too late. The set of the current was now in another direction, and it could not be diverted to the old channel. Mr. John E. Lodge, Messrs. Dane, Dana, & Co., and others would bring an occasional cargo of tea to this port; but New York had possession of the Canton trade, and held it firmly until the completion of the Pacific Railroad and Suez Canal, when another great change in courses and methods was introduced.[2]

Boston suffered much loss from the establishment in New York of branch commission houses for the sale of the manufactured dry-goods of this part of New England. This movement began in 1846; and a report of a special committee of the Board of Trade, in 1858, says that nineteen such houses had then been established, and that their sales amounted in the aggregate to $25,000,000 per annum. The dry-goods importing and jobbing trade, and the West India business, suffered seriously in consequence. The boot and shoe trade was held here by the firmness of the leading men engaged in it. Had they given way to the prevailing impulse, the result to the city would have been most disastrous.

The commercial interests of Boston suffered severely for many years from another cause. The construction of railroads in various directions from Boston had been undertaken at the first with much vigor, but after

[1] A similar tax in Philadelphia drove the ships of that port, coming from beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to New York. See an article on "Local Taxation," in the *Penn Monthly* for May, 1871.

[2] Captain Sturgis, in a lecture at the Odeon in February, 1844, before the Mercantile Library Association, gave an account of the changes which had taken place in his day in the Canton trade. Nankeen, he said, was once imported in large quantities. As late as 1820 there was $1,000,000 worth imported; now there was none. In 1806 Canton crape was first used; in 1810 ten cases were imported; in 1816 twenty-one thousand pieces; in 1825 the importation amounted to $1,500,000; and in 1844 the article was not imported. Silk was once imported in large quantities from China; one cargo, worth nearly $1,000,000, was mentioned; now the whole yearly importation amounted to less than $100,000. In 1818, $7,000,000 were carried to China, in specie; in 1844 settlements were made by bills of exchange. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 19, 1844.

certain limitations had been reached, the work came to a premature pause. The Boston & Worcester and Western Railroad Companies, which together furnished the only direct means of communication with the West, seemed to expend most of their interest and energy in fruitless controversies with each other in reference to the proper division of freight earnings and terminal expenses. The former had no track connection with tide-water; and the latter, until 1865, had no bridge across the Hudson River, and was only partially double tracked. In 1867 the Boston & Albany Railroad Company was created by the consolidation of the two connecting and conflicting lines, and this was the beginning of a better state of things. In 1868 the double track between Boston and Albany was completed, and a connection perfected with the wharves at East Boston; and in 1870 an elevator was erected on these wharves, with a grain capacity of three or four hundred thousand bushels, since increased to a million.[1]

The consolidation of the two railroad lines just referred to was largely the result of the long continued efforts of the Boston Board of Trade, which was formed in 1854, with special reference to the radical defects in the transportation system of New England then prevailing, and to the necessity which existed for improved facilities of intercourse with the South and West. We must refer our readers to the reports of the Board for information as to how much was accomplished by it in the first ten or fifteen years of its history, in reducing rates of transportation by rail, and, what was of equal importance, in securing some approximation to regularity in the conveyance and delivery of freight, as well as in the promotion and encouragement of coastwise steamship lines. Some of the men who were the most active in these efforts, and to whom the present generation of business men in Boston owes much more than it is aware, were James C. Converse, George C. Richardson, Silas Potter, James M. Beebe, Edward S. Tobey, William Perkins, Otis Norcross, Wm. B. Spooner, Jonathan Ellis, Isaac C. Bates, Samuel H. Walley, Avery Plumer, M. Denman Ross, Edward Atkinson, Joseph S. Ropes, Ezra Farnsworth, and Lorenzo Sabine.

In 1863 the Cunard Company was sending two steamships a month to Boston, the same number as in 1840, and there was no indication or hope that it would attempt anything further in the way of extending the foreign trade of the port. The Board of Trade believed that this trade might be increased almost indefinitely, and it appointed a committee to consider the expediency of establishing an American steamship line between Boston and Liverpool. After much conference with railroad managers and representative men in the various branches of business, it was decided that such a line should be attempted, and a company was organized under an Act of the Legislature, July 6, 1864. Two steamers, the "Ontario," and the "Erie," were subsequently built; but the subscriptions of stock were only about one half what they should have been, and after the "Ontario" had made

[1] [See Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

two trips to Liverpool, in 1867, the company became insolvent and the ships had to be sold. [1]

At this juncture the Cunard Company took a step which, so far as its own interests are concerned, has proved to have been a serious mistake, and which for the time was a severe blow to the foreign trade of Boston. Its mail subsidy was to be reduced, and a change in its method of management was forced upon it. It was feeling the competition of the Inman and other modern lines at the port of New York, and it would seem that it could not have been informed as to the new spirit of enterprise to which our railroad managers were awaking. It determined, therefore, to withdraw its mail steamers from this port at the end of the year 1867, and to send instead cargo steamers, which, after landing their freight here, should proceed to New York to load there for Liverpool direct.[2] But this did not discourage those who were preparing, by various improvements, for a closer connection with the West, and for an export trade upon a large scale. In 1869 Mr. James Alexander was sent from Glasgow as the agent of the Company here. He at once put himself in communication with the officers of the Board of Trade, and with others competent to give him full and correct information, and after much correspondence with his principals, he induced them to attempt the loading of two or three of their cargo steamers at Boston for Liverpool direct. This was done in 1870. The "Palmyra" sailed September 22, being the first departure of a steamship for Liverpool since the "Africa" left the port in 1868.[3] The attempt was so far a success that it was decided to continue it. The Boston & Albany Railroad Company co-operated cordially with the Steamship Company, and joined it in some large purchases of grain, which it was necessary at the outset to make in order to insure full cargoes for the ships. Soon after, Mr. David MacIver (the second of the name), now member of Parliament for Birkenhead, visited this country, and after investigation fully confirmed the judgment of Mr. Alexander as to the commercial capabilities of the port, and the desirableness of the Cunard Company's restoring, so far as practicable, the old relations with it, which it had so unfortunately sundered. But Mr. MacIver's suggestions were not accepted by his partners; and in 1873 he retired from the Company and disposed of his entire interest in it. So indifferent was the Company to the splendid opportunity which lay within its reach here, that a few years later it sent one of its captains to Baltimore, to examine and report upon the shipping facilities of that port; and in the winter of 1879–80 it suspended its trips to Boston for a time. It declined,

[1] For a full account of the American Steamship Company, see *Report of the Boston Board of Trade* for 1880, pp. 47–50; and for an account of the steamers "Midas," "Edith," and "Massachusetts," see *Report* for 1862, pp. 61, 62.

[2] The Steamship "Africa," Captain Macaulay, sailed for Liverpool *via* Halifax, Jan. 1, 1868. The "Cuba," Captain Moodie, arrived on the second and proceeded on the fifth to New York, to take her place in the mail line from that port. After this came the cargo steamers.

[3] The line was regularly established in the following spring, when, on the 8th of April, 1871, the "Siberia" sailed for Liverpool from this port.

also, to begin a service between Boston and Glasgow, as recommended by Mr. Alexander.[1]

In the mean time other steamship companies were giving their attention to Boston, and were gradually identifying themselves with it. Messrs. Warren & Co., of Liverpool, had sent, during many years, an occasional steamer to this port, which had proceeded to Philadelphia or some Southern port for a return cargo. They now have a well established line between Boston and Liverpool. The Messrs. Leyland began to send their steamers here in the spring of 1876.[2] Branches of the Anchor and Allan lines were established later; until, in 1880, the departures from Boston for English and Scotch ports were more than one for every working day of the year, representing nine or ten different ownerships. We doubt whether, in the history of commerce, there is to be found a record of such a commercial development as that over which we have occasion to rejoice in Boston, — an advance from no sailing of a steamship for Europe direct in 1869, to three hundred and twenty-two such sailings in 1880.[3]

We have mentioned one legislative enactment, the direct effect of which was to drive business away from the port of Boston. It is only just to refer to other and later action by the General Court, which was designed and intended to promote our foreign commerce, and which has more than fulfilled the expectation of those who carried it through. At about the time when the Cunard Company was considering the question of reopening direct steamship communication between Boston and Liverpool, the Inman Company seemed disposed to send some of its ships to Boston, and actually began to do so. For the purpose of strengthening these companies in the disposition thus indicated, the Board of Trade asked the Legislature to repeal, or at least to modify, the law of the Commonwealth which levied a head-money tax on immigrant passengers arriving for the first time within its limits. It was represented by the Board, that to relieve immigration at the port of Boston from a tax which was imposed elsewhere would inevitably have the effect to increase immigration here, and would offer an additional inducement, and a very strong one, to steamship companies to send their vessels here. Indeed, one of the considerations which had great weight with the Cunard Company in reaching its ultimate decision with regard to Boston was that immigrant passengers brought here by its ships

[1] Mr. Alexander withdrew from the service of the company in 1879.

[2] The Leyland line began with trips once a fortnight. It was made a weekly line in January, 1878.

[3] The departures were as follows: —

To Liverpool	196
" Glasgow	47
" London	42
" West Hartlepool	21
" Hull	16
Total	322

Of this total the Cunard sailings were 59, all to Liverpool, — being less than one third of the sailings to that port, and less than one fifth of all the sailings to ports in Great Britain.

The port is, at present, almost destitute of facilities for the first-class passenger traffic with Europe, but the Allan Company has given encouragement to the hope that it will soon send some of its fine mail steamers here regularly. The splendid steamship "Parisian" came to Boston on her first trans-Atlantic voyage, and the "Sarmatian" and others like her are to follow.

were likely to be exempted from this tax, which, as it then appeared, would continue to be levied at the port of New York. The company foresaw in this exemption a reasonable promise of compensation for any disadvantages or losses to which it might for the time become liable, in engaging in the export trade between this city and Great Britain, which had been so long neglected; and in the end it realized all that it anticipated in this respect, and perhaps more. In 1870 the Legislature granted relief from the operation of the tax to such immigrants as immediately on their arrival here proceeded to places beyond the limits of the Commonwealth. At the next session the Board of Trade asked that this relief might be extended to all passengers arriving by regular lines of vessels, whether proposing to leave the State at once, or to take up their abode in it; and a bill to this effect was passed by both branches, but was vetoed by Governor Claflin. In 1872 the Board of Trade was successful, after a long struggle, in securing the abolition of the head-money tax altogether; and, but for the long depression which followed the commercial panic of 1873, the immigration of the port would have continued to increase year by year as the result of this enlightened and liberal legislation. In 1876 the Supreme Court of the United States declared all taxes on immigration levied by State authority to be unconstitutional; and as this decision peremptorily stopped their collection at the port of New York, the advantage which had been anticipated by the Board of Trade for the commerce of Boston from their abolition in Massachusetts was only temporary. It remained long enough, however, to impart an impulse to the steam commerce of the port, when it took a fresh start, the force of which has not yet expended itself.[1]

But this fresh start could not have been made had it not been for the admirable facilities which were brought into existence for the cheap and speedy transfer of merchandise between the railroad train and the sea-going vessel. Forty years ago the railroads leading from Boston were unequalled in their arrangements for receiving and handling freight, and it is strange that this pre-eminence was not maintained. The great dépôt in Boston (soon to be transformed into a new passenger station) was considered at the time it was built to be one of the wonders of the city; and Mr. Elias Hasket Derby, in his pamphlet *Two Months Abroad*, in which he describes a trip to Europe undertaken by Mr. Alvah Crocker and himself in 1843, for the purpose of buying iron for the Fitchburg Railroad, says: "I cannot learn that there are any goods stations in Europe to be compared with the principal dépôts of our line from Boston to Albany."[2] In 1851 the

[1] The immigrant arrivals at the port of Boston from 1869 to 1880 (each year ended September 30) were as follows: —

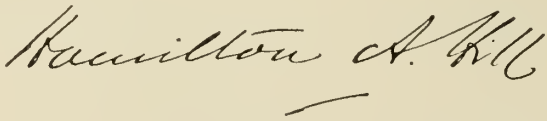
1869	26,414	1875	13,468
1870	30,069	1876	8,118
1871	22,904	1877	5,765
1872	25,957	1878	6,471
1873	31,042	1879	10,895
1874	20,223	1880	33,626

The arrivals for the nine months from Oct. 1, 1880, to June 30, 1881, were 27,834, mostly by the Cunard steamers.

[2] Mr. Derby says further: "The English engineers would be surprised on viewing the dépôt at Albany, four hundred and fifty feet long, with its roof overhanging the canal, and a steam-engine loading and discharging, both in storm and

Grand Junction Railroad was opened with high anticipations and amid public rejoicings;[1] but the time was not fully come, as it would now seem, for its profitable use. The property and franchise, which were of immense value to any proprietor who could afford to hold and improve them, came into the possession, in 1865 or 1866, of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company, and soon afterward they became part of the inheritance of the Boston & Albany Railroad Company. In 1868, as we have said, the connection between East Boston and the railroad system of the city was perfected; and Boston was then restored to the position, with regard to freighting facilities, which it enjoyed in the early days of railroad construction and management, and which was the aim of the enterprising men of 1851. The establishment of steamship lines to various European ports speedily followed, almost as a matter of course.

We have been obliged to compress this record of Boston's commercial history for a century within very narrow limits. To sum up in a single sentence: the town of less than twenty thousand inhabitants has become a metropolitan centre with half a million of people within and around its municipal limits; its banking capital has increased from $200,000 to more than $50,000,000; its export trade has grown from $500,000 to $60,000,000; and the amount of its imports from less than $1,000,000 to nearly $70,000,000.



sunshine, six or seven canal boats at once with perfect facility, the packages of goods descending as the flour rises."

[1] [See the chapter by Mr. James M. Bugbee, on "Boston under the Mayors," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

Special Topics.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATION, PAST AND PRESENT. THE RISE OF FREE EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

BY CHARLES K. DILLAWAY.

OUR Puritan fathers who came from the mother country to establish a colony in Massachusetts, had a right appreciation of the great task before them, and they had too the energy, intelligence, and Christian manliness so necessary to accomplish it. Palfrey says of them: —

"They were men of eminent capacity and sterling character, fit to be concerned in the founding of a State. In all its generations of worth and refinement, Boston has never seen an assembly more illustrious for generous qualities, or for manly culture, than when the magistrates of the young colony welcomed Cotton and his fellow-voyagers at Winthrop's table."

Religion was the dominant element in their characters. Its inspiration brought them here, and its influence was seen in every act of their lives. It was the rock on which the State was founded.[1] In the records of the Court for May 3, 1654, we read: —

"Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country that the youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature but sound doctrine, this Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of the officers of the college and the selectmen of the several towns, not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of teaching, educating, or instructing of youth or children, in the college or schools, that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

[1] "Necessitie," said one of the Massachusetts company, "may presse some; noveltie draw on others; hopes of gaine in time to come may prevail with a third sort; but that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the gospel for their main scope I am confident." "The propagation of the gospel," the company write in 1629, "is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation." *Massachusetts Archives.*

They knew that in such a community as they were forming public opinion would have a controlling influence, and should therefore be an enlightened one. For this reason they gave early and earnest attention to the establishment of free schools. Indeed, it has always been characteristic of New England that she adopted and maintained the principle, that it is the right and duty of Government to provide for the instruction of the young; that every man should be subject to taxation in proportion to his property for the support of free schools, whether he himself have children or not. Popular education lies at the basis of the free institutions of New England.[1]

In 1642 the General Court of the Colony required the municipal authorities to see that every child within their jurisdiction should be educated, and that this education should not be narrow or superficial. The selectmen of every town were required to "have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors; to see first that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them to read the English tongue and obtain a knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein." Such was the idea of "barbarism" entertained by the colonists of Massachusetts Bay more than two centuries ago.

We cannot forbear quoting once more from the Colonial laws (Nov. 11, 1647): —

"To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty households, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof to be able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University; provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school, till they shall perform the order."

It was further required that religious instruction should be given to all children; and also, —

"That all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children to some honest, lawful calling, labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade profitable for themselves and the Commonwealth, if they will not or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments."

[1] President Dwight, in 1790, said: "A stranger travelling through New England marks with not a little surprise the multitude of schoolhouses appearing everywhere at little distances. Familiarized as I am to the sight, they have excited no small interest in my mind, particularly as I was travelling through the settlements recently begun. Here, while the inhabitants were still living in log huts, they had not only erected school-houses for their children, but had built them in a neat style, so as to throw an additional appearance of deformity over their own clumsy habitations. This attachment to education in New England is universal, and the situation of that hamlet must be bad indeed, which, if it contains a sufficient number of children for a school, does not provide the necessary accommodations."

When we consider the period in which this system of instruction was inaugurated, the small number of the population of Massachusetts, the dangers which surrounded them from the Indians, the scattered settlements and their poverty, the boldness of the measure which aimed at universal education through the establishment of free schools, — we cannot but admire the good sense, energy, and indomitable courage of our Puritan ancestors.[1]

The records of the town of Boston "1634, 7th month, day 1," relate to the absolute necessities of an infant settlement. In 1635 (April 13) we find this entry in the handwriting of the venerable elder of the First Church, Thomas Leverett: "Likewise it was then generally agreed upon that our brother Philemon Pormort shall be intreated to become scoolemaster for the teaching and nourtering of children with us." He accepted the trust, and was supported partly by donations of liberal friends of education, and partly by the income of a tract of land assigned to him at Muddy River.[2]

This being the only public school in the town for about half a century, it is reasonable to infer that the elementary as well as the higher branches were taught. Its principal object, however, from its establishment to the present time has been to prepare young men for college. "Out of small beginnings," says Bradford, "great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sort to our whole nation." He must have had in his mind the first Boston school, which has been perpetuated in the present Latin School. Its origin was simple and unpretending; its advantages as an educational institution in its early days hardly to be compared with those of the humblest country school of the present time; and yet what a burning and shining light it has become! For nearly two and a half centuries it has been training statesmen whose wisdom has guided our nation. It has given us such men as Benjamin Franklin, whose statue[3] stands on the spot[4] where his brief school-days were spent; Samuel Adams, the distinguished patriot, whose statue has been recently erected; Cotton Mather, one of the best scholars of his time; Judge Hutchinson; Governor Leverett

[1] "The education of the people," says Macaulay, "ought to be the first concern of a State. . . . This is my deliberate conviction; and in this opinion I am fortified by thinking that it is also the opinion of all the great legislators, of all the great statesmen, of all the great political philosophers of all ages and of all nations. . . . It is the opinion of all the greatest champions of civil and religious liberty in the old world and in the new; and of none — I hesitate not to say it — more emphatically than of those whose names are held in the highest estimation by the Protestant Nonconformists of England. . . . These men, illustrious forever in history, were the founders of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

[2] See Vol. I. p. 123. When Mr. Pormort ended his labors is not stated, but in 1650 is the following record: "It is also agreed on that Mr. Woodmansey, the schoolmaster, shall have fiftye pound p. ann. for his Teaching ye Schollers, and his proportion to be made up by ratte." In 1666 the town "agreed with Mr. Dannell Henchman for £40 per ann. to assist Mr Woodmansey in the Grammar Schoole, and teach Children to wright, the Yeare to begine the 4th of March, $\frac{65}{66}$." In March, 1670, "upon the request of Mrs. Margaret Woodmansye, widdowe, to provide her a house to live in, if she removeth from the schoole house, it was granted to allow her eight pounds per ann. for that end during her widdowhood." [See further on Woodmansey and Henchman, Vol I. pp. 313, 317; II. p. xxxiii. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. 290. — Ed.]

[4] [See Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 250; and Drake's *Landmarks*, 57. — Ed.]

and his grandson, a President of Harvard College; Wm. Stoughton, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts; James Bowdoin, and many others whose eminent public services are on record.[1]

Dec. 12, 1670, we find the first mention in the town records of the famous "Master Cheever," who for thirty years had such an important influence upon the education of the people of Boston. Cotton Mather, who was his pupil, calls him the civilizer of his country. He died Aug. 21, 1708, "venerable," says Governor Hutchinson, "not merely for his great age (xciv) but for having been the schoolmaster of most of the principal men who were then upon the stage." Upon the decease of his master, Mather preached one of the good long sermons in which he most delighted, — devout rhapsodies, which in our days seem to be a mass of dogmatism, fervor, and italics.[2]

The law of 1642 enjoined universal education, but did not make it free; nor did it impose any penalty upon municipal corporations for neglecting to maintain a school. The spirit of the law, however, worked energetically in the hearts of the people. Says Governor Winthrop: —

"Divers free schools were erected, as in Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) and at Boston, where they made an order to allow fifty pounds and a house to the master, and thirty pounds to an usher who should also teach to read and write and cipher; and Indians' children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, etc.; and this order was confirmed by the General Court. Other towns did the like, providing maintenance by several means."[3]

[1] In our time it has given us such men as Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, Wm. M. Evarts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and Edward Everett Hale. It has given us three Presidents of Harvard, including Charles W. Eliot, its present head, whose vigorous administration is making our University a model institution. [See H. E. Scudder's paper on "Classical Schools," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 1877, ii. p. 712; H. F. Jenks's *Boston Public Latin School*, reprinted from *The Harvard Register*, 1880; G. B. Emerson's "Education in Massachusetts," in the *Lowell Institute Lectures* of the Mass. Hist. Soc.; *Latin School Prize Book*, No. iv, reprinted in the *American Journal of Education*. An improved catalogue of the graduates of the school is in preparation, under the auspices of the Boston Latin School Association. — ED.]

[2] In a poetical essay on his memory, Mather ascribes the learning of New England to him and to Corlett, an eminent teacher in Cambridge, who is celebrated in the *Magnalia*:

"'Tis Corlett's pains and Cheever's we must own
That thou, New England, art not Scythia grown."

In the following description we see the characteristics of the writer as well as the master:

"He lived, and to vast age no illness knew,
Till time's scythe waiting for him rusty grew:
He lived and wrought, his labors were immense,
But ne'er declin'd to preterperfect tense."

See Vol. I. pp. 397, 461; II. xxxiii, 420. Mr. Cheever having died in 1708 (See *Sewall Papers* ii. 230), was succeeded by Nathaniel Williams in 1710, and he in 1734 by the celebrated "Master Lovell." In 1710 five inspectors of schools were appointed, but little is known of their objects or duties. [This movement of the town was frowned upon by some of the ministers, who had grown to think that they had a prescriptive right to control the schools. See letters of Increase Mather and Sewall, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Feb. 1873, where will be found a paper by R. C. Waterston on the early schools. — ED.] It appears from the records that originally the schools were under the supervision of the selectmen, in whose care they continued until 1789.

[3] "10th day of ye 11th month, 1641. It is ordered that Deare Island shall be improoved for the maintenance of a Free Schoole for the Towne

In 1645, only ten years after the establishment of the Boston school, another quite similar in character and origin was begun in Roxbury. The town had then but few inhabitants, and these widely scattered. Amidst all their trials and sufferings they never lost sight of the great fact that the moral and intellectual training of their children was a matter of the first importance. To secure this they established a school, and mortgaged their estates for the payment of an annual sum to support it. One of the most earnest advocates of this enterprise was John Eliot, familiarly known to us as the Apostle Eliot, — *clarum et venerabile nomen*, — whose labors and sacrifices in Christianizing the Indian population of the neighborhood will never be forgotten by those who appreciate Christian heroism and the heartiest philanthropy.[1]

In 1671 Thomas Bell, one of the early settlers in Roxbury,[2] who had been a liberal benefactor to the school, returned to England and died there. His will is a long document of fifteen pages, from which we make the following extract: —

"Imprimis, I give unto Mr. John Eliot, Minister of the Church and people of God, at Roxbury in New England, and Isaac Johnson, whom I take to be an officer or overseer of and in the same church, and to one such other Godly person now bearing office in said church, and their successors, . . . all those my messuages or tenements, lands, and hereditaments, with their and every of their appurtenances, scituate, lying, and being at Roxbury in New England, aforesaid, in parts beyond the seas, to have and to hold to the said Minister and officers of the said Church of Roxbury for the time being, and their successors from time to time for ever, in trust only, notwithstanding, to and for the maintenance of a schoolemaster and free schoole for the teaching and instructing of poore men's children at Roxbury, aforesaid, for ever, and to and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever."

The property received from this liberal bequest consisted of various pieces of real estate scattered over the town of Roxbury. Soon after the act of incorporation was passed, the board of trustees appointed under it thought it expedient to raise a fund which would be more productive than these tracts of land had been, and resolved to dispose of them on long leases. They were probably influenced in some degree by the conviction that it would better comport with the views of the testator; and partly also by a belief that lands were safer for permanent charitable institutions, and that such lands in a new country, in which they had risen in a little more than a century from the price of a few blankets to a great pecuni-

and such other occasions as ye Townsmen for the time being shall think meet, the sayd Schoole being sufficiently Provided for." In 1649, Long and Spectacle Islands were assigned to the use of the school, and the selectmen were directed to take order that they be leased for the use of the school, at a yearly rent of six pence on every acre. In 1654 "it is ordered that the ten pounds left by legacy to ye school of Boston by Miss Hudson, deceased, shall be lett to Capt. James Olliver, for 16s. per annum, so long as he pleases to improve itt." [Christopher Stanley left an early bequest, 1646, to support the town school. See Vol. II. p. vi, x; and Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 160. — Ed.]

[1] [See chapters by Dr. Ellis and F. S. Drake, in Vol. I. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p 420.]

ary value, would go on increasing in the same ratio perhaps to a higher one; and partly, if not principally, from a belief that it is improvident in any present generation to grant away from posterity property which was designed for that posterity. Whatever their motives might have been, they resolved to retain the fee simple of the lands for the institution. Their decision time has shown to be a wise one. The lands leased at auction for one hundred and twenty years appear to have brought nearly or quite the prices that would have been paid for the fee simple. The amount received was $9,888, the income of which in those days was sufficient to support a school of thirty boys and one teacher. Sixty years later, so valuable had the lands become that the trustees deemed it expedient to sell a portion in order to enlarge the capacity of the school. From this sale they received an amount sufficient to maintain permanently a school of one hundred and thirty boys, with six teachers, and to pay salaries liberal enough to command the best talent.[1] The course of studies is substantially the same as that of its contemporary, the Boston Public Latin School, both having for their object the fitting of boys for a college education. By the act of incorporation the number of trustees must not be more than thirteen, nor less than nine. In case of vacancies in the board the trustees are required to "elect by ballot one or more persons, being respectable freeholders in the town of Roxbury, to supply such vacancy or vacancies. Provided always, that the minister and the two oldest deacons of the First Church of Christ in the said town of Roxbury shall always, by virtue of their said offices, be members of the said corporation."

Thus has private munificence provided for us an educational institution possessing rare advantages owing to the liberal course pursued in its management, and still more to the mode of electing its trustees, as prescribed by the constitution.[2]

For nearly fifty years the Boston Latin School was the only one supported by the town. In 1682 it became so crowded that two others were established, "for the teaching of children to write and cipher."

The question naturally arises, Why were not schools for the common English branches the first to be established? Those who appreciate the religious character of our Puritan ancestors will not think it improbable that in providing so early for instruction in Latin and Greek, and preparing young men for college, their object was to secure a body of learned scholars who "by acquaintance with ancient tongues" should be able to obtain a

[1] The compensation of the head-master, Wm. C. Collar, is larger than that of any one of our public teachers.

[2] In electing a city school-committee it frequently happens that politics and sectarianism are prominent agents. The consequence is that the best qualified men are often superseded by others whose only claims are that they belong to the dominant party in politics or theology The records of the trustees show that such a state of things never existed, and could not exist, in their board. We have thought it right to give a full account of this school, because Roxbury, which for more than two centuries was an independent town, has become by annexation a part of Boston, and therefore identified with its interests. [Mr. Dillaway published a *History of the Roxbury Latin School* in 1860, with biographical sketches of the ministers of the First Church and other trustees. — Ed.]

knowledge of the Scriptures, and become qualified "to discern the true sense and meaning of the original." [1]

THE OLD LATIN SCHOOL.[2]

One of the schools in writing and arithmetic soon became classical in its character, and was called the North Latin School till 1790, when it was restored to its original purpose.[3] Since that time the Boston Latin School

[1] The training of ministers was one of the chief objects in the foundation of the college. Our forefathers believed in a Church even without a bishop, as they did in a State without a king.

"This Courte being sensible of the necessity and singular use of good literature in managing the things of greatest importance in this Commonwealth, as also perceiving the fewnes of persons accomplished in such employments, especially for future times, have thought meete to propose to all and every our rev. elders and brethren, that due care be had from time to time to improve and exercise such students, especially in divinity, as through the good hand of God may issue forth of the colledges, that so for want of imployment or maintenance they be not forced from us, and we left destitute of help that way." — *Massachusetts Records*, ii. 167.

[2] [This cut follows a water-color belonging to Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell, and is copied by his kind permission. A portion of the rear of King's Chapel, given in the foreground, fixes its exact location on the opposite side of School Street; the site is now covered by the Parker House. The building was erected in 1812, and was taken down in 1844; and some reminiscences of it by George S. Hillard are printed in *The Boston Book*, 1850. It was the second building on that site, the previous one having been built about 1748, when the school-house on the opposite side of the street was given up. Mr. Dixwell was head-master of the school from 1836 to 1851, his immediate predecessor (1831 to 1836) having been the writer of this chapter. — ED.]

[3] In 1741 the population of the town was 16,382; the number in the schools as follows: —

South Writing School	73
Queen (now Court) Street	73
North Grammar	230
South Latin	94
North Latin	65
	535

In 1758 the selectmen, after their official visit, reported "841 in all, and which were found in very good order." In 1800 there were seven free schools, with 900 pupils, of whom 160 were

has been the only one of our free institutions, established by the School Committee and under their control, where boys could be prepared to enter college.[1]

In 1789 there was a thorough reorganization of the school system, to adapt it to the circumstances and wants of the time. The course of instruction, which was prepared by a committee of eminent men, among whom was the distinguished patriot Samuel Adams, was as follows: —

"In Town Meeting, Oct. 16, 1789. *Voted*, that there shall be one writing school at the South part of the Town, one at the Centre, and one at the North part; that in these schools the children of both sexes shall be taught writing and also arithmetic in the various branches of it usually taught in the Town schools, including vulgar and decimal fractions.

"That there be one Reading school at the South part of the Town, one at the Centre, and one at the North part; that in these schools the children of both sexes be taught to spell, accent, and read both prose and verse; and also be instructed in English grammar and composition."

Although these schools were intended for both sexes, girls were admitted to them only for half the year, — from April to October. This rule continued till 1828, when they were allowed to attend the whole year, and until sixteen years of age, — the boys being required to leave at fourteen. It is noticeable that no text-books were named; there was little need of it, for until about that time there was but one school-book proper which children were expected to have, and that was Dilworth's *Spelling-Book*, containing a brief "treatise on English grammar," which was probably the grammar required to be taught. The Testament, Psalter, and Bible were the only reading-books. There were no printed copy-books for writing, and no slates in use, the ciphering being done on paper. The requirements of this programme were considerably above what had previously been taught in the schools, and were by many thought to be excessive.[2]

Among the important changes made during the last forty years were the abandonment of the "double-headed" system, and the placing of each school under the care of one master, with such assistants as might be required. In the construction of school-houses, the rooms have been so arranged that each class may be by itself. Another change has been made which some may not think an improvement, in the adoption of the system of large schools, each containing from 600 to 900 pupils.

taught Latin. [Thomas Hutchinson, the father of the Governor, gave to the North End its first school-house, which was built on the lot where now the Eliot School-house stands. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 205. — Ed.]

[1] Its present head-master is Moses Merrill, Ph.D., a graduate of Harvard University. He was elected in 1877, after many years of successful service in the school.

[2] The curriculum of instruction has been extended in our days to a degree that would have astonished our forefathers. To their "reading, writing, grammar, and ciphering," have been added geography, morals, manners, vocal music, natural philosophy, drawing, history, declamation, physiology, book-keeping, and the Constitution of the United States. Some of these would not unreasonably be considered high-school studies; but it must be remembered that for many the grammar-school is the last stage in their training for the labors and responsibilities of active life.

Vocal culture, physical training, and vocal gymnastics have been adopted as a part of the system for all the schools. Music, besides its refining and humanizing influences which all acknowledge, has been of practical advantage in many ways. It has been an efficient aid in making good readers.[1] It has been, too, a relief from earnest and exhausting study.[2] "Recreation," says Locke, "is not being idle, as any one may observe, but easing the weary part by change of business." The system originated in Germany, whence it spread into Holland, Switzerland, and France; more recently into Great Britain, where it encountered the same opposition as with us.[3]

Another progressive step has been made by a better understanding of that much-abused word "discipline." Fifty years ago corporal punishment was considered a necessity in all our public schools. It is comparatively rare now, and daily growing less frequent. "Discipline," says Coleridge, "is the maximum of watchfulness with the minimum of punishment." Our best teachers do not believe that severity is an attribute of true discipline.

We must number among the important improvements the introduction of drawing, — an art so valuable to every engineer, builder, designer, machinist, men of all professions and trades, that it seems indispensable in the list of public-school studies. An act of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1870 makes the teaching of drawing obligatory, and requires industrial drawing-schools to be set up in the cities and towns of the State having more than ten thousand inhabitants. The former of these had already been anticipated in Boston. Fortunately the facilities afforded by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, both in respect to instructors and accommodations, rendered it practicable to open evening classes in industrial drawing on a liberal scale. Eight teachers were employed on free-hand and mechanical drawing, the number of pupils being about five hundred.

The centennial report of the French commissioners, after commending the exhibition from our public schools as "extremely remarkable, the most complete of all and the most methodically arranged," goes on to state that Massachusetts does not propose to multiply the number of artists, but to create able artisans; not to procure a few talents in harmony with the best

[1] Roger Ascham, the famous teacher and scholar of the Elizabethan age, said: "All voices, great and small, base and shrill, weak or soft, may be holpen and brought to a good point by learning to sing."

[2] The instruction of our young people in music during the past forty years has had the good effect of introducing congregational singing — the most impressive form of devotional music — into many of our churches. This alone would compensate us for all the expense we have incurred, and for the strenuous effort made to overcome the prejudice against singing as an element in our common-school education. Martin Luther said: "As for myself, if I had children, and were able, I would teach them not only the languages and history, but singing likewise; and with music I would combine a full course of mathematics."

[3] When a prominent member of Parliament suggested in the House of Commons that singing should be taught in all the schools as in Germany, his suggestion was received with ridicule. This spirit of opposition afterward elicited from the celebrated John Hullah, an earnest advocate for music, the quaint remark: "Yea, verily, thanks to the arduous labors of those who well addressed themselves to ears as deaf as stone walls on this subject, the principle is now at length recognized by all the educational societies in the realm." Says Byron, —

"There's music in all things, if men had ears."

well-to-do population, but to give to the thousands of future workmen the sum of knowledge and aptitude which they need to increase the value of their labor, to get a larger price for their work, and finally to unite and perfect national industry. A triennial exhibition of drawing made in our city schools and free evening drawing-schools was held in conjunction with that of the State schools in the beginning of June, 1879. The report of the judges stated that a greater average of excellence of rank was manifestly observable since the previous exhibition in 1876.[1]

The report says: —

"Every sheet of drawing on any one screen in the Primary and Grammar divisions represents a different school; and we notice a general uniformity of careful work in all. . . . This is more satisfactory than the exceptional excellence of a few schools, which used to be observable several years ago. In the High Schools also there can be no doubt of a progress having been made, both in the system of study pursued and the attainment of the pupils in individual studies. In the evening schools, with one or two exceptions, a more systematic course of study is evident in the individual subjects of machine drawing and ship draughting; and many of the free-hand works from the cast in several schools display great excellence."[2]

The provision of a superintendent[3] has contributed largely to the success of our schools. Nathan Bishop, a gentleman of experience and eminent fitness for such an office, was the first to hold it. His successor was John D. Philbrick, LL.D., whose services continued for the long period of twenty years. He fully appreciated the importance of our educational institutions, and by his good judgment, energy, and perseverance effected many changes in their management which time has shown to be improvements.[4]

[1] [See H. E. Scudder's paper on "Education by Hand," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, vol. lviii. p. 406. — ED.]

[2] The department of drawing has been until recently under the direction of Walter Smith. His successor is Henry Hitchings, a gentleman of ability and large experience. [See the chapter, "Art in Boston," by Arthur Dexter. — ED.]

[3] This office was established in 1851. The superintendent is elected biennially. He is required to devote himself to the study of the public-school system, and to keep himself acquainted with the progress of instruction and discipline in other places, in order to suggest appropriate means for the improvement of our own schools. He must see that the regulations of the School Board are carried into effect, visit each school as often as his other duties permit, and be able to suggest improvements and remedy defects in their management. He becomes a member of the Board of Supervisors, and when present must preside at its meetings.

Another important aid in our educational system has been given by the Board of Supervisors, — the executive branch of the School Committee. In addition to the examination in detail of all the schools, they are required to ascertain by careful inspection the sanitary condition of the schools, houses, and premises, including the heating and ventilating apparatus; the mode of government, including motives of study, principles, and methods of classifying and promoting pupils; the merits, defects, and needs of each school, — and in general the physical, mental, and moral condition of the scholars. Another important duty devolving upon them is the examination of candidates for the office of teachers in our schools of all grades. This Board was established in 1876. Its members are elected biennially by the School Committee. Very wisely the claims of both sexes are equally recognized in the election of members of both boards. The present Supervisors are Samuel W. Mason, Lucretia Crocker, Ellis Peterson, Francis W. Parker, George A. Littlefield, and John Kneeland.

[4] His annual reports from 1857 to 1878 abound with practical suggestions of great value, and give a complete history of our school system during that period. My acknowledgments are due to him for many of the statements in this chapter.

The next incumbent was Samuel Eliot, LL.D., whose rare scholarship and familiar acquaintance with the best educational institutions in Europe as well as in this country admirably qualified him for so important an office. Unfortunately for us, after two years of eminently successful service, failing health compelled him to resign and seek in other lands a restoration to his former vigor. The present superintendent is Edwin P. Seaver, Ph.D., formerly head-master of our English High School.

In speaking of our grammar schools, we are reminded of the great service rendered to them and to the cause of education generally by the late Horace Mann. In 1837 he was elected Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and for many years discharged with great efficiency and success the duties of that office. By his lectures and writings he awakened an interest in our schools which had never been felt before. Through his influence important changes were made in the school-laws of Massachusetts, and a thorough reform was effected in the educational system of the State. He was a gifted and heroic philanthropist.[1]

In 1818 provision was made for the instruction of children from four to seven years of age. The primary schools established for this purpose seem to have originated in a general desire of our citizens to relieve the Sunday-schools from the great amount of secular instruction received there, which was fast crowding out the religious training that should be the object of such institutions. But this was not the only or the chief consideration. It was found that several hundred children under the age of seven did not attend any school, because the charity schools were in most instances provided for girls only, being under the inspection of ladies, their founders, and the private schools were too expensive for parents of moderate means. Another consideration was, that the children who had not learned to read or write could not be received into the grammar schools, and were therefore virtually deprived of their advantages. How important the citizens of Boston considered such elementary instruction may be inferred from the fact that two hundred of its most prominent men petitioned for a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, to consider the subject. Among those most interested was the late James Savage, a well-known and influential citizen, of strong benevolent impulses, under the control of a sound, practical understanding. In that forcible manner so peculiar to him, whether in speaking

[1] When the new Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, in 1780, public education was duly recognized. An article, the spirit of which was in accordance with the legislation of 1647, was adopted, and still remains the fundamental law of the State. In 1834 $1,000,000 were raised in Massachusetts to aid the towns in their educational labors. By an act of the Legislature in 1854 it was enlarged to $1,500,000, by the transfer to the fund of two thousand nine hundred and forty-four shares of the stock of the Western Railroad Corporation, held by the State. By a law of 1859 the fund has been increased to $2,000,000 by the sale of lands on the Back Bay. One half the income is annually distributed among the cities and towns of the State, in proportion to the number of children in each between the ages of five and fifteen years. No apportionment, however, is to be made to any town or city which does not send a report and raise by taxation three dollars for each child for the support of schools. The establishment of the "School Fund," and the organization of the Board of Education were the most important measures ever adopted by our State Legislature for the improvement of our educational system.

or writing, he urged upon the authorities of the town the importance of this class of school.[1]

At this public meeting the selectmen and school committee were opposed to the movement. Indeed, so strongly were they prejudiced that they retained the eloquence and personal influence of Harrison Gray Otis on their side; but they were defeated by a large vote of the people, and the primary schools were established. No one well acquainted with our system of public education can fail to appreciate this early introduction to it.

Recent statistics show the magnitude and importance of these schools. More than half the children educated at the public expense attend them, and nearly all the rest have gone out from them to enter the higher grade. Boston has now four hundred and six primary schools, with the same number of teachers, and twenty thousand seven hundred and thirty scholars.[2] Previous to 1862 children were admitted at four years of age; since that time those under five have been excluded.[3]

It is a noticeable fact that until primary schools were instituted we had not begun to recognize the great value of woman's assistance in the instruction of the young. In this new field that assistance was indispensable, and its success so evident that women soon became teachers in our grammar and high schools, and are now a powerful aid in every educational movement.[4]

[1] From a communication by him in the *Daily Advertiser* of April 1, 1818, we copy the following passage, which will show his philanthropic spirit and his earnestness in advocating what he believed to be right: —

"In the report of the School Committee we are told that the number of children between the ages of 4 and 14 is 526, *who go to no school.* What are those children doing? Who has charge of them? Where do they live? Why are they not at school? The committee have not informed us. Have they not the right to a good bringing up, and to a common-school education? and have they not a right to a common share of the friendship of the community? If their parents neglect to provide them a school, is it not the duty of the town to do it? And if the town takes no interest in their welfare, is it not the duty of the Legislature to make laws for the purpose of saving these dependents, — these sufferers?"

[2] When first instituted, the Primary-School Committee consisted of thirty-six members, the number of schools under their care was twenty-five, and the number of children about one thousand. When this committee became extinct, in 1855, by a transfer of its duties to the Boston School Board, there were one hundred and ninety-six members, one hundred and ninety-seven schools, and over twelve thousand children. The reasons for a change were: (1) The questionable legality of its organization; (2) Because, as a deliberative or executive body, it had become too numerous for its purposes; (3) Because of the mode in which its members were elected and vacancies filled; (4) Because its continuance perpetuated a want of unity in our school system.

[3] Attendance from five to seven was voluntary. In the compulsory system the aim is to include only those children whose physical and mental development renders them able to attend school at all seasons of the year. For this reason the lower limit of legal age in most countries is fixed at six years, — in Massachusetts at eight. In England compulsory attendance begins at five years of age, but children are admitted to the infant schools at four. See *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee, from its first Establishment, in* 1818, *to its Dissolution, in* 1855, by J. M. Wightman. Boston, 1860.

[4] Women are equal to men in teaching, and superior to them in forming the tastes and manners of their pupils. Few members of our School Board would dissent from this opinion, and yet the compensation given to women bears no comparison with that given to men. There have been many evidences of progress in our educational system, — we look for one in this direction. In the census of 1870 it appeared that there were two hundred thousand teachers in the public schools of the United States, and of these one hundred and nine thousand were women. According to the report of the United States Commissioners of Education, published in 1879, there were in Massachusetts one thou-

In connection with the primary schools should be named the Kindergarten, one of which was begun in 1870, with the understanding that if successful it should be continued and others established. No one has ever questioned the success of the experiment; indeed, the best friends of education were enthusiastic in their admiration of its results. We like the system of Froebel, because it allows children to be children, and governs them by no iron rule.[1] The training of those of Kindergarten age must be by persuasion, not compulsion. "There should be as much life, joy, and nature," says Arthur Helps, "put into teaching as there can be." The School Committee found no fault with the results of the experiment, but were unwilling to continue one school of this class, which as they believed would be for the benefit of a favored few, and were so alarmed at the prospective cost of adopting the system, that they discontinued it altogether.

Fortunately for Boston the friends of Froebel and his admirable mode of training young children determined that what was so well begun and had proved so successful in its results should not be abandoned. Through their activity and public spirit the means were obtained for establishing several Kindergarten schools. One Boston lady, Mrs. Pauline A. Shaw, whose liberality and right appreciation of the interests of the young will be held in honored remembrance, is sustaining at her own cost no less than thirty of these schools and fifty teachers in different parts of the city. A large proportion of the recipients of her bounty come from the poorest classes, many from homes where they suffer from neglect and ill-treatment. On reaching these schools, the wants of the body as well as of the mind are cared for; the ragged clothing is thrown aside, and cleanliness is allowed its claim among the higher virtues.[2]

In 1821 the English High School for boys was established; and George B. Emerson, LL.D., a graduate of Harvard University, and one of our most accomplished and successful teachers, was elected head-master. This

sand one hundred and eighteen male, and seven thousand three hundred and ninety female teachers in the public schools, — the former receiving the average salary of $75.64 and the latter $33.04 per month. There are in Massachusetts, between the ages of five and fifteen, two hundred and ninety-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-two school-children, and an average attendance of two hundred and twenty-two thousand seven hundred and four. [See further on the position of women as educators and intellectual workers, Mrs. E. D. Cheney's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[1] Froebel's purpose, as indicated by himself, is "to take the oversight of children before they are ready for school-life; to exert an influence over their whole being in correspondence with its nature; to strengthen their bodily powers; to exercise their senses; to employ the awakening mind; to make them thoughtfully acquainted with the world of nature and of man; to guide them heart and soul in a right direction, and lead them to the origin of all life, and to union with Him."

[2] It would cheer the hearts of our philanthropists, it would soften the hearts of the cynical, to visit one of these institutions and watch the bright, happy faces of the little ones, whether at their lessons or their sports. Says Longfellow: —

"Come to me, O ye children!
For I hear you at your play,
And the questions that perplexed me
Have vanished quite away.

"For what are all our contrivings,
And the wisdom of our books,
When compared with your caresses,
And the gladness of your looks?

"Ye are better than all the ballads
That ever were sung or said;
For ye are living poems,
And all the rest are dead."

is one of the last as well as one of the best monuments of the action of the old town of Boston. Some of the latest town-meetings previous to the adoption of the city charter were held in reference to the founding of this school. Its object has been to provide for the graduates of the grammar schools a thorough English education and the means of fitting them for any department of commercial life.[1]

The English High School has now four hundred and fifty-one members and nineteen teachers, Francis A. Waterhouse, a graduate of Bowdoin College, being the head-master. It has always been popular, always progressive in its methods of study and discipline, and is still administered in a liberal and common-sense manner.[2] The Rev. James Fraser, an English Commissioner, said in his excellent report on the Common-School system of the United States, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty: "Taking it for all in all, and as accomplishing the end at which it professes to aim, the English High School of Boston struck me as the model school of the United States. I wish we had a hundred such in England." [3]

This is the testimony of a competent judge, one who must have been unprejudiced and impartial. In another part of his report he says: "I have already mentioned this school as the one above all others that I visited in America which I should like the Commissioners to have seen at work as I myself saw it, — the very type of a school for the middle classes of this country, managed in the most admirable spirit, and attended by just the sort of boys one would desire to see in such a school." The impressions of an intelligent foreigner should always be welcome. They are likely to differ from ours, and will therefore afford an opportunity for profitable comparison.

[1] How much this was to include may be inferred from the following prescribed course of studies: mathematics, rhetoric, English literature, music, physiology, botany, drawing, history, chemistry, ethics, physics, astronomy, book-keeping, metaphysics, and political economy. To these were afterward added the French and German languages. "Experience has proved," says Francis Adams, "that elementary education flourishes most where the provision for higher education is most ample. If the elementary schools of Germany are the best in the world, it is owing in a great measure to the fact that the higher schools are accessible to all classes. In the United States the common schools have always produced the best results where the means of higher education have been the most plentiful." — *Massachusetts State Report*, 1877.

[2] [See *Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the English High School, May* 2, 1871, *Oration by J. W. Edmands, with Historical Appendix.* Boston, 1871. — Ed.]

[3] When the discussions for the support of the Educational Bureau were in progress, Mr. G. F. Hoar declared upon the floor of Congress, that the only respectable account of education in this country ever published had been prepared by foreign governments. "Among such reports, the most satisfactory is that of the Rev. James Fraser, now the Bishop of Manchester, England, who came to this country in 1865, and employed six months in the prosecution of his inquiry, and four months in drawing up his report. . . . It is a candid review of facts, collected with great diligence and fairness, — all the better because of the discriminating criticism with which it distinguishes the wise from the unwise, and because it appreciates right purposes and tendencies in this country, even when results are not yet satisfactory."— *N. A. Review*, cxxii. 195.

In consequence of recent educational discussions in England, much has been said there about American schools. Among the important works may be named a volume on *National Education*, by the Rev. J. H. Rigg, and one on the *American School System*, by F. Adams.

There are also schools of the same grade in Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, West Roxbury, and Brighton, which towns, by annexation, now belong to Boston.

The building recently erected on Warren Avenue and Montgomery Street, for our Latin and English High schools, deserves notice here, because it surpasses all others in this country in its magnitude, adaptation to its purposes, and the beauty of its construction.[1]

The building was dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, on March 1, 1881. Over the entrance to the Latin School is the following appropriate inscription: "HAEC STUDIA ADULESCENTIÂM ALUNT, SENECTUTEM OBLECTANT, SECUNDAS RES ORNANT, ADVERSIS PERFUGIUM AC SOLACIUM PRAEBENT."

In 1852 the friends of a higher education for the graduates of our girls' grammar schools gave earnest attention to that subject. As the proposition to establish a high school for their benefit had met with unexpected opposition in times past, it was thought inexpedient to revive the controversy. As a substitute, it was proposed to institute a Normal School for female teachers, the advantages of which no one would be likely to question. Such a school was established, and Loring Lothrop, a gentleman eminently qualified, was elected head-master.

It was soon found, however, that girls fresh from the grammar schools were not fit candidates for normal training. To remedy this difficulty a few additional branches of study were introduced, a slight alteration made in the arrangement of the course, and the name changed to the "Girls' High and Normal School." Under this name it continued till 1872, when it was found that the normal element had been gradually absorbed by the high school, and had almost lost its independent, distinctive, and professional character. The two courses were then separated, and the normal department was restored to its original condition for the instruction of young women who intended to become teachers in our public schools of Boston. Larkin Dunton, LL.D., was then elected head-master, and still holds that position. The marked success of the school under his administration is good evidence of the wisdom shown in his election. Institutions of this class originated in Germany, and became so popular that they soon found their way into Holland, France, Switzerland, and more recently into England, being modified only so far as to adapt them to the circumstances of society and education in those countries. They were intended to make the business of school-teaching as much of a profession as that of law, medicine, or the-

[1] It is a double building, fronting on parallel streets. There are forty-seven class-rooms, with accommodations for sixteen hundred and forty-five pupils; an immense hall for military drill, a gymnasium, chemical laboratory, chambers for drawing, and two large halls; also libraries, reception rooms, and suites for janitors. A court-yard in the centre furnishes ample space for the scholars in their seasons of recreation. The whole cost, including furniture, was $780,000. For the architectural design and mechanical construction of this building credit is due to George A. Clough, the City Architect. Valuable suggestions in regard to some of its characteristic features were made by Superintendent J. D. Philbrick, as the result of his observations at the Universal Exposition at Vienna, in 1873.

ology, — a peculiar course of instruction being as necessary as for either of those.[1]

Our custom in electing teachers had been to examine them in the branches required to be taught, and to trust to Providence for their ability to teach what they knew. This course was objectionable, especially so in the case of elementary instruction, where the amount of knowledge required is small, and where the art of teaching finds its most difficult exercise. The idea that every one can teach what he knows is not reliable. This is evident from the fact that men and women of the highest intellectual attainments so often fail entirely in the capacity for interesting the young.[2]

Instead of depending on State institutions for normal instruction, Boston decided to have one exclusively her own. The pupils would then be daughters of our own citizens, with their homes and affections here; they would be graduates of our public schools, familiar with their organization and methods of instruction; more than all, they would be fitted for the work in which they were to engage. The course of study includes the departments of physiology, psychology, logic, ethics, principles of education, methods of instruction, school management, observation and practical training exercises, — the instruction in all these departments having special reference to teaching. Pupils are supposed to know something of physiology and hygiene before entering the school; but there is a view of them not absolutely required for ordinary life, but indispensable for the teacher, — such as the limits of the powers of children, the conditions of growth and health, the necessity for rest and sleep, the means of securing these, and many other details of this nature. The three divisions of psychology, treating of the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will, are studied in the order here named, which is the order of their dependence.

This institution has already accomplished an important work, and gives promise of a beneficent future. It is not unreasonable to expect that the United States, with their one hundred and forty normal schools, will before many years refuse to accept any but trained teachers. Germany has set us the example.[3]

[1] There are now in Germany 168 of such schools; France, 86; Great Britain, 48; Italy, 115; Belgium, 32, etc. Massachusetts adopted them as State institutions because many of the best friends of public education believed that something of the kind was needed to infuse new life and vigor into our common schools, — thus recognizing the central principle of the Prussian system, "as is the teacher, so is the school;" and that as competent teachers cannot have bad schools, the incompetent cannot have good ones.

[2] Coleridge says to the teacher, "Love, hope, and patience, — these must be thy graces, and in thine own heart let them first keep school."

[3] Candidates for admission must be at least eighteen years of age, unless an exception is made by a special vote of the committee in charge, and must be recommended for admission by the master or committee of the last school they attended. Those who have completed the fourth year of the High School course are admitted without examination. Other candidates must show to the head-master, both by examination and recommendation, that they are qualified. All pupils are put on probation for six months; if proved unsuitable in the opinion of the supervisors and head-master, they are discharged. Of the one hundred and two who entered last year, only fifty-eight graduated. When teachers are to be employed in the public schools, graduates of this school have the preference, other things being equal. It numbers among its graduates of the past six years more than two hundred of the

At the time of the establishment of our High School for boys, there seemed to be no thought of a similar one for girls. The customs of our ancestors had not taught us the justice or the wisdom of giving equal advantages in education to both sexes. Even in the grammar schools our girls were for many years (1784–1828) kept in the background and allowed but half the time given to boys. The first high school for girls was begun in 1825, not, however, without great opposition. Popular feeling was clearly against such an institution, and it was only at the earnest request of some of our most prominent and influential citizens that the "experiment," for so its opponents chose to call it, was made. Ebenezer Bailey, an experienced and successful teacher, was elected principal, with the understanding that the school should be on the monitorial system, the studies to be such as are usually required in such institutions. The number of applicants for admission was very large, of whom one hundred and thirty-five were accepted. The experience of the first year was so satisfactory that the "experiment" was continued until 1827, when the committee became alarmed at the prospective expense of the annually increasing number of scholars, and abandoned what promised to be of great benefit to the educational interests of our citizens. None of its opponents claimed that it had not fully answered their expectations. Apparently, indeed, it was discontinued for the singular reason that it had been too successful, its popularity having been so great that all classes of our citizens were seeking the advantages it offered for their daughters. What in these days would be considered a good reason for sustaining such an institution was then considered sufficient for closing it.[1]

The origin of the present High School for girls has already been told in our account of the Normal School. It began its life under good auspices, and from first to last has had the confidence and approval of those most competent to judge of its merits. Apparently the prejudice against this class of schools no longer exists.[2]

Primarily as an aid to health, but incidentally as of value in the art of oral reading, vocal culture has been introduced in connection with the regular calisthenic exercises in every class. To facilitate and encourage an acquaintance with the best literature, to promote skill in reading aloud, and to familiarize the older students with the rules and usages of parliamentary assemblies, a literary society has been formed from members of the advanced class, its work being incorporated with that of the school. At its weekly meetings every member, except the officers, must be prepared to read selected passages from a prominent author, designated by the society's vote several weeks previously. From these and other works of the author

Boston teachers, — more than one sixth of all the teachers in the service of the city, — while the relative proportion of Normal graduates appointed is constantly increasing.

[1] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Candidates for admission must be at least fourteen years of age. The course of study is arranged for two years, those who have completed it being allowed to continue their studies two years in an advanced class. The sessions are from 9 A.M. to 2 P.M.

pieces are selected by the executive committee, to be read with appropriate essays in presence of the whole school once in two weeks, by good readers appointed from every class by the president in concurrence with the class teachers.

Great stress is laid upon the training to secure physical strength and grace, and the rule is rigidly enforced requiring the whole of the mental work to be completed as a condition of promotion or graduation. To make the office of instruction more pleasant and effective, effort has been made to assign to every teacher her favorite branch, and so far as possible to reduce to one or two the number of studies taught by each. The instruction is therefore nearly departmental.[1] The building which the school occupies is remarkably well adapted to its purposes. The capacity is for one thousand two hundred and twenty-five pupils. In the hall are arranged a valuable collection of casts, as a simple but efficient means of introducing an æsthetic element into our educational system.[2]

The Girl's High School is one of our most successful institutions, popular among our citizens, and always making a favorable impression upon the many foreigners who visit our city.

[1] The school is in charge of a head-master, a junior master, and as many assistants (ladies) as circumstances may require, allowing one teacher to every thirty-five scholars. Regular meetings of the teachers are held, at which methods of instruction and kindred topics are discussed. The head-master of the school is Homer B. Sprague, Ph.D., a graduate of Yale College. He is assisted at present by a corps of twenty-two teachers.

[2] These casts were obtained by subscriptions of members of the American Social Science Association and others, through the influence of Charles C. Perkins, Esq., whose interest and efficient aid in the improvement of our schools have been so often shown. The following is a list of the casts: 1. FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON (British Museum). From models by Phidias and his pupils. The date is about 435 B.C. It represents the great procession on the last day of the national festival called Panathenæa. 2. CARYATID (British Museum). One of six figures supporting the southern portico of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis at Athens, and brought thence to England by Lord Elgin in 1814. 3. DIANA (Louvre). Known as Diana of Gabii, because discovered in the ruins of that city near Rome, in the year 1792. Also called Atalanta. 4. VENUS (Louvre). Called of Milo (the ancient Melos), where it was found in 1820. 5. POLYMNIA (Louvre). Found in Italy, and restored at Rome by a sculptor of that city, near the beginning of the present century. 6. PUDICITIA (Vatican). Found in the Villa Mattei at Rome. Also called the Tragic Muse, and supposed to be a portrait of the Empress Livia. 7. AMAZON (Capitoline Museum). Found in the Villa Mattei. 8. GENIUS OF THE VATICAN. Found near Rome about a century ago. Thought by some to be a Cupid, and a copy of a celebrated work by Praxiteles; by others the Genius of Death, as frequently figured on Roman sarcophagi. 9. PSYCHE (Naples Museum). Found in the amphitheatre at Capua. 10. DEMOSTHENES (Vatican). 11. BONE-PLAYER (Berlin Museum). The following are busts: 12. APOLLO (Archaic; British Museum). 13. APOLLO (Pourtales; British Museum). 14. ZEUS TROPHONIUS (Louvre). 15. JUPITER (Vatican). Found at Otricoli, about forty miles from Rome. Of all known heads of the god this is considered the most Phidian in type. 16. JUNO (Villa Ludovisi, Rome). This head probably formed part of a colossal statue, the work of a Greek sculptor, in the fourth century B.C. 17. PALLAS (Louvre). Styled of Velletri, because the statue to which this belongs was found there in 1797. 18. BACCHUS (Young; Capitoline). 19. ÆSCULAPIUS (British Museum). Found in the Island of Milo in 1828, and supposed to have been executed about 300 B.C. 20. HOMER (Capitoline). 21. PERICLES (Vatican). 22. AUGUSTUS (Young; Vatican). The frieze of the Parthenon was the gift of James M. Barnard, who was the first to propose this appropriate decoration, and by his sympathy and enthusiasm encouraged it at every step. The original, executed in marble by Phidias and his pupils 435 B.C., was a band encircling the body of the Parthenon, and was elevated about thirty feet from the ground. At the school its position is reversed, and it encircles the inside of the hall.

There is no other large city where the children of all classes, in respect to social condition, are so generally educated in public schools.[1]

Early in the year 1877 a number of ladies, interested in the success of the young women pursuing their studies in Boston University, met at the house of Mrs. William Claflin, to organize a society, now known as the Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women. After many interesting addresses had been made, the subject of the preliminary training of girls for college was presented by Mr. Henry F. Durant, who urged that a reformation be begun at once, and in the city of Boston; that the Public Latin School should be open to girls; that to withhold these privileges from their parents, taxpayers in this city, was a legal and a moral wrong. Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, whose interest in public education has been shown in many ways,[2] advocated with earnestness the claims of our girls for classical education; remarking that they had been excluded from the High Schools until 1852, and were still excluded from the only public Latin School. Mrs. I. Tisdale Talbot, Mrs. James T. Fields, and Miss Florence M. Cushing were appointed a committee to bring the subject before the city authorities. In doing so they had the valuable aid of James Freeman Clarke, D.D., John D. Runkle, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Robert D. Smith, Esq. The committee based their claim that the girls should share with the boys the privileges of the Latin School upon the traditions and statutes of the Commonwealth, which have always, by general orders or special enactments, provided for public instruction in Latin and Greek, in such terms as the following: "to instruct *all* children;" "to instruct *youth* so far that they may be fitted for the University;" "a school shall be sustained for the benefit of *all* the inhabitants, for which a teacher shall be hired to give instruction in Latin and Greek." The committee stated that the only limit, from the year 1647 to 1877, to the benefits of this free instruction in the classics was that of population. The general public being in ignorance of these laws, the committee took pains through the press to state the facts, and, by showing the ordinances and statutes as well as by discussion, created such an interest that the newspapers, with hardly an exception, made common cause with this little knot of energetic parents and friends of equal rights. A petition, asking that girls might be admitted to the public Latin School, was circulated, and received many thousand signatures. This petition was presented to the School Board, and by them re-

[1] The late Superintendent of Schools, John D. Philbrick, in one of his reports says: "When Lady Amberly, a most intelligent and accomplished woman, who belonged to a high rank in the English aristocracy, visited our Girls' High School, she was struck with the fine appearance of the pupils, not physically, but intellectually; and in respect to their lady-like carriage and air of good breeding, she inquired if they were not all from the more wealthy classes. The headmaster told her that the poor and well-to-do were alike represented; and pointing to two pupils promenading together, said: 'One of those girls is the daughter of a merchant, and the other of a working-man.' She replied, 'I really see no difference in their appearance.' Before leaving she got the assent of her reticent husband, the son of Lord John Russell, to her idea that if they had a daughter, that school would be the best place for her education." This feature in our school system has been often favorably noticed.

[2] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter. — Ed.]

ferred to the Committee on High Schools. Before reaching any decision, that committee held public meetings, and the subject was discussed by many of our most influential citizens. It was shown that while Boston had offered the most ample facilities for the preparation of boys for college, nothing had been done for our girls who desired the classical training required by colleges open to women. This was admitted to be a discrimination against one sex as unwise as it was unjust. In the discussion, which represented the opinions of many eminent professional men, no opposition was made to the preparation of girls for college; but there was great difference of opinion in regard to the expediency of their becoming members of the existing preparatory school. Superintendent J. D. Philbrick and others opposed it with great earnestness, and advocated the establishment of a distinct school.

The final decision of the committee was to institute a Girls' Latin School, under the direction of a principal having the rank of master, with as many assistants as the exigencies of the school might require. In January, 1878, Mr. John Tetlow, A. M., a graduate of Brown University, an eminent scholar and teacher, was elected principal.[1] Public opinion sustained the action of the School Board in establishing this institution, probably the only one of the kind in New England. As the so-called "Annex" at Cambridge, an organization established for the collegiate education of women, had adopted the same requisitions for admission that are established at Harvard University, it was found practicable to arrange, on the basis of these requisitions, a six years' course of study which should be equally well adapted to both public Latin Schools. Accordingly, the Boys' Latin School and the Girls' Latin School have now the same standard of admission, the same course of study, and the same diploma examination as a test of fitness for collegiate instruction.

At the first examination for admission there were forty-one applicants, of whom thirty-one were accepted. About three fourths of these evidently came with an earnest desire to secure the best and speediest preparation possible for college. The remaining one fourth were probably attracted by the novelty of the experiment, or came because they were for some reason dissatisfied with their surroundings in the schools with which they had been previously connected. All, however, brought from their parents certificates declaring that they intended to enter some college after completing the established course of study here. In 1880 the number of applicants for admission was eighty-four, of whom sixty were accepted. The whole number now in the school is one hundred and forty-eight, and the average attendance has been one hundred and forty-five.[2] The school, therefore,

[1] On the 12th of the following month the school was opened for regular class instruction. Brief addresses were made by Honorable Charles L. Flint, chairman, and Miss Abby W. May, secretary of the High School committee; by Miss Lucretia Crocker, of the Board of Supervisors; and by the Principal of the school.

[2] In less than three years, therefore, from the organization of this school, the number of pupils had increased from thirty-one to one hundred and forty-eight, notwithstanding the fact that from one fourth to one third of the applicants at successive examinations had been rejected.

may be fairly said to have passed beyond the stage of experiment, and to have become a recognized part of the Boston school system. It can no longer be urged that there is no demand in the community for a classical education for girls.[1]

The Horace Mann School for the Deaf was established in 1869 by the Boston School Committee, in co-operation with the State Board of Education, as a day-school for deaf children over five years of age. Mr. Mann, when he was secretary of that board, in one of his annual reports (1843) described the German method of teaching articulation to the deaf, and urged its adoption in this country. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, when addressing a committee of the State Legislature, said it took twenty years for this suggestion to bear fruit; but its importance is now universally admitted, and it seems eminently fitting to associate with this school, sustained in part by State funds, the name it now bears, since it is included in the public educational system of Massachusetts for the improvement of which Horace Mann labored so earnestly.[2] The school is designed to give an elementary English education; but as a preparation for this it must first impart the meaning and use of ordinary language. It aims to teach all its pupils to speak, and read the speech of others from their lips.[3] Deaf children are able to pursue a course of study similar to that prescribed for our public schools; but the starting point is different and the progress necessarily slow, as the deaf child must spend five or six years in acquiring much that the hearing child learns without effort before leaving the nursery. The mental powers of the deaf are developed by the same methods that are successful in the education of those who can hear. That dumbness is naturally attendant upon deafness is a fallacy happily disappearing. Sewing is the only branch of industrial training taught in the school; but the principal, Miss Sarah Fuller, interests herself in obtaining for her pupils, out of school hours, opportunities for that practical training which shall prepare them for the varied duties of life.[4]

[1] The last graduating class contained six members, all of whom entered Smith College. A letter from President Seelye, after speaking in complimentary terms of all the class, says that one of them had taken the prize of two hundred dollars, awarded to the student who was best prepared for college. The number admitted to Smith College this year was about seventy.

[2] [A statue of Horace Mann, moulded by Emma Stebbins, and paid for by subscriptions among the teachers and school children of the State, stands in the State House grounds. Horace Mann was born in 1796, and died in 1859. His life has been written by Mary Mann, his widow. He became a resident of Boston in 1836. — Ed.]

[3] From reports of twenty-six institutions in our country, it appears that the sign language is taught in all, while fifteen employ also articulation teachers; and three — the Institution for the Improved Instruction of Deaf-Mutes of New York, the Clarke Institution for Deaf-Mutes at Northampton, Massachusetts, and the Horace Mann School for the Deaf (formerly the Boston Day School for Deaf-Mutes) — make articulation a specialty. The schools in our country are not limited to either system, but endeavor to take advantage of both.

[4] In March, 1880, six girls entered a class at the Boston Cooking School for a course of twelve lessons. With some assistance from one of their teachers, who always accompanied them, these girls were able to understand and to follow the directions given as intelligently as the other members of the class. The school is allowed a principal and as many assistants as may be required, not exceeding one teacher for every ten scholars.

Pupils over five years of age are admitted free, in accordance with an act passed by the Legislature of 1869.[1]

At the close of the school year of 1880 there were seventy-nine pupils, — forty-six girls and thirty-three boys. Of this number twenty were from towns in the vicinity of Boston, and three from other States. There is a corps of nine teachers.[2]

The Eliot School in Jamaica Plain is an endowed institution, free for children residing there.[3] The first donation "for the use of a school only to the inhabitants of Jamaica" came from John Ruggles, who gave that triangular piece of land on which the soldiers' monument now stands.[4] The deed of conveyance is dated Oct. 16, 1676. Early in the same year Hugh Thomas and Clement his wife proposed to the people at the Jamaica end of the town to make over to them their house, orchard, home-lot, and night-pasture, provided they would agree to take care of and provide for them, in sickness and health, during their lives, and decently inter them after their death. This proposition was accepted, and the property conveyed to John Weld, Edward Morris, and John Watson as trustees. The agreement was signed by twenty-five inhabitants, and the said Thomas conveyed all his real estate by deed, dated April 7, 1677, and by assignment all the real estate of his nephew, John Roberts, which was conveyed to him by the will of said Roberts a short time previous; also by another assignment, in 1681, all his bills, bonds, legacies, etc.

In 1693 John Watson gave three acres of salt marsh, Mrs. Gurnal six

[1] "The Governor, with the approval of the Board of Education, is hereby authorized to send such deaf-mutes or deaf children as he may deem fit subjects for instruction, at the expense of the Commonwealth, to the American Asylum at Hartford, to the Clarke Institution for Deaf-Mutes at Northampton [or any other school for deaf-mutes in this Commonwealth], as the parents or guardians may prefer."

[2] "The National Deaf-Mute College at Washington is doing excellent work in all its departments. It has already furnished well-trained deaf-mutes to several of the State institutions, in which elementary and secondary instruction is given. This co-ordination in the responsibility of deaf-mute instruction is having a beneficial effect upon the several institutions engaged in the work." — *Report of Commissioner of Education*, published in 1879.

[3] Its origin may be shown by an extract from its ancient records: —

"Having by sad experience been sensible of the great damage in education, or rather in the want of the means of education, of children occasioned by the remoteness of our habitations from the school at town, and also by the experience of a year's trial, having been somewhat informed what a great blessing a school among ourselves may be to us and to our posterity, as it has made us to thirst after it, so also, according to our poor abilities, it hath caused us to endeavor the attainment of the same. To which end, we whose names are underwritten do oblige ourselves and our estates for the annual payment of our respective subscriptions for the space of twelve years from the date of these presents, for the procurement and payment of a master that shall undertake said work, and teach all such children as shall be sent unto him by the subscribers. And the values of our subscriptions are to be discharged, for the use of said master, at or before the 25th day of March yearly; and the place where the school is agreed upon to be kept is between William Davis's and Nathaniel Gane's.

"To the performance of every and particular premises before named we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators, subscribing our names this second day of October, 1676.

"The sums according to subscription to be made in corn, the half Indian and the other half English, at the current prices among us."

This subscription was signed by thirty-eight of the inhabitants. The highest sum subscribed by an individual was one pound, the lowest two shillings, and the whole amount was £14 11*s*.

[4] In front of the meeting-house of the third Parish.

pounds, and Mrs. Mead seven pounds, in money, for the "Jamaica or Pond School." On July 10, 1689, Rev. John Eliot conveyed by deed about seventy-five acres of land to John Weld, John Gore, John Watson, and Samuel Gore, and to their heirs successively forever, in trust, "for the maintenance, support, and encouragement of a school, and school-master, at that part of said Roxbury commonly called Jamaica, or Pond Plain, for the teaching and instructing of the children of that end of the town (together with such negroes or Indians[1] as may or shall come to said school), and to no other use, intent, or purpose, under any color or pretence whatever."

In 1727 Joseph Weld, the only survivor of this body of men (which, according to Mr. Eliot, was to last forever), petitioned the Legislature to appoint three other persons as trustees, with power to fill vacancies. The petition was granted, and Nathaniel Brewer, Jr., Caleb Stedman, and John Weld were joined with the memorialist as trustees. In this appointment an unwise condition was made, by which each piece of property was placed under special members of the board. This in course of time produced so much embarrassment, that in 1804 an act was passed incorporating seven men trustees of the Eliot school, with power to fill vacancies by the election of freeholders in that section of the town. In 1818 Mrs. Abigail Brewer bequeathed to the trustees sixteen acres of land adjoining the estate of the late Dr. John Warren, the income to be applied for the instruction of girls, children of the inhabitants of the third parish in Roxbury. In 1831 the trustees erected the brick school-house on Eliot Street, which would accommodate two hundred pupils. The upper room was occupied by a primary school, supported by the town. The grammar department was taught in the lower room, and was entirely under the control of the trustees.

From March 31, 1834, to 1842, the trustees and school committee had a united supervision of the Eliot school. More recently a proposition was made to place the girls in one building under the supervision of the trustees, and the boys in another under that of the town. This proposition was accepted. Previous to this time the income of the Eliot fund had been applied to the education of children in the common English studies. The sale of some lands having increased the income considerably, the Eliot school became a high school in connection with the Roxbury city schools. After the annexation of West Roxbury to Boston, the trustees dissolved their connection with the city, and re-opened the school on Eliot Street, where it was formerly taught. It is still substantially a high school, with an elementary department, free for both sexes, and under the control of the trustees exclusively. The head-master is D. S. Smalley.

Five years after the settlement of Charlestown, it would appear from the employment of Mr. William Witherell,[2] that a public school — and, judging

[1] [Various papers touching the education of the Indians will be found in a transcript from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, entitled "Papers relating to the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," in Harvard College Library. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 397. Oldmixon, in his history, calls Charlestown the mother of Boston. — Ed.]

from the salary, a free school at least for a "twelve-month"—was established there on the principle of voluntary taxation, being eleven years prior to the law of Massachusetts compelling towns to maintain schools. The General Court, Sept. 8, 1636, granted Lovell's Island to the town, "provided they employ it for fishing by their own townsmen, or hinder not others." This island was rented, and the income applied to the support of the school. Jan. 20, 1647, the records say "it was agreed that a rate of fifteen pounds should be gathered of the town towards the school for this year, and the five pounds that Major Sedgwick is to pay this year (for the Island) for the school; also the town's part of the Mistick weir for the school forever." In 1661 Ezekiel Cheever took charge of the town school. Five years later he petitioned the selectmen "that they would take care that his yearly salary be paid, the constables being much behind with him." Also putting them in mind of their promise at his first coming to town, — "that no other schoolmaster should be suffered to set up in the town so long as he could teach the same. Yet Mr. Mansfield is suffered to teach and take away his scholars." There is no mention of a school-house until 1648, when one was ordered to be built on "Windmill Hill," and paid for by "a general rate."

From an order (Jan. 12, 1666,) it appears that as "many of our youths were guilty of rude and irreverent carriage in the times of the public ordinances of praying and preaching on the Lord's Day," it was commanded to all the inhabitants to further their cheerful endeavors by sitting in turn before the youths' pew during the morning and evening exercise; and "it is our joint expectation, that all youths under fifteen years of age, unless on grounded exception by us, do constantly sit in some one of those three pews made purposely for them, except Mr. Cheever's scholars, who are required to sit orderly and constantly in the pews appointed to them together." In 1671 Benjamin Thompson, a celebrated teacher, was engaged to keep the Town School.[1] He retained the charge of the Charlestown school until Nov. 7, 1674, when the selectmen gave "Mr. Samuel Phipps of this town a call to the work," and of the events of his day some record has been made in another chapter.[2]

The Industrial School for Girls, now established in Dorchester,[3] was opened in 1853. Its object was to remove from their miserable homes children whose circumstances surrounded them with temptations, and whose education furnished them with no means of resistance; to train them to good personal habits; to instruct them in household labor; and to exert a

[1] On the following terms: —

1. That he shall be paid thirty pounds per annum by the town, and receive twenty shillings a year from each particular scholar that he shall teach, to be paid by those who send children to him to school.

2. That he shall propose such youth as are capable of it for college, with learning answerable.

3. That he shall teach to read, write, and cipher.

4. That there shall be half a year's mutual notice by him and the town, before any change or remove on either side.

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 397; also for later events, Vol. II. p. 320. — Ed.]

[3] Previously in Winchester.

moral influence and discipline over them which should fit them to be faithful and efficient in domestic service, or any other probable mode of gaining their own livelihood. It is an incorporated institution, Miss Annette P. Rogers being its President, and Mrs. Theodore Lyman, Vice-President. We have many institutions strongly armed and appointed for the punishment of evil doers. The object of this school is to prevent evil; to cut off some of the sources of our jails and houses of correction; to apply prevention to evils of which the cure remains among the problems still unsolved.[1] Two hundred and five girls have been admitted since the beginning of the school. The number may appear small, but it must be remembered that this is not a temporary home, but one in which a girl's stay is from one to eight years; and as the house accommodates but thirty, the number of those admitted must depend on the number sent out, and that on the ability of the girls to earn their own living, or the capacity of relatives to provide homes for them. The Industrial School is supported by voluntary contribution. According to the last printed report there were one hundred and ninety contributors.

In addition to the educational institutions before mentioned, the city sustains many special schools. Of these there are eleven elementary evening schools, an evening high school, four evening drawing schools, and two schools for licensed minors.[2]

An absurd charge is sometimes raised against our public schools that they are "godless and immoral." The charge comes mainly from those who think that religion should be taught in them, meaning too often religion as viewed through their denominational spectacles. They would have sectarian instruction, which very wisely is forbidden. In the early days of the colony, when the people were of one faith in religious affairs, they did not hesitate to teach that faith in the schools and colleges; but the rapid growth of the Catholics since that time has been accompanied by strong protests against the prevalence of Protestant instruction, and unquestionably the tendency is now to exclude from the schools all religious teaching. Indeed, so much in earnest are we in this matter that many of our most influential citizens are opposed even to the reading of the Bible in our schools,

[1] "On the ground of *prevention*," says the last report, "we rest our claim to public favor and support. Help us that we may extinguish the sparks which surely kindle a flaming ruin! Money brings more than money's worth when it is made definitely serviceable to purifying and strengthening a child's character, and educating the probable outcast into an upright and industrious woman."

[2] For some of these there is no express legal provision, but it has been well established that a municipality may go beyond the requirements of the law in making provisions for schools, and that the legal power is not restricted by the legal obligation. Horace Mann says: "It is now decided by the highest judicial tribunal in the Commonwealth, that the statute only expresses the minimum of time and of quality below which the schools shall never be suffered to fall; but that it allows any town to rise as high above this lowest limit as, in its discretion, fairly and honestly exercised, it may deem best. This conclusion was deemed to be a fair inference from the language of the law, confirmed by long usage, and demanded by the necessities of a Republican government."

because the Catholic children would be required to read one version of the Scriptures in the schools and another in their churches.

But are the results of our free-school instruction "godless and immoral"? Recent statistics taken in Massachusetts show that eighty per cent of its crime is committed by those who have had no education, or a very imperfect one; that a still larger proportion have learned no trade; and that nearly seventy-five per cent of its criminals are of foreign birth. Intemperance, the natural resource of ignorance, is the parent of the greater part of this crime, and ninety-five per cent of it is hereditary from homes of vice and ignorance.

In our common schools there are no class distinctions, ecclesiastical control, or social limitations. The pupils come from the humblest, as well as from the most refined and wealthy families. We see the influence of these schools in all our social system. It teaches equality and republican principles; it creates the reading public; it has produced a throng of readers such as was never known before, — countless and never satisfied. Of the 1,200,000 books taken from our Public Library in 1880, three fourths were taken by children of our public schools.[1] The trustees of this institution have printed six broadsides, headed "Lists of Books prepared for the use of Pupils in the Public Schools," and have supplied these in sufficient quantity to furnish each high and grammar class-room with a set. Dr. Samuel Eliot, late Superintendent of our Public Schools, says in one of his admirable reports: —

"These books range from stories for the very young up to works of literature, science, and art for advanced pupils, and the teachers generally. Here we have reading in abundance; we know what to read and where to find it. The library stands ready to supply it to any reasonable extent, not only at the central building, but at the branches, and therefore within easy reach of all the schools. More beneficent service could not be rendered to public education. It will give breadth to our studies, impulse to our students, and fill in the outlines of our whole system with living spirit. We have been walking, as it were, between walls which limited the view before us to a point, and shut out that on either side altogether. Now the path opens, and the prospect widens, and we see the land about us and the sky above us; for we are under the guidance not of a few half-blind text books, but of the open-eyed master-

[1] This is the estimate of the librarian. The average monthly circulation of books from the Boston Public Library is one hundred and three thousand volumes, and six hundred periodicals. In this estimate is not included the very large number consulted or read at the library, which averages one thousand per month.

The periodicals printed in the United States nearly equal those of all the rest of the educated world. In 1870 it was estimated that seven thousand six hundred and forty-two were published in Europe, Asia, and Africa; in our country, five thousand eight hundred and seventy-one. Since that time our publications have increased nearly to an equality with those of all the world besides; and our forty-five millions of people read as much, perhaps, as all the rest of the hundreds of millions upon the globe. It is estimated that the number of copies of newspapers and periodicals printed in Great Britain in 1870 was 350,000,000, and an equal number in France. The census returns show that in the same year 1,500,000,000 copies were printed in the United States. This shows how closely the progress of a demand for newspapers is connected with the advance of the common schools.

pieces of human knowledge. If we are not, it is no longer our misfortune, but our fault. The library offers it. Shall we not accept it?"

In the preceding pages we have endeavored to give some account of the rise and progress of the free schools of Boston.[1] All of them, excepting the Roxbury Latin School, the Eliot School at Jamaica Plain, and the Industrial School for girls in Dorchester, are under the control of our school committee. We now propose to give brief sketches of other educational institutions, which, though not schools, contribute largely to the intellectual growth of our community. Some of them bear a State or national name, but they are all identified with Boston. They were founded in that city; their officers, members, libraries, places of meeting, etc. are all there.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences. — This institution, although bearing a national name, is essentially a Boston one. The objects contemplated in founding it were, as stated in the act of incorporation, May 4, 1780, "to promote and encourage a knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country; to determine the uses to which its various natural productions may be applied; to promote and

[1] The following School Census will show their condition in May, 1880: —

Number of children in Boston between the ages of 5 and 15	57,703
Number attending public schools	45,650
Number attending private schools	6,326
Number not attending school	5,727

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries of Officers	$53,679.74
Salaries of Teachers	1,108,578.87

INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.

By Committee on Public Buildings	$98,514.84
By School Committee	254,593.39
School-houses and lots	136,878.45

SUMMARY, JUNE, 1880.

General Schools.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	Average No. of Pupils belonging.	Average Attendance.	Ave'ge Absence.	Per cent of Attendance.	No. at date.
Normal	1	4	72	71	1	98	61
Latin and High	10	91	1,971	1,854	117	94	1,813
Grammar	49	620	27,734	24,987	2,747	90	26,057
Primary	406	406	20,730	17,890	2,840	86	21,144
Totals	466	1,121	50,507	44,802	5,705	88.7	49,075

Special Schools.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	Average No. of Pupils belonging.	Average Attendance.	Ave'ge Absence.	Per cent of Attendance.	No. at date.
Horace Mann	1	9	80	65	15	81	79
Licensed Minors	2	2	63	52	11	80	83
Evening High	1	10	403	153	.....	.....	.....
Evening	16	110	1,615	948	...	.....	.....
Evening Drawing	6	17	672	299	.....	.....	.....
Totals	26	148	2,833	1,517	...	.....	.....

encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments; astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations; and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce." These subjects cover a wide field. How successfully it has been occupied may be seen in the elaborate and stately volumes published by the Academy. These furnish valuable contributions to science and art from the most eminent scholars of our time.

In the list of incorporated members we find the honored names of Adams (Samuel and John), Bowdoin, Chauncy, Cushing, Dalton, Dana, Gardner, Hancock, Holyoke, Jackson, Warren, Wigglesworth, Willard, and Winthrop. The Academy had a distinguished origin, and has sustained and still holds an eminent position among the learned societies of the world. It is favorably known among its peers, if less known in the city and community in which its quiet operations have been carried on. It has promoted investigation; it has published at its own expense nearly thirty volumes of *Memoirs* and *Proceedings*, and most of its publications are original contributions to science in the broadest sense, and to the liberal and useful arts. Increasing its activity with the increase of scientific men and earnest students in this vicinity, its published results have become more and more numerous, as well as more valuable; and for several years past it has brought out a yearly volume of researches.

Among the past Presidents of the Academy, we find such men as Governor Bowdoin; John and John Quincy Adams; Edward Holyoke, the eminent physician and surgeon; Nathaniel Bowditch, known to science by his translation of the *Méchanique Céleste* of La Place; James Jackson, whom Thomas Fuller might have taken as a pattern in his portrait of the beloved physician; John Pickering, one of the chief founders of American comparative philology; Jacob Bigelow, whose medical wisdom and genial wit none who knew him can forget; Asa Gray, the eminent botanist; and Charles Francis Adams, the third representative of a family whose name will always be associated with our national history. The Academy is the administrator of a responsible trust, founded by Count Rumford,[1] for the advancement of the knowledge of light and heat, and of their practical applications. It has also accumulated a library of special richness in the departments of physics, chemistry, technology, and mathematics, and in the transactions of the learned societies with which it corresponds. It is the oldest institution of the kind in America, excepting the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. That was initiated by Franklin and others before the beginning of the war for Independence; this was inaugurated before the close of that war. The centennial anniversary of the Academy, in May of last year, was a memorable occasion; delegates from the most distinguished societies in Europe and America were present, and among them many whose fame is limited only by civilization. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop presided at the exercises, held in the Old South Church. Said Mr. Winthrop, referring to Franklin's baptism in this church: —

"Where else so appropriately could American art and science repair for the celebration of their own birth, their own small beginnings, their own infant lispings, as to the cradle and the christening font of our great Bostonian? If indeed, my friends, we had a second day to spare for our celebration, it might well be occupied in an excursion to the birthplace and early home of another Massachusetts Benjamin, — Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, the great benefactor of this Academy and the founder of the Royal Institution in London, — such an excursion as Tyndall took pains to make a few years ago,

[1] Among its recent publications we find the *Complete Works of Count Rumford*, 8°., 1870, edited by a committee of the Academy; also a *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, with Notices of his Daughter*, by George E. Ellis, 8°., 1871.

in token of his reverence for the memory of the great American philosopher of light and heat. . . . Could the founders of this Academy even now look down from the skies, as we may hope they may be permitted to look down to-day, upon our own little State of Massachusetts and our own little city of Boston, with what rapture would they behold, encircling this Academy as their original nucleus, their primal nebula, if I may so speak, a Natural History Society, with its manifold and growing collections and cabinets; a Technological Institute, with its admirable curriculum of scientific education; a splendid Museum of the Fine Arts; an Observatory, with its comet seekers and transit instruments, and with its noble refractor; the chemical laboratory of Professor Cooke; the garden and herbarium of our great botanist, Dr. Gray; the magnificent Agassiz Museum of Comparative Zoology, where an accomplished son is so nobly carrying on the cherished work of his ever-honored and lamented father; and, close at its side, the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, and all our thriving associations of horticulture and agriculture; and, better than all, the hosts of busy and devoted students in these and other institutions, who are engaged, day by day and night by night, in searching out the mysteries of Nature, and extorting from her so many of the secrets which have been hid from all human eyes and all human conceptions from the foundation of the world! They would be convinced that there was, indeed, such a process as Evolution, though I think they would be content, as some of their descendants still are, to call it by the good old-fashioned name of *development*. They would certainly concur in the idea that their little Academy had furnished, or fallen upon, a plentiful supply of protoplasm, though I have great faith that they would cling tenaciously to the simpler and more euphonious word — *germ*."

The present officers of the Academy are: Joseph Lovering, LL.D., President; Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D., LL.D., Vice-President; Josiah Parsons Cooke, A.M., Corresponding Secretary; John Trowbridge, S.D., Recording Secretary; Theodore Lyman, S.B., Treasurer; Samuel Hubbard Scudder, A.M., Librarian.

Lowell Institute. — For the foundation of this beneficent institution, which for forty years has contributed so largely to our intellectual progress and gratification, Boston is indebted to John Lowell, Jr., son of Francis C. Lowell, from whom our great manufacturing city takes its name. He was a gentleman of refined taste, extensive reading, and in scholarship far above the common standard. He belonged to a family whose members for more than a century have been among the most honored in our community.[1] The state of his health and a passionate fondness for travelling induced him to spend many years abroad, and to visit the most distant parts of the world. Before leaving this country he executed a will, by which he left one half of his property to found and sustain courses of free lectures on specified subjects, to be delivered in Boston, his native city. In the ancient city of Thebes he wrote a supplementary codicil, giving more definite instructions for the successful accomplishment of the object contemplated in his will. By these instructions his kinsman, John Amory Lowell, a gentleman widely known and honored, was appointed sole trustee of the property bequeathed, amounting to nearly a quarter of a million dollars.[2]

[1] [See Mr. Morse's chapter in this volume. A *Memoir of John Lowell, Jr.*, by Edward Everett, Boston, 1840, was reprinted in 1879. — Ed.]

[2] This was a sum larger than was ever given in this country for the endowment of a literary institution, with the single exception of Mr. Girard's bequest to the city of Philadelphia. Within one year after assuming the office assigned to him, the trustee was expected to file a sealed paper in the archives of the Boston Athenæum, in which he should state his successor in the trust, and, while this appointment might be changed, some name unknown to all but the trustee in charge must always be so deposited. The trustee so appointed must be a lineal descendant of the Lowell family, and

Two courses of lectures were contemplated, — the first to be absolutely free to all cleanly-dressed and well-behaved persons, upon subjects relating to natural and revealed religion, physics, chemistry, botany, zoölogy, geology, mineralogy, philology, literature, and eloquence; the second relating to more erudite and particular subjects, and to which an admission fee "no more than the value of two bushels of wheat" should be charged, though from this last course even no person should be excluded on account of poverty. The following, among other instructions, are transmitted by Mr. Lowell, to his trustee. They are characteristic of the writer's wisdom and philanthropy: —

"As the most certain and the most important part of true philosophy appears to me to be that which shows the connection between God's revelations and the knowledge of good and evil implanted by him in our nature, I wish a course of lectures to be given on natural religion, showing its conformity to that of our Saviour.

"For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts by which alone, as I believe, men can be secure of happiness in this world and that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity. I wish all disputed points of faith and ceremony to be avoided, and the attention of the lecturers to be directed to the moral doctrines of the gospel, stating their opinions, but not engaging in controversy, even on the subject of the penalty for disobedience.

"As the prosperity of my native land, New England, which is sterile and unproductive, must depend hereafter, as it has heretofore depended, first on the moral qualities, and second on the intelligence and information of its inhabitants, I am desirous of trying to contribute towards this second object also: and I wish courses of lectures to be established on physics and chemistry, with their application to the arts; also on botany, zoology, geology, and mineralogy, connected with their public utility to man.

"After the establishment of these courses of lectures, should disposable funds remain, or in process of time be accumulated, the trustee may obtain courses of lectures to be delivered on the literature and eloquence of our language, and even on those of foreign nations, if he see fit. He may also, from time to time, establish lectures on any subject that in his opinion the wants and tastes of the age may demand.

"As infidel opinions appear to me injurious to society, and easily to insinuate themselves into a man's dissertations on any subject, however remote from religion, no man ought to be appointed a lecturer who is not willing to declare, and who does not previously declare, his belief in the divine revelation of the Old and New Testaments, leaving the interpretation thereof to his own conscience."

For forty years the provisions of this admirable will have been faithfully adhered to. Annually there have been courses of lectures by the most distinguished writers and thinkers in Europe and this country. The great interest they have excited has been shown in the throngs that have constantly applied for tickets of admission to the different courses, the number of applicants being always far beyond the capacity of any hall to accommodate them.[1]

of that name, if such there be who is competent. Once each year the accounts are to be exposed to the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, they, however, having no authority over such accounts beyond this single one of viewing them. None of the bequest is to be used for buildings, though, if necessary, it may be used for adapting buildings rented for the use of the trust. Ten per cent of the accumulation of the fund is to be annually set aside as an addition to it. Not only the property, but also the selection of lecturers, is entirely under the control of the trustee, and his judgment is final in regard to both.

[1] Among the lecturers have been such men as Agassiz, Silliman, Sir Charles Lyell, Tyndall, Palfrey, Guyot, and Marsh, on their several specialties; C. C. Perkins, on art; Lowell, Whipple,

In addition to the courses of Lowell Lectures, the trustee established a system of free instruction for mechanics and artisans in the principles and art of drawing, and in such subjects as are necessarily connected therewith. Applicants were received who could give the best evidence of good moral character, general intelligence, ability, industry, and skill, as well as a taste for drawing and design. This school, which was open to both sexes, was sustained with great success for twenty-eight years.[1] During that time the benefits of its instruction were seen not only in the progress of its pupils, but also in the impulse it gave to other schools which were induced to adopt its system.

John Lowell, Jr., the munificent founder of this Institute, died at Bombay, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His noble and generous spirit will be ever held in honored remembrance by the citizens of Boston.

Boston Society of Natural History. — This institution which now holds so prominent a place among the scientific associations of our city was organized in 1830.[2] One of the original members, recalling in after years the success of the undertaking, says : —

"At the time of the establishment of the Society, there was not in New England an institution devoted to the study of natural history. There was not a college in New England, excepting Yale, where philosophical geology of the modern school was taught. There was not a work extant by a New England author, which presumed to grasp the geological structure of any portion of our territory of greater extent than a county. There was not in existence a bare catalogue, to say nothing of a general history, of the animals of Massachusetts of any class. There was not within our borders a single museum of natural history founded according to the requirements and based upon the system of modern science ; not a single journal advocating exclusively its interests. We were dependent chiefly upon books and authors foreign to New England for our knowledge of our own zoölogy."

No society ever began life with so inadequate pecuniary advantages ; its only income during its early years being from the annual subscriptions of its members ; but it had, what is far more important, the efficient aid of earnest and interested workers, — men, whose zealous efforts would ensure success to any enterprise. There were among them representatives of all classes, but mainly of the professional ones. Many of these devoted every hour they could spare from arduous daily duties to the collection of specimens in the various departments of natural history, and arranging them for convenient study. One of the earliest acts of the Society was the institution of courses of lectures,[3] a mode of communicating scientific information which soon became popular, and has been continued during the whole life of the Society. Semi-monthly meetings of the members were held, which were made interesting by the reports and illustrations given by the curators on specimens committed to them for examination. Gradually the important objects of the Society and the successful efforts of its members in

Guild, Howells, and Bayard Taylor, on literature ; Drs. Wilder, Carl Semper, and Brown-Séquard, on anatomy ; President Rogers, of the Technological Institute, and many others eminent in literature and science.

[1] It was discontinued in 1878, because the building it had occupied was torn down, and proper accommodations could not be elsewhere found.

[2] To a complete and interesting *History of the Boston Society of Natural History*, by its President, Thomas T. Bouvé, the writer of this chapter is indebted for many of the facts stated therein.

[3] Among the early lecturers were Dr. John C. Warren and Dr. Walter Channing on anatomy and physiology ; Dr. D. Humphreys Storer on fishes and reptiles.

promoting them attracted the attention of the community, and began to be fairly appreciated. Some of our wealthy citizens,[1] who claimed no acquaintance with natural science, showed their interest by gifts of money.

In 1837 the Society recommended to the Legislature a resurvey of the State, and that a collection of the plants and animals should be made under the charge of the Society. This recommendation was accepted, and the geological survey committed to Professor Edward Hitchcock. A short time afterward, Professor Eben. Emmons took charge of the mammalia; Rev. William B. O. Peabody, of birds; Dr. D. Humphreys Storer, of fishes and reptiles; Dr. T. M. Harris, of insects; Dr. Augustus A. Gould, of mollusca, crustacea, and radiata; and Professor Chester Dewey, of herbaceous plants. These reports were published in 1839–1846.

In 1837 the cabinet, which had already become valuable, was enriched by the purchase of a collection of insects made by Professor Hentz. It contained fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-six specimens. At the annual meeting in 1837 Benjamin D. Greene, who had been the efficient president of the Society since its organization, resigned his office. His successor was George B. Emerson, a gentleman widely known in literature and natural science. In 1840 Simon E. Greene left by his will $500, his collection of one thousand two hundred species of shells, and many desirable works on natural history. At the next annual meeting Dr. Amos Binney, Jr., offered his valuable collection of shells, upon condition that other members possessing cabinets should allow a committee to select from them such species as would serve to complete the collection of the Society. The result was that the collection of the Society became the largest in this country. In 1842 the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists met in Boston for the first time, and held their meetings, by invitation, in the hall of the Society.[2] In 1843 George B. Emerson,[3] who had been the efficient president for six years, resigned, and Dr. Amos Binney was elected in his place. At this period there were in the cabinet eight hundred and twenty-five specimens in the department of ornithology; one thousand in that of geology; and one hundred in that of herpetology, the last being a gift from Dr. Cragin of Surinam. In 1845 a donation of $2,000 was received from John Parker, a merchant of Boston, and fifty volumes of valuable works from Dr. Francis Boot of London.

The visit of Professor Agassiz to this country, and his subsequent determination to make it his home were of great importance to students of natural history, and particularly to the Natural History Society. He became interested in its meetings, and took an active part in its discussions. The influence of a man so conspicuous in the scientific world was everywhere felt.

In 1847 Dr. John Collins Warren was elected president. The next year the Society met in their new building on Mason Street, formerly the Medical College.[4] This gave

[1] In the vestibule of the Society's building may be seen a tablet with this inscription: "To Ambrose S. Courtis, merchant of Boston, whose generous bequest in 1828 was for twenty-five years its chief support, the *Boston Society of Natural History*, on the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, April 28, 1880, gratefully inscribes this tablet."

[2] The most eminent scientific men in the country were present; including Professors William B. and Henry D. Rogers; Dr. Samuel G. Morton; Professor Edward Hitchcock; Professor Benjamin Silliman; Dr. James D. Dana; Professor Locke and Mr. Lyell, afterward Sir Charles Lyell. The meetings were of great scientific importance.

[3] [There is an excellent likeness of George B. Emerson in the *Anniversary Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History*, p. 236, which contains other likenesses of its prominent officers and benefactors. — Ed.]

[4] It cost $28,600, which was paid by voluntary contributions, in various sums, of eighty-six individuals.

to the Society new animation, which was increased by a donation of $2,000 from Jonathan Phillips of Boston. In 1850 the Honorable East-India Company presented a complete and invaluable suite of casts from the fossils of the Himalaya Mountains. In 1851 two remarkable Indian children, a boy and girl, dwarfs, were exhibited here. Having much vivacity and intelligence, they attracted crowds to see them.[1] In 1853 a valuable collection of ornithichnites was purchased by voluntary subscription, one of them the largest slab of fossil foot-prints ever quarried. In 1856 Professor Jeffries Wyman, one of our most distinguished naturalists, was elected president.[2] A bequest of Professor J. W. Bailey gave to the Society his valuable microscopical collection, and an excellent library of microscopic and botanical works. This led to the creation of a section for microscopic research. In 1857 Dr. B. D. Greene, the first president of the Society, gave to it his large and valuable herbarium, rich in specimens collected by the Exploring Expeditions of Europe and this country. This, with the bequest of Professor Bailey, increased the number of botanical specimens in the Society's collection ten-fold; it is now one of the most extensive and valuable in the country. In 1860 a bequest of $10,000 was received from the late Jonathan Phillips. During this year a course of free lectures was given by members of the Society. In 1861 the largest donation ever received from an individual was made by Dr. William J. Walker, who gave to the Society his valuable estate in Bulfinch Street. During the session of the Legislature of this year strenuous efforts were made by Professor William B. Rogers, M. Denman Ross, and other friends of the Society and of the Institute of Technology to obtain a grant of land for the use of each of those institutions. Their efforts were successful. The Legislature granted one square of land bounded by Boylston, Berkeley, Newbury, and Clarendon streets: the easterly one-third to the Boston Society of Natural History, and the remaining two-thirds to the Institute of Technology. Measures were immediately taken for the erection of a building on the acquired lot.[3] The city having purchased the estate in Mason Street, the Society removed temporarily to their building in Bulfinch Street. They left their old rooms

[1] It was claimed that they belonged to a race of similar beings found in Central America. Dr. J. Mason Warren, a prominent member of the society, after careful investigation, decided that they possessed a low degree of mental and physical organization, but were not idiots; that they probably originated from parents belonging to the mixed Indian tribes; that they did not belong to a race of dwarfs, because history shows that dwarfs cannot perpetuate their kind. These views were afterward fully corroborated.

[2] At one of the meetings of the Society, Professor Jeffries Wyman made a report on some fossil remains exhibited in New York as the skeleton of a sea-serpent. They consisted of a great number of vertebræ, apparently belonging to a single individual. These, with what purported to be the head, measured in length about one hundred and fourteen feet. There were also teeth, ribs, and paddles. The examination proved that the bones belonged not to one, but to many individuals of different ages, and had none of the characteristics of an ophidian reptile. As to the bones or portions of bones of the paddle, they were no bones at all, but casts of the cavities of a camerated shell. The teeth were not those of a reptile, but of a warm-blooded mammiferous animal; probably a cetacean. The exhibition had attracted crowds of visitors.

[3] The committee in charge of this consisted of President Wyman, Professor William B. Rogers, Dr. James C. White, Dr. B. Joy Jeffries, and Thomas T. Bouvé. On June 3, 1864, the new museum was dedicated with appropriate exercises. Professor William B. Rogers gave a brief history of the Society. He alluded to the fact that even while the flames of civil war were lighting the country, the Legislature granted the land asked for by the Society; and that no one was more earnest in advocating it than Governor John A. Andrew. His Honor, Mayor Lincoln, congratulated the members on the success of their past efforts, and bade them God-speed in the future. The Rev. Dr. R. C. Waterston gave an address on the importance of such an institution as that of the Boston Society of Natural History. Its objects, like those of the Public Library and the Institute of Technology, were essential to the higher education of the community.

with pleasant memories of the many profitable evenings spent there in listening to the discussions of Professor Agassiz, Professor William B. Rogers, and other eminent scientific men.

The accidental burning of a menagerie in the city this year was an unexpected boon to the Society, as the bones of the animals which were very valuable, and but slightly injured, came into its possession.

In 1862 the Boston Marine Society presented a valuable collection of objects in natural history, and of specimens of the workmanship of different East India and Pacific nations. The presentation of so many works of art led to the establishment of a department of ethnology, with Dr. Charles Pickering as curator. In the erection of the new building, and obtaining the additional funds necessary, the committee were greatly assisted by M. Denman Ross, whose interest in this Society and in the Institute of Technology were of great benefit to both institutions. At this time, when money seemed particularly desirable, a gentleman who would not allow his name to be known offered the sum of $20,000, provided the same amount could be obtained by subscription. This additional sum having been easily obtained, President Wyman announced that the donor of the $20,000 was Dr. William J. Walker, whose liberality had given to the Society but a short time before the building they were occupying. In 1864 a bequest of $9,000 was received from the estate of Benjamin D. Greene; and another donation of $20,000 was received from Dr. William J. Walker towards a working fund, with the condition that the same amount should be given from other sources. This was easily obtained by subscriptions from one hundred and thirty-five persons who gave $20,705. The whole amount was to be invested in certain specified securities to form a permanent fund,[1] the interest only of which could be used.

In this year, Rev. Dr. Waterston and John Cummings urged the expediency of instituting courses of lectures for the benefit of the school teachers. These were immediately begun on the most interesting departments of natural history. They were amply illustrated by specimens and diagrams. At the close of each lecture the extensive cabinets of the Society were thrown open for inspection. All expenses were generously paid by Mr. Cummings.

On April 5, 1865, the death of Dr. Wm. J. Walker, the Society's greatest benefactor, was announced. The property he left amounted to $1,250,000. Of this he gave $200,000 to his family, $10,000 to the Redwood Library in Newport, R. I., $27,780 in various legacies, and the rest in equal divisions to the Boston Society of Natural History, Institute of Technology, Amherst College, and Tufts College. Thomas T. Bouvé, treasurer of the Society, was one of the executors of his will.

In 1867 a bequest was received from Miss Sarah E. Pratt of a large collection of shells, — many of rare species, — her library of works on conchology, and the sum of $10,000 as a fund for that department.

Among the many interesting discussions at the meetings of the Society this year was that on the introduction of the common house-sparrow of Europe. Dr. Charles Pickering maintained that nothing but evil could follow their increase; that the habits of this bird were of the most destructive character. Dr. Thomas M. Brewer defended it, claiming that it had already accomplished much good in the destruction of insects, and cited many authors in proof of its usefulness.[2]

[1] John A. Andrew, Samuel K. Williams, Jeffries Wyman, Thomas T. Bouvé, and George A. Kettell were appointed trustees of the fund.

[2] Reports of this discussion may be found in the eleventh volume of the Proceedings of the Society.

A bequest of $20,000 was received from Paschal P. Pope, a successful merchant of Boston. Among the most valuable additions to the cabinet in 1868 were a series of humming birds, over seven hundred specimens, and three hundred species; a collection of one thousand five hundred eggs, three hundred and fifty species, — all a donation from Mrs. Henry Bryant, whose husband was for many years a prominent member of the Society. Several thousand rock and fossil specimens were given by Dr. C. T. Jackson, and a collection of skulls by Dr. J. W. Merriam.

On Sept. 14, 1869, the Society celebrated the birthday of Alexander Von Humboldt. The address at the Music Hall was by Louis Agassiz, before an immense audience. Delegates were present from the leading literary and scientific societies in New England, and representatives from the colleges of Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and Harvard. There was an evening reception at Horticultural Hall, which was attended by a large and distinguished company.[1]

In 1870 Thomas T. Bouvé, for many years one of the most interested and efficient members of the Society, was elected its president. A letter was received from Prof. J. D. Runkle, President of the Institute of Technology, proposing a co-operation of the two institutions. An arrangement was accordingly made, which proved to be advantageous to both. The chief features of it were that the Institute should use the halls of the museum and the collections for the instruction of its students, and grant to the Society the use of Huntington Hall for lectures, etc. Through the favor of John Amory Lowell, trustee of the Lowell Institute, several courses of lectures were given from that fund, on subjects pertaining to natural history, under the auspices of the Society.

In this year John Cummings again made a donation of $500 for educational lectures to teachers. He believed that what they might learn in this way could be used with beneficial effect upon the many thousand children under their charge. The interest excited by these lectures, and the large number attending them, showed the wisdom of this movement inaugurated by Mr. Cummings. For many years the Teachers' School of Science was sustained by aid from the same liberal hand.

In 1871 a bequest of $1,000 was received from the estate of the late Sidney Homer, all of which was appropriated for New-England mammals.

At the first autumnal meeting in 1874 the death of Professor Jeffries Wyman was announced. For fourteen years he was President of the Society, and, during his long connection with it, always one of the most successful contributors to its scientific researches. In the departments of Ichthyology, Herpetology, and Comparative Anatomy he had no superior.[2] The announcement of his death elicited appreciative addresses on his character from Professor Gray of Harvard University and others.

The semi-centennial anniversary, on April 28, 1880, was an interesting occasion. A large audience filled every available part of the hall. On the platform were seated many of our most distinguished literary and scientific men. President Bouvé, in his introductory address, spoke of the early steps taken to inculcate a love for the study of Nature in this community, particularly dwelling upon the formation of the Linnæan Society, its history, and its decline. He then gave a brief account of the movements

[1] Rev. Dr. R. C. Waterston, the originator and most active agent in the celebration, felicitously welcomed the guests. Addresses were made by Prof. F. H. Hedge, R. W. Emerson, and Prof. E. J. Young. A portrait of Humboldt was presented to the Society by Dr. Waterston.

[2] The records show that he made one hundred and five scientific communications, several of them very important papers, — every one of some positive value. Many of these were published in the Journal and Proceedings of the Society.

made towards the formation of a new association, which culminated in the founding of the Boston Society of Natural History.

From the felicitous remarks of his Excellency Governor Long, we give a brief extract: —

"Memory and imagination, those exquisite poets of the human mind, — memory that looks tenderly back over the past, and imagination that idealizes, and yet in all its mounting knows that it fails to picture or command the future, — are making this occasion not the mere boast of fifty years' success, but a tribute to what man has done, and a stimulus to what man yet a thousand times more shall do in behalf of the happiness, the delight, the knowledge, the ennobling of his fellow-men, unlocking from every nook and corner of the earth, and displaying in every form and motion of life, the beneficence of God. What a stride from those first small days, — that parlor sofa that once held you all, — those modest rooms, to this splendid temple, which I trust is to be your permanent home, where shall not only gather your rare and beautiful collections, but cluster with them also the memories of the zeal and devotion that have marked so many of your members! The birds of Bryant, the insects of Harris, the shells of Gould, the fossils from the Sivalik Hills, the contributions of a thousand helpful hands from every quarter of the globe, suggest something more than their scientific value; for they are still alive with the generous love of science which prompted their bestowal, and which, clinging to them still like the scent to the vase, wreathes your walls, more beautifully than the chisel of the artist, and in more enduring material, with the names and features of those of whom I have spoken; yes, and of Greene, and Wyman, and Jackson, and Greenwood, and Brewer, and a hundred others. If fifty years have wrought all this from such a slender beginning, what shall not fifty years more achieve? Everything, indeed, for science, — everything for human knowledge."

At the close of the exercises [1] all present were invited to examine the collections with the aid of the *General Guide to the Museum*, which had been distributed among them. In the evening there was a social gathering of members of the Society and others at the house of the President.

At the commencement of this historical sketch, we stated how limited were the means of the Society for accomplishing the important purposes of its establishment, and how earnest were the voluntary labors of all interested in its success. We now give the result of these labors on its semi-centennial anniversary.

The Society owns the building known as the Museum, its furniture, library, and collections, free from all encumbrance. The value of the building may be estimated at the cost of $150,334.86, as it certainly could not be erected for that sum now. The Society also owns property in notes, bonds, and stocks valued at $154,405. The money value of the library and collections cannot be given. The former contains over fourteen thousand volumes, and nearly six thousand pamphlets. The collections are of inestimable worth, not only to the Society but to the community, for a considerable portion of unique and type specimens in the several departments could never be replaced.

Persevering efforts continue to be made to render the collections more educational, not only by such arrangement as will facilitate their study, but by models and anatomical preparations giving the internal structure, and showing the habits, of animals.

The Society holds meetings on the first and third Wednesdays of each month,

[1] Eloquent addresses were also made by Dr. Samuel Eliot, Superintendent of Schools, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, Alexander Agassiz, Curator of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, and Rev. Dr. Robert C. Waterston.

except during the warm season, at which scientific communications, written or verbal, are made, and followed generally by discussions upon the matter presented. All important communications and remarks are published in the *Memoirs* or *Proceedings* of the Society.[1]

In its laboratory the Society is doing much for the students of natural history. Instruction is given to a class of the Boston University in Biology and Zoölogy; to a class of the Institute of Technology in Zoölogy and Paleontology; and to a special class of teachers in the Public Schools in Zoölogy. The laboratory room and the working collections therein are used also by other persons engaged in teaching or studying.

In addition to all that has been said, the Society is sustaining its library, which is open not only to members, but to all engaged in scientific investigation, upon proper application and under reasonable restriction. By an agreement with the Institute of Technology, its students are allowed the privilege of consulting the Society's books and taking them out for study. The use of the library is now much greater than it has been at any former time, and is constantly increasing.

At the annual meeting in 1880, the President, Thomas T. Bouvé, who had been an officer of the Society nearly forty years, and its President ten, declined a re-election. His administration was so efficient and successful, that his name will always be identified with the best interests of the Society. The officers now are, — President, Samuel H. Scudder; Vice-Presidents, John Cummings, Frederick W. Putnam; Custodian, Alpheus Hyatt; Honorary Secretary, Samuel L. Abbot; Secretary, Edward Burgess; Treasurer, Charles W. Scudder; Librarian, Edward Burgess.[2]

Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind. — The merit of proposing to establish the first school for the blind in Boston belongs to the late Dr. John D. Fisher. While pursuing his studies in Paris he made frequent visits to the Royal Institution for the young blind, and was so impressed by its great advantages and beneficent results, that on his return to Boston he advocated with great earnestness, and interested his friends in, the establishment of a similar institution here. At a public meeting, which was attended by many of our prominent citizens, Dr. Fisher gave a minute account of the several processes employed to communicate knowledge to the blind; described the various manufactures by which they were enabled to obtain a support; and exhibited specimens of books printed for their use, contributed by friends of the institution, which the blind read by touch.

His statement excited so deep an interest in all present, that a committee was appointed to consider what measures should be adopted for the establishment of an institution for the blind in New England. The report of this committee was so encouraging, that application was made immediately to the Legislature for an act of incorporation. This was unanimously granted in both Houses without debate. The name of the corporation was "The New-England Asylum for the Blind," for the pur-

[1] Of the former, three volumes quarto have been issued, and of the latter, twenty volumes octavo, besides many valuable memoirs and occasional papers, which have been published separately. These publications are of such a character as to give the society additional reputation at home and abroad.

Exchanges are now made with three hundred and sixty societies and proprietors of scientific journals.

[2] [It should be remarked that the writer of this notice most faithfully served the Society as Librarian for more than thirty years, and until it moved into its present quarters, and saw the library increase from two hundred to six thousand volumes. — Ed.]

pose of educating blind persons, the institution to be under the direction and management of twelve trustees, eight to be elected by the corporation, and four by the Board of Visitors. The Governor, Lieut.-Governor, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Chaplains of the Legislature constituted the Board of Visitors. The Legislature might send to the Asylum, for maintenance and education, such blind persons as they might think proper, not exceeding thirty, paying for each such sum as is charged for other persons in the Asylum. In 1830 the first Board of Trustees was elected, with Hon. Jonathan Phillips for President. Dr. Fisher, who had been foremost in promoting this beneficent enterprise, being unable to engage in it personally, had enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who was soon appointed superintendent. Immediately after his appointment he visited Europe, by request of the trustees, to make himself fully acquainted with the mode of conducting such an institution, to procure one, or at the most two, trained assistant teachers, and also the necessary apparatus. He returned in the following year, bringing with him Mr. Trencheri, a graduate of the Paris Institution, as literary teacher, and John Pringle, of the Edinburgh Institution, as teacher of handicrafts. In 1832 the school was opened with six pupils, varying in age from six to twenty. Early in the following year, Dr. Howe exhibited before the Legislature the results of his six months' instruction, and so satisfactorily proved the practicability of educating the blind, that an appropriation of $6,000 per annum was at once made for the Institution, on condition that it should receive and educate free of cost twenty-four blind persons belonging to the State.

A number of public exhibitions were then given in Boston and elsewhere, and an address, containing much valuable information collected by Dr. Howe while in Europe, was widely circulated. The result of these efforts was far more favorable than was expected, and sympathetic interest so thoroughly excited that subscriptions and donations were freely given. The ladies of Boston held a Fair, by which a large sum was realized. An additional stimulus was given to public liberality when Colonel Thomas H. Perkins gave his estate in Pearl Street, valued at $25,000, as a permanent residence for the blind, provided a sufficient sum could be raised to assure the establishment of the institution. This liberal spirit was so warmly seconded by the community that within one month over $50,000 were added to the funds. Connecticut afterward voted an appropriation of $1,000 per annum, for twelve years, for as many blind children as could be educated for that sum; Vermont appropriated $1,200 for ten years, and New Hampshire made a temporary appropriation of $500; the States of Maine and Rhode Island afterward made appropriations, — and thus the institution became the educational establishment for the blind of all the New-England States, as the Asylum at Hartford already was for the deaf and dumb. The institution being now well established, Dr. Howe, by his own exertions, raised subscriptions for a printing fund; and after many and costly experiments with the ordinary printing presses, a new press, especially adapted to printing for the blind, was obtained. A series of experiments in adapting the alphabet to the sense of touch resulted in the adoption of a slight modification of the ordinary Roman letters of the lower-case. This was the first printing office for the blind opened in any English or American institution, and its work was so actively carried on that very flattering testimonials of its work were soon received, in the shape of orders from England, Ireland, and Holland.[1]

[1] The British and Foreign Bible Society ordered a complete edition of the book of Psalms, for which they paid $750.

Instruction in the literary department included not only the simpler branches of a common-school education, but some of the higher mathematics, history, astronomy, and languages. In addition to vocal music, with instruction upon the piano and organ, the foundation for a band was begun, with favorable results.[1] Instruction was given to male pupils in the manufacture of mattresses, cushions, mats, and baskets, while the girls were taught sewing, knitting, braiding, and some household duties.

One of the earliest scholars of Dr. Howe was Laura Bridgman,[2] whose education has probably attracted more attention than that of any living person. The success which attended her intellectual development has encouraged multitudes of teachers, and favored the foundation of twenty-seven institutions for the blind in this country.

In 1829 increased accommodations having become necessary for the New England Institution, it was removed to its present location at South Boston. At this time its name was changed to the "Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind," in honor of its greatest benefactor. In 1840 an additional department was opened to provide employment for those who had acquired their education and learned to work, but could not carry on business alone. The making, cleansing, and renovating of beds, mattresses, and cushions; the manufacture of mats, and cane-seating chairs, — these were the occupations in which the blind could best compete with seeing workmen. The test of years proved this department to be a valuable auxiliary in assisting the blind to self-maintenance.

The evils attendant upon congregating so many persons laboring under a common infirmity were perceived at an early date in the history of this institution. Additional buildings being absolutely necessary, the trustees applied to the Legislature for an additional grant. They asked the Commonwealth to furnish the means of educating her blind children in some slight degree proportionate to the means so liberally furnished for educating her seeing children. They did not ask it as a charity, but expected it as a part of the obligation, early assumed, to educate every son and daughter of the Commonwealth. The Legislature of 1869, admitting the justice of the claim, granted an appropriation of $80,000 for erecting suitable buildings. In addition to this sum, $15,000 were contributed by friends of the institution.[3]

By the death of Dr. Howe, Jan. 4, 1876, the institution lost not only its Director, but its life-long friend and benefactor.[4] In accordance with his often expressed wish to remove it from the class of charitable institutions, and place it on the same footing with other educational institutions, the trustees voted, Oct. 3, 1877, that its name

[1] For music and poetry the blind have long manifested peculiar taste and capacity. The names of Stanley, Gautier, and Chauvain are widely known among musical composers. Of sightless bards we have a long array, headed by the "blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," whose verse has charmed every age, and been repeated in every tongue. That the blind have abundant capacity for the highest education is manifest from the number of those who have become eminent. Ancient history abounds with these. The names of Didymus of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Aufidius are well known. In modern times we have Saunderson, a distinguished Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, England; Dr. Henry Moyes, Professor of Philosophical Chemistry in Manchester; Rev. Dr. Blacklock, a successful poet; and many others of equal eminence.

[2] See the *Life and Education of Laura Dewey Bridgman, the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Girl*, by Mary Swift Lamson.

[3] Two dwelling houses to accommodate four families were erected, and a school-house, with music rooms, etc. The number of blind persons connected with the institution is one hundred and fifty-six; of these, one hundred and thirty-seven are in the school proper, and nineteen in the workshops for adults.

[4] See the *Memoir of Samuel Gridley Howe*, by Julia Ward Howe, with other memorial tributes, publisbed by the Howe Memorial Committee, Boston, 1876; and the paper in James Freeman Clarke's *Memorials*.

should be the "Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind." The present officers of the Corporation are Samuel Eliot, president; John Cummings, vice-president; P. T. Jackson, treasurer; M. Anagnos, secretary; Robert E. Apthorp, John S. Dwight, Joseph B. Glover, J. Theodore Heard, M.D., Henry Lee Higginson, James H. Means, D.D., Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., Edward N. Perkins, Samuel M. Quincy, Samuel G. Snelling, James Sturgis, George W. Wales, — trustees.[1]

Massachusetts Institute of Technology. — In the years 1858–59, an association of gentlemen, residing in and near Boston, became interested in securing a site on which to erect in close proximity such buildings as might be suitable and necessary for the museums and collections of the Natural History Society, the Horticultural Society, and such others as might be formed, representing the industrial and fine arts, so as by their union and co-operation to constitute a comprehensive museum or conservatory of arts and sciences. With this view they organized a "Committee of Associated Institutions," and petitioned the Legislature for a grant of land on the Back Bay, suitable for their purpose. This petition failed of its object. In 1860 Professor William B. Rogers prepared a memorial to the Legislature, which was adopted by the committee, in which we find the first suggestion of "a school of applied science or comprehensive Polytechnic College, fitted to equip its students with the scientific and technical principles applicable to industrial pursuits." This also failed to obtain the favor of the Legislature, but led the way to the more definite organization developed in the report by Professor Rogers entitled, *Objects and Plan of an Institute of Technology*, etc. The wide circulation of this report, accompanied by an appeal to the public for co-operation and aid, resulted in the calling of a meeting on Jan. 11, 1861, for the purpose of adopting measures for the organization of the Institute, and in furtherance of a petition to the Legislature for a charter and a portion of the Back-Bay land.[2]

In 1861 an act of incorporation under the name of "The Massachusetts Institute of Technology" was granted by the Legislature "to William B. Rogers and others, their associates and successors, for the purpose of instituting and maintaining a society of arts, a museum of arts, and a school of industrial science; and aiding generally, by suitable means, the advancement, development, and practical application of science in connection with arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce." The Legislature also granted one square of land bounded by Boylston, Berkeley, Newbury, and Clarendon streets. The easterly one-third to the Boston Society of Natural History,[3] and the remaining two-thirds to the Institute of Technology. The Institute was formerly organized by the election of William B. Rogers, president; John Amory Lowell, Jacob

[1] Institutions for the blind made slow progress in Europe, but they have multiplied rapidly in the United States, numbering at present twenty-nine. The "American Printing House for the Blind" is the only chartered institution for printing for the blind in the world. It is much the largest in its productions and the most varied in the character of its works; being the only printing establishment of its kind that runs its press by steam. The press was invented for this company, and has no equal. When the enterprise began, the price of stereotyping was five dollars a page; now, through the inventions of the superintendent, Mr. Huntoon, the work is done at a cost of ten cents a page. The stereotype plate may be made from a paper page, or may consist of a brass plate, which costs but a small sum, and requires little room for storage. *Report of the Commissioner of Education in* 1879.

[2] At this meeting the following committee was appointed to carry out the purpose referred to: William B. Rogers, *Chairman:* J. M. Beebe, E. S. Tobey, S. H. Gookin, E. B. Bigelow, M. D. Ross, J. D. Philbrick, F. H. Storer, J. D. Runkle, C. H. Dalton, J. B. Francis, J. C. Hoadley, M. P. Wilder, C. L. Flint, Thomas Rice, John Chase, J. P. Robinson, F. W. Lincoln, Jr., Thomas Aspinwall, J. A. Dupee, E. C. Cabot.

[3] See *ante* under the Boston Society of Natural History.

Bigelow, Marshall P. Wilder, and John Chase, vice-presidents; Thomas H. Webb, secretary: Charles H. Dalton, treasurer; and through the liberality of friends sufficient funds were raised to initiate the plan by establishing the Society of Arts. The first meeting of this society was held Dec. 17, 1862, since which time it has continued to have two meetings in each month of the sessions of the Institute, on which occasions are presented communications on various topics in applied science, with the exhibition of machines and apparatus illustrating important inventions in the useful arts.

Through the activity of the Society of Arts and other means, the practical objects of the Institute soon became more widely known and appreciated, and a generous gift from Dr. William J. Walker, with large contributions from other friends, prepared the way for establishing the proposed school of Industrial Science. A report by Professor Rogers on the "Scope and Plan of a School of Industrial Science" was adopted May 30, 1864, and the scheme therein set forth has continued to form the basis of the instruction in all departments of the school, with only such changes and additions in the details of the organization and equipment of the laboratories as time and experience could determine.

The school of the Institute was opened in February, 1865, with a class of twenty-seven students, in hired rooms in the Mercantile Hall, Summer Street, where the Society of Arts also held its meetings. In 1866 the Institute took possession of its building in Boylston Street, under the same officers, with the exception of the secretary. Dr. Webb having died, was succeeded by Dr. Samuel Kneeland, who continued in office until 1879.

The following regular courses of study have been arranged in the Institute, each extending through four years, for proficiency in any one of which the degree of Bachelor of Science (S.B.) may be conferred: I. Civil and Topographical Engineering; II. Mechanical Engineering; III. Mining Engineering, or Geology and Mining; IV. Building and Architecture; V. Chemistry; VI. Metallurgy; VII. Natural History; VIII. Physics; IX. An Elective Course; X. Science and Literature. Advanced courses of study are prescribed for the degree of Doctor of Science. Provision is also made for persons who desire to pursue special portions only of any of the regular courses.

A novel feature in the original plan of the Institute — which has been fully carried out by its professors, and has since been adopted in many other institutions in this country — was the introduction of Laboratory teaching (hitherto confined to the department of chemistry) in the departments of physics, mechanics, and mining. Special laboratories have been provided for the instruction of women in chemical analysis, industrial chemistry, mineralogy, and biology through the co-operation of the Woman's Educational Association of Boston.[1]

A school of mechanic arts has been established in the Institute, adapted by President J. D. Runkle from the Russian system of shop work, for the instruction of those who wish to pursue industrial trades, as well as for those who are preparing to become scientific engineers. The Institute, in addition to the objects set forth in its act of incorporation, is required to provide for instruction in military tactics, and has a large drill-hall, including a gymnasium.

Beside the systematic day-courses, the Institute proposed as a part of its work "to provide evening instruction to persons of both sexes, who, being unable to study during the day, desire to avail themselves of systematic evening lessons or lectures." The

[1] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter. — ED.]

trustee of the Lowell Institute, John Amory Lowell, has, since the opening of the school, provided the funds for the maintenance of this department free to the pupils. These courses are more or less varied from year to year, but include in their entire scope instruction in a great variety of scientific and literary subjects. Mr. Lowell also provides for a course of free instruction in practical designs for manufacturers.

In 1870 Professor Rogers resigned the presidency of the Institute, and was succeeded by Professor John D. Runkle, who continued in office until 1878, when Professor Rogers was again appointed.

The annual income of the Institute is derived from bequests and gifts of its friends, from a portion of the State fund arising out of the Congressional grant of public lands in aid of industrial education, and mainly from the fees of its students. The most important bequest was that received from Dr. William J. Walker; also generous bequests have been received from Ralph Huntington, James Hayward, Powell Mason, James Savage, Nathaniel Nash, Henry Harris, James McGregor, and A. K. Welch.

The officers of the Institute at present are: President, William B. Rogers, LL.D.; Treasurer, John Cummings; Chairman of the Faculty, Professor John M. Ordway; Secretary of the Faculty, Professor Robert H. Richards. The number of professors and other officers of instruction is thirty-seven; the number of students is three hundred and fifty-six.

Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Children. — In 1839 an idiotic blind child was brought to our Institution for the Blind. He was not only unsound in mind, but infirm in body. Although not a fit subject for the Institution, he excited the sympathy of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, the superintendent, who decided to retain and try to improve the unfortunate child; and he was convinced beyond doubt that idiots were capable of being improved in their bodily habits, in their mental capacities, and even in their spiritual natures.

An appeal was made to the Legislature urging upon its members that considerations of duty, humanity, and economy all demanded that the condition of idiots at public charge should be inquired into with a view to its speedy improvement. The result of this appeal was the appointment of a commission, of which Dr. Howe was chairman; and their report induced the Legislature to appropriate $2,500 annually for three years for the training and teaching of ten idiotic children. An arrangement was soon made with the trustees of the Institution for the Blind to assume the responsibility, and to Dr. Howe was intrusted the carrying out of the experiment, which proved so successful that at the end of two years the Legislature doubled the appropriation, and made provision for converting the experimental school into a permanent one.

Samuel Eliot, LL.D., is President, and Edward Jarvis, M.D., Vice-President of the Board of Trustees. Dr. Jarvis is also Superintendent of the Institution.

Boston University. — This institution was founded in 1869, and owes its origin to the combined efforts and beneficence of Isaac Rich, Jacob Sleeper, and the late Lee Claflin, father of Governor Claflin. Mr. Rich bequeathed to it the larger part of an estate valued by the official appraisers after his death at over $1,700,000. The plan of this institution is unique and comprehensive, including colleges, professional schools, and a department of universal post-graduate instruction called a "School of All Sciences." The first of these are designed to prepare students for the higher industries and arts of civilization and for the study of the learned professions; the

second, to qualify them theoretically and practically for professional life; the third, including and supplementing the general or non-technical instruction of the professional schools, to be a universal and non-professional school of elective post-graduate studies with special degrees, scholarships, and fellowships.

Of the colleges, three have already been organized, — that of Liberal Arts, in 1873; of Music, in 1872; of Agriculture, supplied by the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, associated with the University in 1875. The College of Liberal Arts answers to what is called in many universities "the academic department." Its courses of instruction qualify students for the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of philosophy. The College of Music is designed for students of the average proficiency of graduates of the best American conservatories. The regular courses of instruction for vocalists, pianists, organists, and orchestral performers extend through four years.

In 1871 the trustees of the Boston Theological Seminary — the oldest and largest of the theological schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church — legally conveyed and transferred their property and trusts to the University, the assets amounting to nearly a quarter of a million dollars. The school is open to candidates of all Christian denominations, and was the first to give to women regular theological instruction and degrees.

The School of Law was opened in 1872. Under the administration of the genial and scholarly George S. Hillard, its first dean, aided by his friend and successor Judge Bennett, Judges Thomas, Curtis, Lord, Lowell, Foster, and other eminent lecturers, the school quickly became one of the largest in the country.

In 1873 the trustees of the New-England Female Medical College — said to be the oldest of the class in the world — leased their building to the University for a medical school; and in 1874, in accordance with a special Act of the Legislature, transferred all their properties and franchises to the University Corporation, and the College was thus merged into the broader co-educative University School of Medicine. This department also had a rapid growth, so that as early as 1875 the aggregate of theological, legal, and medical students in the University exceeded that of any other American university.

In 1874 negotiations were opened with the authorities of the National University of Athens, and of the Royal University of Rome, which resulted in securing to the members of the graduate department, or School of All Sciences, of Boston University free instruction in those institutions.

The University has already contributed largely to elevate the standards of professional education and of degrees in this country. Notwithstanding its youth and financial limitations, its requisitions for admission to the College of Liberal Arts, and to the classical degrees, are higher than in any other American college.[1] Its minimum requirement for theological graduation and degrees is higher than in any other. It was the first to present and maintain a three-years' graded course of instruction in law, and its requirements for the higher legal degrees are unequalled. In medicine it was the first to present courses of instruction four years in duration, and to re-instate the baccalaureate degrees of medicine and surgery.

A fundamental idea with the founders of the University was that such an institution should be equally for both sexes. Hence in all departments the principles of co-education are thoroughly carried out. Men and women are welcomed to all the advantages of the University on precisely the same conditions, — not only to the bench of

[1] Since the above was written, the University has accepted, as alternatives, the requisitions recently agreed upon by the New-England College Association, in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics.

the pupil, but also to the chair of the professor, and even to membership in the governing corporation.

Throughout Christendom the age of exclusive male education is fast disappearing; and in duly representing and advocating the broader movement of the new era, Boston University, both by its example and its publications, has played no unimportant part. Thus far it has carried out its comprehensive plan with distinguished success. It has already graduated over one thousand students. During the past five years its annual attendance has exceeded six hundred. The proportion of female students has gradually risen until they now constitute about thirty per cent of the whole. Already in 1875 the number annually graduated from the schools of theology, law, and medicine exceeded that from the corresponding schools of Harvard or Yale. Its financial condition is prosperous, notwithstanding its great loss by the Boston fire of 1872. The President of the Institution is William F. Warren, S.T.D., LL.D., son of Mather Warren, of a family connected with the Mathers, Whites, and Cottons of Boston's early history. Ex-Governor William Claflin, LL.D., is President of the Board of Trustees.

The deans of the several departments are: James E. Latimer, S.T.D., Theology; Edmund H. Bennett, LL.D., Law; I. Tisdale Talbot, M.D., Medicine; John W. Lindsay, S.T.D., All Sciences; Eben. Tourjee, Mus.D., Music; Hon. Levi Stockbridge, Agriculture; John W. Lindsay, S.T.D., Liberal Arts. The number of officers of instruction and government is ninety-six.

Boston College. — Boston College, under the care of Fathers of the Society of Jesus, was incorporated in 1863, with power "to confer such degrees as are usually conferred by colleges in Massachusetts, except medical degrees." Although a Catholic institution it is not a proselyting one, students from other denominations being received, and not required to participate in any distinctive Catholic exercises; and no influence is exerted to induce a change of belief. The institution is supported by fees for instruction and by scholarships founded by friends of the College. The professors receive no compensation except their board and clothing; they devote their lives to this work, and look for rewards beyond. The schools began unpretendingly, and have not yet reached any great proportions; but one fact is noticeable, — since the year they were opened the number of pupils has been steadily increasing, and is now two hundred and fifty. The course of study includes the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages, mathematics, chemistry, English literature, mental and natural philosophy. In one department this institution, young as it is, affords an example which might be followed with advantage in other colleges, — the scholars are taught to converse in Latin, and to discuss philosophical subjects in that language. Its President is the Rev. Jeremiah O'Connor, S.J.

Charles K. Dillaway

CHAPTER II.

LIBRARIES IN BOSTON.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,

Librarian of Harvard University.

THE town, or possibly the colony, established in Boston a collection of books for public use sometime before the Indian outbreak of 1675. Robert Keayne, in his curious will [1] dated in 1653, beside leaving money for building a town house, mentions a room for a library, and books for it, as among the public provisions which he desired to make; [2] but we have no trace of such a library earlier than the bequest of John Oxenbridge in his will dated 12th day of the first month, 1673–74, by which he leaves a few books "to the public library in Boston," etc.; [3] and not long after, Feb. 16, 1676, a London bookseller sends tidings to Increase Mather of an invoice of books which he had shipped, hoping Mather would "recommend some to your public library." [4] There is in the Boston Athenæum a copy of Samuel Mather's *Testimony against Idolatry and Superstition*, which was printed at Cambridge in 1670; and upon this copy is inscribed, "ffor the Publike Library at Boston, 1674." In 1686 the Town Records mention "the library room at the east end of the town house;" and in Sewall's diary [5] Andros is recorded as meeting the ministers, the same year, "in the library" at the Town House. In 1695, March 11, there is another reference to the library of the town. We have only such fragmentary knowledge of this earliest public library; and whatever it may have been, it was probably the foundation of that accumulation of "ancient books," whose destruction is mentioned at the time of the burning of the Town House in 1747.

The Library of Harvard College had been begun on the death of its first benefactor, in 1638, with his bequest of three hundred and twenty volumes,[6] and was added to from time to time by the care of its friends. The Mathers were seemingly the largest accumulators of books in their day; but few or none of their treasures, so far as we know, passed into the

[1] Vol. I. p. 237.
[2] Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 400.
[3] Vol. I. p. 501.
[4] Vol. I. p. 501.
[5] *Sewall Papers*, i. 162.
[6] Vol. I. p. 455.

College collection, and if any did, they disappeared in the destruction of that library which came so heavily upon the College and the community in 1764.[1] What Increase Mather inherited or began, Cotton Mather augmented; and a collection which excited Dunton's admiration[2] in 1686 grew to be the chief wealth of the family, numbering seven or eight thousand volumes, and was in the end consumed in part, if not wholly, in 1775, at Charlestown, during the battle of Bunker Hill.[3]

But while Harvard College Library was growing, because it had friends in England as well as in the colony, one of its chief foreign benefactors was urging its authorities to chain their books to desks, as they did at the Bodleian, to prevent their being carried away. This was in 1725;[4] but that very year Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh was founding a circulating library, — the earliest of its kind, — for the purpose of allowing its books to be taken to firesides; and a few years later the earlier removal of Franklin to Philadelphia gave that town in 1731, instead of Boston, the credit of establishing the first subscription library in America, — now the flourishing Philadelphia Library.[5] It was more than thirty years after this, in 1764, that John Mein, a Scotchman, opened in Boston its first circulating library of twelve hundred volumes.[6]

Meanwhile, however, the town, by virtue of the scholarly sympathy of Thomas Prince, had in effect received the gift of a library. He had begun to form a collection of books upon entering college in 1703, and the design subsequently took shape in two separate schemes. He went abroad after graduation and continued his collecting. Upon his return, he became a colleague pastor of the Old South, and then his two aims developed. The later of these objects was to form what was practically a theological collection, which he terms in his will, "my books that are in Latin, Greek, and the Oriental languages," — a collection dating from 1718. The other object he defines in his will as the gathering of "a number of books, pamphlets, maps, papers, in print and manuscript, either published in New England or pertaining to its history and public affairs, to which collection I have given [he says] the name of the New England Library." It was in books of this character that he put his book-plate: "Begun to be collected by Thomas Prince upon his entring Harvard College, July 6, 1703;" and in his will he says regarding them: "I made the collection from a public view, and desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved, which otherwise would be lost;" and he enjoins "that no person shall borrow any book or paper therefrom, but that any person, whom the pastors and

[1] Vol. II. p. 432. See also *Public Libraries in the U. S.*, Washington, 1876, p. 22, — a vast accumulation of information, gathered under the supervision of the Comm'r of Education; but its contents might well be condensed into a hand-book.

[2] Vol. I. p. xviii.

[3] "The loss of Mr. Mather's library, which was a collection of books and manuscripts, made by himself, his father, his grandfather, and great-grandfather, and was really very curious and valuable, is irreparable." — *John Adams to Abigail Adams*, July 7, 1775.

[4] The first printed catalogue of the College Library had been issued two years before, in 1723; and in Vol. II. p. 413, will be found some examination of its contents.

[5] Vol. II. p. 279.

[6] Ibid., pp. xix. 433.

deacons [of the Old South] shall approve of, may have access thereto, and take copies therefrom."

That during Prince's life the library was publicly used seems evident from notices in the Boston newspapers for the return of its books; and after his death (1758), when by his will the books were transferred to the custody of the deacons of the Old South, it is well known that Hutchinson and other scholars availed themselves of it;[1] as indeed they might have used the accumulations of the other learned men of their day, including those of Hutchinson himself, one of the most assiduous of collectors in the colony's history. The Probate Office yields us not a few inventories of private collections occasionally dispersed by the death of their proprietors. In 1717 the library of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton was scattered by public auction, — the first instance, it is thought, of such a dispersement in Boston.[2]

At the era of Independence (1776), it has been reckoned that there were twenty-nine collections of books, fairly called in some sort public ones, in the colonies, and they contained in the whole less than fifty thousand volumes. The war was not over when the foundation of one of our most important collections of books in physical science was laid with the organization of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1780.[3] Before 1800 there had been from twenty to thirty such libraries additionally formed, and of these one third were in Massachusetts. In the last decade of that century two libraries, still flourishing, were established. The first of these followed soon upon the founding, in 1791, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose property it is.[4] The other, "The Boston Library," as its act of incorporation in 1794 terms it, is a proprietary library, with a

[1] Of its later vicissitudes something has already been said in Vol. II. pp. 221, 426; and a fuller account will be found, together with something of the history of some of its manuscript and other treasures, in the present writer's introduction to the *Catalogue of the Prince Library*, Boston, 1870. Books with Prince's name in them, and sometimes with his book-plate, are not infrequently found in some of the choicer collections of Americana throughout the land, and attest the depredations to which the collection has been subjected. The *Brinley Catalogue* shows such. See also *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1879, p. 173, from which it would appear that Prince, at one time at least, made sale of some of his books.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 419; also p 428, for notices of some law libraries. Joseph Green, the Boston wit, is said to have had the largest private library in New England in his day.

[3] See the account of the Academy in Mr. Dillaway's chapter in this volume, and the constant reference to its members in Professor Lovering's. Its first printed catalogue was issued in 1802.

[4] This society was not incorporated till 1794, and the course of its inception and early progress can be traced in its *Proceedings*, vol. i. Of its ten original members, eight were Boston men, — the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D.; the Rev. John Eliot, D.D.; the Rev. James Freeman, D.D; the Hon. James Sullivan, LL.D; the Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D.; the Hon. William Tudor; Thomas Wallcut; and the Hon. George Richard Minot. The other two were the Hon. James Winthrop of Cambridge, and the Hon. William Baylies of Dighton. Its presidents to the present time have all been Boston men, — James Sullivan, Christopher Gore, John Davis, Thomas L. Winthrop, James Savage, Robert C. Winthrop. The first catalogue of its library was printed in 1796 (1,000 titles); a second in 1811 (4,000 titles); and a new one in 1859–60, when it contained 18,000 volumes. The Dowse Collection, formed of English authors chiefly, fine editions in fine bindings, 5,000 volumes in all, was bequeathed by its owner, Thomas Dowse, currier, of Cambridge, in 1856; and a separate catalogue of it was printed the same year. See Mr. Cummings's chapter in Vol. III.

select body of share-holders, and now numbers about thirty thousand volumes.[1]

During the early years of the present century the deficiencies of our libraries began to be remarked upon, since research was stopped in every direction by want of books. It was not, however, a time of munificent support of libraries.[2] In 1817 it was estimated that in Boston and Cambridge all the public and semi-public libraries could not present over sixty thousand volumes, including their large duplication of one another.

In 1804 the beginning of our principal law library, now known as the Social Law Library, was made, when Theophilus Parsons and others undertook a collection of such books intended for common use among a few lawyers associated together. From an humble start, it has grown by assessments of money, by gifts of books, and by appropriations of funds from Suffolk County. It was incorporated in 1814.[3] Meanwhile the principal of the proprietary libraries had been started in 1807, growing out of an organization called the Anthology Club, which became finally the parent of the Boston Athenæum, of which William Smith Shaw was the first librarian.[4] The collection has always grown healthily. In 1820 it held nearly 20,000 volumes, and in 1822 it was housed in the mansion in Pearl Street, bequeathed by Mr. James Perkins; and here it remained till 1849, when its present house on Beacon Street was first occupied. It has absorbed from time to time various minor collections,[5] has received munificent donations of money,[6] and has been in the charge of librarians distinguished in their profession.[7]

[1] It has at present no serviceable printed catalogue; but such lists have been issued in 1795, 1797, 1802, 1807, 1815 (7,000 volumes), 1817 (8,000 volumes), 1824, 1830, 1835, 1837, 1844 (10,000 volumes), 1849, 1855. This library should not be confounded with the later Boston *Public* Library.

[2] For the first third of this century, a great library like the British Museum spent less than £600 yearly for books.

[3] Its printed catalogues are dated 1824 (1,500 vols.), 1849, 1865.

[4] See *History of the Boston Athenæum* by Josiah Quincy; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* i. 391; and Mr. Cummings's chapter in Vol. III. The original trustees were Theophilus Parsons, John Davis, John Lowell, William Emerson, J. T. Kirkland, P. Thacher, A. M. Walter, W. S. Shaw, R. H. Gardiner, J. S. Buckminster, and O. Rich, and their first rooms were in Scollay Building.

[5] The library of King's Chapel, which began with a present of books from the King in 1698; the theological library of the Boston Association of Ministers, which its printed catalogue, in 1808, calls the fourth social library in Boston; the Boston Medical Library, of which a catalogue was printed in 1818; and the library of the Massachusetts Scientific Library Association. Of the collection first named the Rev. H. W. Foote gives an account in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1881, p. 423, with a register of the titles. The books were stamped on their covers, DE BIBLIOTHECA DE BOSTON. One hundred and ten volumes remain.

[6] Principal among them are $160,000 from William B. Howes in 1879; $25,000 from Nathan Appleton in 1853; $20,000 each from John Bromfield in 1846 and from George Bemis in 1879; $8,000 in 1826 each from Colonel Thomas H. Perkins and James Perkins (son of the James before named) conditioned upon a subscription of a like sum, which was obtained; and $5,000 in 1858 from Thomas W. Ward.

[7] Mr. Charles Folsom, the literary mentor of so many distinguished Boston writers, was for ten years its head, — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December 1872; and (by Theophilus Parsons) April, 1873. He was succeeded in 1856 by Mr. William F. Poole, who had had the charge of the Mercantile Library, and is now the librarian of the Chicago Public Library. He is well known as a student in American history (see his chapter on "Witchcraft," in Vol. II.) and for his labors in the present, as well as in the past, in his *Index to Periodical Literature*. He was followed in 1869 by Mr. Charles A. Cutter, the present librarian, to whom the fraternity of librarians award the

To Boston belongs the credit of having started the first of a class of libraries which were of parallel growth with the movements in education that characterized the early half of the present century, — libraries which were intended mainly to help the self-education of the younger members of the commercial classes.[1] The Boston Mercantile Library was begun in 1820, antedating by a few months the similar institution in New York, and by a year that in Philadelphia, both still flourishing; while the Boston institution, after many mischances, having the helpful encouragement at times of eminent men, and floated for some years by the most popular system of public lectures in the town, succumbed in 1877 (when it contained twenty-three thousand volumes) before the progressive work of the Public Library, and became the nucleus of its South End branch.[2] Mr. William Wood started during the same year (1820) a somewhat similar institution, the Mechanics' Apprentices' Library, — which is still, however, with its five thousand volumes, doing a quiet work.[3]

The Legislature of the State had voted in 1811 to exchange its documents with other States; and Congress, in 1813, agreeing to furnish its publications, a collection of books was gradually formed at the State House, which grew to such proportions that in 1826 it was formally organized as a library. Though some of the States, even during the Revolutionary War, had begun libraries at their Capitals, the law of Massachusetts in 1811 is conceded to have been the most noticeable cause which has instigated the present system of State Libraries.[4] Under the fostering care of the Legislature, and with the aid of the reciprocity system, the State Library has now grown to be of large size, when we consider that its scope is chiefly that of legislative productions, with the addition of works on the history of the country. Its expansion has recently rendered necessary an enlargement of its rooms in the State House.[5]

We must assign to the period now under consideration three significant special collections, still in full usefulness, — that of the Handel and Haydn Society, started in 1815, rich in the works and scores of the musical profession; that of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis-

headship in the science of cataloguing. His *Rules for a printed Dictionary Catalogue*, published as Part II. of the report of the Bureau of Education (Washington, 1876) on *The Public Libraries of the United States*, is the most exhaustive survey of an intricate subject which has ever been made, and is recognized as such in Europe and in this country. He is the present editor of the *Library Journal*, and has lately begun the arrangement of the library on a novel plan. The first catalogue of the Athenæum was printed in 1809 (5,750 volumes); other issues appeared in 1827, 1829, 1834, and 1840, with smaller supplements of later dates, which have now the form of an annotated bulletin of accessions. The late Mr. Charles Russell Lowell began the preparation of a final critical catalogue under Mr. Poole, but his death threw the completion and printing of it into Mr. Cutter's hands, who issued vol. i. in 1874. This monument of bibliographical scholarship is not yet finished.

[1] F. B. Perkins on "Mercantile Libraries" in the *Report on Public Libraries*, 1876, p. 378.

[2] The Mercantile Library printed catalogues in 1844, 1848, 1854, 1858, 1869.

[3] It printed catalogues in 1847 and 1873.

[4] Dr. H. A. Homes on "State Libraries" in the *Report on Public Libraries*, 1876, p. 292.

[5] It printed catalogues in 1831, 1839, 1846, 1858, and 1880, — the last, ample and creditable. The library at present has forty-six thousand volumes, ten thousand pamphlets, two hundred volumes of manuscripts, and is under the charge of Mr. C. B. Tillinghast as acting librarian.

sions, beginning in 1825; and that of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, established in 1828.[1]

The decade from 1830 to 1840 was not prolific in new attempts. The small beginnings, however, of what is now the excellent library of the Boston Society of Natural History were undertaken in 1831. Harvard College Library had grown to be of considerable value; but President Quincy in 1833 failed to influence the Legislature to protect it by a suitable building, and Gore Hall rose from private munificence.[2] In 1837 an article in the *North American Review* drew attention to the poverty of American libraries. In 1838 Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, in the city council, offered some suggestions about the preservation of documents; but no action was taken. In 1837 a movement, copied after action in New York State, had been set on foot by Horace Mann to establish district-school libraries; and up to 1850, when the law was repealed, near one hundred thousand volumes were accumulated in over two thousand such collections, — which, however, did not prove to have vitality, and little or no trace of the system is now observable. A more fruitful movement was preparing.

As early as 1825 there had been a scheme of co-operation proposed, by which all the libraries and allied institutions in Boston should be united under one roof,[3] but it came to nought. The next effort was to proceed from one who had acquired some notoriety as a French conjurer, M. Alexandre. Preferring to be known by his patronymic in this more serious business, M. Vattemare, as Guizot said, entered as early as 1830, "with the energy of a man possessed of a fixed thought," upon a mission to build up libraries through international exchanges. On his second visit to America in 1840–41, securing the countenance of Abbott Lawrence, he introduced his scheme to Congress.[4] John Quincy Adams gave him a god-speed to Boston, and in April, 1841, the *Daily Advertiser* and other papers were writing up his project. President Quincy encouraged him, and saw "but few obstacles and great advantages" in the grand conglomerate institution with its great public library, which should gather together all the collections and unify the intellectual movements of the city. Distinguished citizens called a public meeting. Edwin P. Whipple moved resolutions of affiliation in the Mercantile Library Association. Judge Story smiled upon the undertaking. At the meeting, May 5, the mayor, Jonathan Chapman, presided; a committee was appointed, and fourteen associations were invited to enter the league. A showing was made that $100,000, to be raised by subscription with aid from the city, would be sufficient to begin with. A committee of the Athenæum (W. T. Andrews, Edward Wigglesworth, and N. I. Bowditch) first uttered the sentiment of those who had kept

[1] It printed catalogues in 1867 and 1873.

[2] It was first occupied in 1840, the books then numbering forty thousand.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* i. 384. The younger Buckminster had had dreams of one grand united library and museum as early as 1806. His own library of three thousand volumes was the most valuable private collection in Boston, in the early years of this century. It was dispersed by public sale after his death. *Lives of the Buckminsters*, 323, 398, 438.

[4] *Doc. XXVI. Cong. 1st Sess., Nos.* 50, 586.

J. Lowell [1]

outside the range of Vattemare's enthusiasm, and held that institution in opposition; and the fever subsided almost as rapidly as it had arisen.

The agitation, however, had induced the public to look at what their library facilities really were. Taking all kinds of libraries, some of them insignificant, and divided into circulating (10), social (36), and school (15),

[1] This cut follows a portrait by Stuart, painted about 1824, and owned by Mr. John A. Lowell, by whose kind permission it is engraved. Mr. Lowell was one of the founders of the Athenæum; later, its president; and the original draft of its charter still exists, in his hand. Quincy's *History of the Boston Athenæum*. The Lowell family figures so largely in several chapters of this work, that it may be desirable to make clear here their kinship: —

Judge JOHN LOWELL,
b. 1743; H. C. 1760; removed to Boston in 1777; lived where the Albion Building stands; later in Roxbury, where he died in 1802.

John, b. 1769; H. C. 1786; d. 1840; his likeness given herewith.
John Amory.

Francis C. b. 1775; H. C. 1793; the town, *Lowell*, named for him; d. 1817, at Boston.
John, b 1799; d. 1836; founder of Lowell Institute.

The Rev. Charles.
Charles Russell.
General C. R. Lowell. (See Vol. III.)
James Russell.
Robert Trail Spence

it was found that Boston, then containing eighty-one thousand nine hundred and eighty-four inhabitants, had, of a somewhat public kind, about sixty libraries, mostly very small, containing in the aggregate one hundred and fourteen thousand six hundred and eighty-three volumes, — largely duplicates, of course, but still sufficient, if the College Library at Cambridge be added, to place Boston of all American cities far ahead for such facilities.

Meanwhile, Vattemare was pushing his favorite project of international exchanges, and in return for some gifts of books which had been forwarded through him to the Municipal Council of Paris, the Mayor received in 1843 a set of about fifty volumes, — the incipient collection, which, growing a little afterward by accessions from the same source, in a few years, under other auspices, became the nucleus of our great Public Library.[1]

It was certainly now high time that something should be done, to enable American scholars to pursue studies in a creditable way. Judge Story might well doubt if America could furnish a single library where Gibbon's references could be verified. George Livermore said, in 1850, that all our libraries did not enable us to write the history of the *New England Primer*. Ticknor and Prescott could not pursue their studies without gathering libraries for the purpose. Professor Jewett, in 1847, said that not one American library could meet the wants of a student in any department. It was this poverty of our public collections which induced the formation of not a few important private collections in different parts of the country; and they have exemplified the truth expressed by Thomas Watts of the British Museum, that the chief use of private libraries is to feed public collections.[2]

The town of Orange, Mass., as early as 1846 had made a small appropriation to support a town library, though no enabling act had at that time been passed by the State Legislature. In 1847 President Wayland of Brown

[1] Whatever we think of Vattemare, whether we call him an enthusiast, or something worse or better, we must recognize his contagious energy, which induced State after State to succumb to his representations, so that by 1853 he had brought one hundred and thirty libraries and institutions within his operations; and between 1847 and 1851 had brought from France for American libraries 30,655 volumes, beside maps, engravings, etc. See *U. S. House Doc.* 1844, No. 539; 1848, Nos. 99, 590, 839; *Senate Doc.* 1848, No. 46; 1850, No. 126; *Mass. Senate Doc.* 1845, Nos. 26, 40; 1850, No. 117; *Mass. House Doc.* 1849, No. 151. It is certain that Vattemare considered the pioneers of 1841 as the originators of our great Public Library. The Hon. R. C. Winthrop in 1855, in his address at the laying the corner-stone of the Boylston Street building, in some sort recognized this claim. When the same gentleman spoke, Jan. 1, 1858, at the dedication of the building, he said that he left it to others to "do justice to the original projectors and founders of the institution;" but no one on that occasion attempted to indicate them, because unseemly feelings of disparagement and pretension had been shown here and there over the question of individual relations to the project. The papers growing out of this 1841 movement are now, by the act both of Vattemare and Mr. Quincy, in the Public Library. The exchange system gradually lost favor. George Livermore discouraged it in 1850; Panizzi disapproved it; Henry Stevens showed the cost of it to be much more than the return. All this time Guizot and some others were convinced of its great value. Vattemare continued some fitful performances in this way till his death in 1864. His son proposed to continue the arrangement; but the State Department at Washington, seeking the advice of Professor Jewett, fortunately failed to be again led into it.

[2] Of the chief private libraries of thirty years ago, the Force Collection (Washington) is now a part of the Library of Congress; the Lenox (New York) has become a public library; the Barton (of New York) and a principal part of the Ticknor (Boston) collections are now in the Public Library of this city.

University offered five hundred dollars to the town of Wayland, Mass., provided an equal sum should be granted by the town. The question of the legality of such an appropriation was raised, and it resulted in rendering each tax-payer's burden voluntary, not compulsory. In this way the library was established, and was opened in 1850. Under this state of affairs, a representative from that town introduced into the State Legislature, in 1851, a bill to legalize within moderate limits a tax-levy for the founding and support of public libraries by towns. It became a law, and was subsequently so modified that in the end (1866) all limitation as to amount was removed, and later still (1870) even parts of townships could combine for such purposes.

But before this general action Boston had taken steps in the same direction. Its city council had appointed in 1847 a joint committee on a library. Its mayor (Josiah Quincy, Jr.) had offered $5,000 for such a library, on condition that $10,000 should be added; but the city council and the public neglected the offer. On March 12 of the next year (1848), however, a special act of the Legislature was passed which authorized the city of Boston to found and maintain a library; and on April 3 the city accepted the act. Efforts were at once made to effect a union of interests with the Athenæum,[1] with a view to making that library the foundation of the new library; but the efforts failed, and, it seems now, happily. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop gave, in 1849, the first books under the new incentive. The next year, August 5, the Hon. John P. Bigelow, then mayor of the city, agreed with his friends that the sum of $1,000, which had been raised as a personal testimonial to him, should go toward a library fund, — and this proved to be the first gift of money. Some time before this the Hon. Edward Everett had signified his intention of making a more important gift, but (through no fault of Mr. Everett) it was not consummated till two days after Mr. Bigelow's; and this was a thousand volumes of United States documents, the fruit of his collecting at Washington, and which, with the subsequent accession of the collection of Josiah Quincy, and other additions, has formed what is considered the best set of such documents in existence.

The accumulations having now become considerable, a librarian (Mr. Edward Capen) was appointed May 13, 1852, by the Mayor, who anticipated an action properly belonging to its Board of Trustees, which was organized only a few days later, May 24, when Mr. Everett became its first president.[2] On July 6 this board made a preliminary report, sketching with some fulness the idea which they entertained of what such a library should be. The body of this report was drawn by George Ticknor,[3] who threw him-

[1] Quincy's *History of Boston Athenæum*, p. 186.

[2] Mr. Everett was succeeded in 1865 by George Ticknor; who in turn was followed in 1866 by William W. Greenough, the present president, who has served already as trustee a term of twenty-five years, marked by a devoted interest in the library's welfare.

[3] There is an account of Mr. Ticknor's connection with the library in the *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, vol. ii. ch. xv. See also a paper by the present writer in *Scribner's Monthly*, 1872. The *Annual Reports* of the library are the best summary of its progress and register of its administrative development.

self heartily into the movement, with a spirit of progress and liberality much in advance of what some of his associates of the board, particularly Mr. Everett, thought desirable. The views of the report were so acceptable that they elicited some generous responses from the citizens; but it was destined to produce the most striking results in the mind of a distinguished citizen of London, then at the head of the great banking-house of Baring Brothers. This gentleman, Joshua Bates, was a native of Weymouth in this State, and had suffered from the want of public facilities for reading when, as a young man, he was making his way in Boston. The city was now applying to his firm for a loan; and, as evidences of its prosperity, had sent to him various documents, among others this report of July 6. He recognized among the signers of it the names of gentlemen in whom he had confidence; and remembering his early experience, and incited by kindly feelings toward a city which was almost the place of his nativity, he promptly, on October 1, communicated to the Mayor his willingness to expend $50,000 for books, if the city would provide a building. A week before this letter was received, the city council had passed the first library ordinance. The offer of Mr. Bates made sure at once what was likely, however, in due time to have been attained; for it was not then known that the Hon. Jonathan Phillips had before this (Sept. 28, 1849) drawn a will bequeathing $20,000 "to the maintenance of a free public library." The same gentleman now, under the impulse of the general feeling, made a separate, immediate gift of $10,000 "for the purchase of books."[1] Thus encouraged, the trustees started a reading-room in Mason Street on March 20, 1854, and on May 2 a library connected with it was also opened. In the following November a commission was appointed to erect the library building, with the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop as chairman, and the corner-stone was laid Sept. 17, 1855. The building was completed and dedicated Jan. 1, 1858.[2] Meanwhile the collection of popular books in Mason Street had been successfully administered under Mr. Capen; while a rich accumulation of the higher class of books had been constantly arriving from Mr. Bates, whose agents purchased according to lists sent from Boston. These accessions were made ready for future shelving in a building in Boylston Place, hired for the purpose. To organize this most important part of the library, and to give the chief control of the whole to a skilled hand, an ordinance of the city was passed, March, 1853, creating the office of superintendent;

[1] This was on April 14, 1853. The other sum was received, after his death, April, 1861; and the two to-day constitute, after Mr. Bates's $50,000, the largest single fund of the library. In addition to this fund Mr. Bates also spent $50,000 for books. See *A Memorial to Joshua Bates from the City of Boston*, 1865.

The other principal money gifts have been: $10,000 under Hon. Abbott Lawrence's will; $4,000 from Miss Mary P. Townsend's executors; $10,000 from Charlotte Harris for the benefit of the Charlestown branch; $4,000 from Mr. George Ticknor; $5,000 from Hon. Henry L. Pierce; $1,500 from Dr. Samuel A. Green; and $1,000 each from Samuel Appleton, Esq. and The Franklin Club.

[2] It had cost, with the land, $365,000. A volume was issued, giving the *Proceedings of the Dedication*, which includes a history of the movement and description of the building, together with the addresses by Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Everett, and Mayor Rice.

CHARLES COFFIN JEWETT.[1]

while an act of the Legislature removed the limitations of expenditures which the previous act had fixed.

To fill the new office, choice was made of Charles Coffin Jewett, who thus became the first general executive of the library. Under his supervi-

[1] This cut follows a photograph now in the library. Mr. Jewett was born in Lebanon, Maine, in 1816; graduated at Brown University in 1835; and pursued Oriental and theological studies at Andover with the intention of becoming a missionary, but so narrow a chance as missing the sailing of a vessel changed the current of his life. He became librarian of Brown University in 1841, and subsequently, in the same institution, a professor of modern languages and literature, still keeping the librarianship, and visiting Europe for the purchase of books. In 1848 he resigned, to become assistant secretary and librarian of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. While here he published the earliest general survey of American libraries, — *Notices of Public Libraries in the United States*, — which remained the only considerable account (supplemented by another, by the present writer, in the *Report of the Boston Public Library*, in 1869) till the bureau of education issued their encyclopedic volume in 1876. He also proposed a system of national cataloguing, through the agency of the Smithsonian Institution, in stereo-

sion the library flourished for ten years. It received, — beyond the ordinary accessions from its funds and casual gifts, — first, in 1858, the library which had been formed by the late Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch,[1] and which, since his death, had been maintained by his sons as a public library of reference; then, in 1860, that of the Rev. Theodore Parker;[2] several special collections, including ancient classics and books on Molière and in the Provençal literature, from Mr. Ticknor; the Prince Library, by deposit (a collection referred to earlier in this chapter); and the earnest and promise of the Patent Specifications of Great Britain, a donation still in progress. The library funds were also considerably increased.[3]

In the autumn and early winter of 1858 the reading-room and the lower-hall library of the new building were opened.[4] The main collection of the upper hall was not made accessible till 1861.[5] Mr. Jewett added to a careful bibliographical training an inventive mind and great industry; and under his care the library developed a system suited to a large circulation, with all the attendant and necessary complexity of checks which could render that circulation safe while being free. It was not long before the library became the centre of experience the most valuable for all charged with similar duties, far and near.[6]

typing titles for distribution; but it was never practically applied, except in an experimental way. In the diverse interpretations of Smithson's will, Professor Jewett argued for a great library as the most efficient method for the diffusion of knowledge; and Professor Henry, for exclusive devotion to science and publication of treatises. This led to a controversy, under these champions, between the literary and scientific classes of that day, acting through their representatives in the Board of Regents. It resulted in a numerical defeat of Mr. Jewett's side, and led to his resignation and that of Mr. Rufus Choate, who had urgently supported his views in the Board of Regents. The necessary sequel was the transfer of the library, which Mr. Jewett had gathered, to the library of Congress.

[1] Largely mathematical, two thousand five hundred and fifty volumes; and increased since 1877 by a yearly gift of $500 from Mr. J. Ingersoll Bowditch, a son of the original owner.

[2] Numbering eleven thousand and sixty-one volumes, recently increased by her own books and a reserve kept by his widow during her lifetime.

[3] See an earlier note.

[4] A catalogue of the Mason Street Library had been printed in 1854, and the original lower-hall catalogue was issued in 1858, on a plan since widely followed, which is the fruit of Mr. Jewett's discrimination.

[5] It was opened with seventy-four thousand volumes, and, with the lower hall, the entire library now held ninety-seven thousand three hundred and eighty-six volumes. The first volume of what is now known as the *Bates Hall Index* (catalogue) was issued at this time; and it was the most advanced specimen of library cataloguing which had then been produced in America. Before its *Supplement* was issued in 1866 Mr. Bates had died, Sept. 24, 1864, and the upper hall was then styled the Bates Hall. It was a just recognition of what he had done for the library, and happily fell short of the unwise proceeding, so common, in giving to an institution the name of a prominent or even chief benefactor. It usually happens that such prominence finds no one later anxious to dispute it. We are not without melancholy instances of such handicapping among libraries in this country.

[6] Among the more important of the devices which this library has bestowed upon others was the displacement of the old traditional method of recording loans, on a ledger system, by a plan of slips, introduced by Mr. Jewett in 1866, but improved upon to insure much greater expedition, as experience grew. The card system for the catalogue was due rather to Mr. Folsom of the Athenæum, but under Mr. Jewett it became much better known, and is now widely adopted. It is not by any means certain, however, that it will continue to be so highly esteemed as it has been in the past. What has been called the "decimal system," in the arrangement of the books on the shelves, was due to one of the trustees, Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, who, however, failed to give it all the flexibility which belongs to it, and which renders it in other hands far better in adaptation than in the hands

Mr. Jewett died suddenly on Jan. 9, 1868. The shock was a severe one to the library. The assistant superintendent, Professor William E. Jillson,[1] was in confirmed ill health, and, declining advancement, soon died.

In the absence of any responsible executive the care of the institution devolved upon Mr. Justin Winsor, one of its trustees, who a few weeks later (February 25) was confirmed in the executive office by his late associates on the board.

Of Mr. Winsor's administration, which lasted for nearly ten years, his *Annual Reports*, and particularly his last, that for 1877, recapitulating the library's progress during his connection with it, must tell the story. The library increased from 144,000 volumes to 320,000. Its first branch was established at East Boston in 1871, and seven others were added.[2] Its circulation grew from 209,000 to nearly 1,200,000; the daily average issues from 754 to 4,000. The loss of books from unfaithful borrowers, meanwhile, had been so checked that while in 1867 it was more than one in a thousand, in 1877 it was one in ten thousand, delivered. The number of days on which the library was closed was reduced from eighty-six to the five legal holidays.[3] The capacity of the central building was doubled by changes in the interior and by extensions. In the printed catalogues some new developments took place, calculated to assist the readers to a more intelligent choice of books.[4]

of its projector. See *A Decimal System for the Arrangement and Administration of Libraries*, by N. B. Shurtleff, Boston, privately printed, 1856.

[1] Mr. Jillson was the head of the catalogue department, and was succeeded in this duty by Mr. William A. Wheeler, well known for his lexicographical labors, at whose death in October, 1874, the library suffered another great loss. His assistant, Mr. James L. Whitney, was advanced to the chief position, and has since held it.

[2] These were at South Boston in 1872–73; at Roxbury in 1873–74, where a union was made with the Fellowes Athenæum, and a new building erected; at Charlestown and Brighton, the same year, by assuming the charge of the libraries existing in those places before the annexation of them; at Dorchester in 1874–75; at the South End, where the Mercantile Library added their books, and at Jamaica Plain, in 1877–78. There was also a delivery at Dorchester Lower Mills, dependent on the Branch at Field's Corner. Since this date a delivery has been established at Roslindale, and a secondary branch at West Roxbury, upon the basis of the privately supported free library previously existing there.

[3] This was brought about by the introduction, in 1869, of a method of continuous examination of the library, instead of a periodic one, a process impracticable but for the slip system of registration of loans, and never before attempted in a large library, with the aim of keeping the circulating work in progress at the same time. Its success here has led to its general adoption.

[4] This system, which has earned the name of the Educational Catalogue, began first with an experiment of arranging the titles of historical fiction in their relation to chronological events, and by countries and persons. The first issue of the *Chronological Index to Historical Fiction* was made in 1871. A second enlarged edition appeared in 1875. It was subsequently embodied as notes to a *Catalogue of English Prose Fiction*, in 1877, in which were also given, as parallels, the books for the general reader, essential to give an historical narrative as an accompaniment to the imaginative rendering. Before this an annotated *Catalogue of History, Biography, and Travel* had been largely illustrated with notes for the reader's guidance. These catalogues, giving system and development to a plan barely indicated in any similar way before, had large effect upon the character of the reading in the popular departments of the library, and were copied and borrowed from throughout the country. The same system was also applied to the catalogues of the branches, notably to that of the Roxbury Branch. Just before Mr. Jewett's death he had issued the first number of a *Bulletin* of accessions, and this was afterward made the vehicle of bibliographical contributions pertaining to the higher as well as more popular literature. Notes of a more scholarly character, which were added in some degree to the *Prince*

It had soon become evident, after Mr. Bates's gift was assured, that the experiment of a free library was to be tried in Boston on a scale of considerable magnitude; but in the beginning no just conception of the possibilities of the scheme was entertained. When its building, calculated to hold less than a quarter of a million of volumes, was dedicated, the orator was thought to anticipate correctly when he proclaimed it to be sufficiently large for a century to come. In less than twenty years it was enlarged to hold twice its original complement. The library's success has proved the possibility of organizing, for very large free use, an extensive collection of books; and none of the free libraries of England, whose system is of even date of origin with the American, has wholly matched it in development. It soon became an anxious question how far its management could remain with safety in close connection with the city government. Some of its original friends and organizers very early saw signs of the coming evil, and thought the fatal issue was sure in due time to arrive. In 1877 it came. It was a period of general financial distress. The cost of maintaining the library was large, although its expenses had fallen far short of being commensurate with its increase of accessions and attendant business. In fact the cost of circulating its books, proportioned to the grand total of expenditure, was only two-fifths in 1877 of what it had been in 1867. It seemed to the best citizens, however, that the time had come to economize. The library had a management which was ready to apportion its expenses to the exigencies which had arisen; but the city council assumed to regulate the details of a method of economy, and so encroached upon the necessary functions of the management, and did it with such lack of knowledge, that confusion and injustice resulted. In this contingency Mr. Winsor resigned, and accepted the librarianship of Harvard University. The friends of the library rallied in its defence; and even the city council, on a sober second thought, did not oppose an application to the State Legislature for an act of incorporation for the library, which was in due time secured. This practically limited the interference of the city government to defining the gross limit of expenditures, so far as they were met from the city treasury.

During an interval of abeyance, one of its trustees, Dr. Samuel A. Green, at much personal sacrifice, filled its chief executive office until, in 1878, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, resigning his seat on the bench of the municipal court, was chosen its first librarian (as the officer was now called) under the new constitution.[1]

Catalogue, assumed much larger proportions in the *Ticknor Catalogue*. Arrangements for similar notes to the Shakespeare part of the *Barton Catalogue*, which had been made and tentatively exemplified during Mr. Winsor's term in his *Monthly Reports*, were abandoned with the change of administration in 1877.

[1] Under his administration a plan of much promise has been inaugurated, by which the library and the public schools are to work in unison in fostering, under direction, an inclination for reading among the younger classes. Methods of assisting readers in selecting books, which had long been contemplated (see *Report of* 1873, p. 30), but which had been checked by the control then exercised by the city council over the pay-roll, have been put in operation with success. In 1880, a petition asking for a grant of

It is necessary now to trace briefly the progress of the general library system of the city during this development of its crowning institution.

In 1850 Mr. George Livermore, in a timely article in the *North American Review*, had pointed out the deficiencies of our American libraries, and did much to draw attention to the subject. The period was a favorable one for forming libraries. The political disturbances in Europe had thrown vast collections of books upon the market; and Dr. Cogswell, who was at this time in Europe purchasing for the Astor Library, gave European collectors the first serious competition they had from America. Still prices ruled low. Although he was buying for a reference, rather than for a popular, library, he brought away from Europe sixty thousand volumes for sixty-three thousand dollars.

At this time (1850) the College Library at Cambridge, with its seventy-two thousand volumes, stood at the head of American libraries; and the census of this year gave Massachusetts seventy-eight libraries and about two hundred thousand volumes, — no other State approaching her.[1]

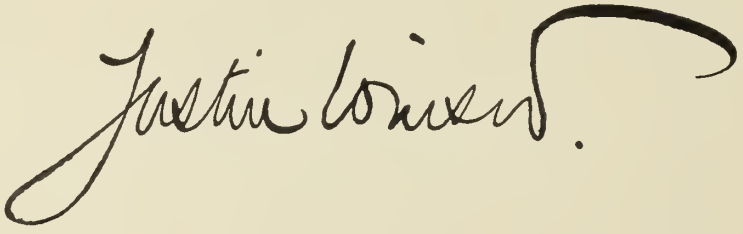
Boston was certainly at this time and in this respect the favored section of America; and in addition to her public collection, her private libraries were often put at the service of any accredited scholar.[2] Already a few years earlier, in 1845, the foundations had been laid of the collection which now makes the rooms of the New England Historic Genealogical Society one of the centres of antiquarian research. The Theological School, which subsequently became a part of the Boston University, began its collection in 1847. At Roxbury, its Athenæum started in 1848, and is still at work; though its namesake, the Dorchester Athenæum, dating ten years later, has recently come to an end. The twin workers which early brought books to bear as a part of their appliances for good, the Young Men's Christian Association and

land on the corner of Dartmouth and Boylston streets, for the erection of a new central building, was presented to the legislature. The friends of the measure, to secure its passage, consented to a provision which gave all inhabitants of the Commonwealth privileges in the library to be kept in this building equal to those enjoyed by the citizens of Boston. In this form the bill was passed; but by some oversight the bill which was presented to the governor for his approval was without this provision, and the city council promptly accepted the untrammelled offer. The grant of land not being large enough, it is now in contemplation to buy adjacent lots. A beginning of the building must be made within three years from the date of grant to secure the land.

[1] The city of Paris at this time had half as many more volumes in her libraries as all the United States together; and the city of Munich nearly as many. If we reckon the volumes in public libraries at so many per capita, the United States could hardly show more than four or five, while Great Britain showed fifty-three; Prussia, two hundred; and Saxony, — the highest, — four hundred and seventeen.

[2] We have some means of forming an approximate estimate of many of these private collections at that time, in Luther Farnham's *Private Libraries of Boston*, in Mr. Livermore's paper already referred to, and in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1850. A part of them were as follows: Charles Francis Adams (general, 18,000 volumes); George Ticknor (classics, modern literature, particularly Spanish and Portuguese, 13,000 volumes); Theodore Parker (general, 13,000 volumes); Abbott Lawrence (10,000); Edward Everett (7,500); Dr. John C. Warren (6,000); Francis C. Gray (4,000); Franklin Haven (4,000); David Sears (4,000); Richard Frothingham (in Charlestown, 4,000); George Livermore (in Cambridge, 2,000 to 3,000); Charles Deane (in Cambridge, 2,500); W. H. Prescott (6,000); Rufus Choate (6,500); E. A. Crowninshield (2,500); Jared Sparks (in Cambridge, 6,000); Thomas Dowse (in Cambridge, 5,000); Nathaniel Bowditch (2,500); Samuel G. Drake (6,000); etc.

the Young Men's Christian Union, began their labors each in 1851. In 1853 the first collections were formed of the Congregational Library, which, under the assiduous care of its librarian, has become a place of resort for the student in our history. In 1860 the General Theological Library was begun;[1] and in 1875, what is destined to be a special collection of importance was established by the Boston Medical Library Association.[2] Apart from collections which naturally grow up under the influence of literary or other special institutions, these are the latest libraries founded in Boston.



[1] What is now the considerable collection of Boston College (Catholic) was begun in 1864.

[2] Beside the departments of the Public Library and the Athenæum devoted to this subject, there are the Treadwell and other collections at the Massachusetts General Hospital, the libraries of the schools of medicine of Harvard and Boston Universities, and that of the City Hospital.

CHAPTER III.

PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT IN BOSTON.

BY GEORGE RIPLEY, LL.D., AND GEORGE P. BRADFORD.

THE brief space allotted to the subject of the present chapter permits only a few rapid notices (mostly from personal recollections) of some of the eminent men who have exerted a marked influence on the tendency and development of thought in Boston during the nineteenth century, without any attempt at the profound discussion of philosophical principles, or the illustration of their character and influence. No powerful school of philosophy, with the qualities of unity and permanence, has sprung up among the people of Boston; but several individual, isolated essays have been made by her studious and thoughtful men to reach a higher sphere of intellectual life, which are perhaps entitled to a place in the modest records of speculative opinion.

In treating the subject of the following pages, I shall regard the University of Cambridge and the city of Boston as so closely identified in all the relations of literature and cultivation, that no account can be given of the intellectual progress of one, without assigning a large and most conspicuous place to the influence of the other. The prominent thinkers of Boston, with few exceptions, have been children of Harvard; most of them have been the pupils of her schools; many of them teachers in her halls, and the ministers of her discipline. With the widest differences of mental habit and achievement, wearing their opinions like the Hebrew garment of many colors, forming no sect for winning proselytes, no clan for urging conquests, they have met only on the common ground of love of learning, interest in the pursuit of truth, and affectionate devotion to the fair and venerable "mother of their minds."

Soon after the beginning of the present century an intellectual movement arose in Massachusetts which has been not unhappily compared to the Renaissance in Italy, that succeeded the dreary monotony of the Middle Ages. Art, letters, poetry, philosophy, social intercourse, domestic culture, public education, alike felt the genial impulse. The cradle and centre of this movement was Harvard College. Without precisely defining the date,

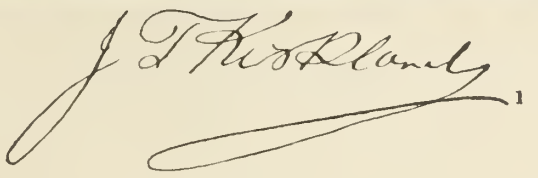
the accession of John Thornton Kirkland to the presidency of the college, in 1810, may be said to mark the beginning of the era which has been so prolific in its results and so auspicious in its influence.

President Kirkland, indeed, made no pretensions to the character of a pioneer or a discoverer in the sphere of philosophy. His admirably balanced mind was not speculative, much less controversial. He had little genius, and no taste for the discussion of purely abstract questions; nor was he profoundly versed in the history of opinions: but the transparent clearness of his mental perceptions, the fine and subtile delicacy of his ethical instincts, his sympathy with whatever was rare and beautiful in literature, and the sagacity and firmness of his common-sense created around him an atmosphere in the highest degree favorable to the cultivation of thought, freedom of research, and frankness of expression. His personal aversion to the toil of composition has prevented him from leaving any adequate memorial of his affluent mind; but the magnetic charm of his conversation, the sweet amenity of his manner, and the quaint and fertile suggestions of his original imagination, must always be noted among the influences which led to the revival of a sound literature and an ideal philosophy among the descendants of the Puritans.

Seven years after the entrance of Dr. Kirkland upon the presidency, the chair of Moral Philosophy was filled by the appointment of Professor Levi Frisbie (1817), a graduate of the celebrated class of 1802, who held the office until his death, in 1822. During the brief period of five years he gave an impulse to the study of philsophy, and a direction to its subsequent development, which form an important feature in the history of modern thought in the vicinity of Boston. Professor Frisbie was a man of a peculiar and remarkable nature. His influence was founded on his personal character rather than on his writings. A chronic infirmity of sight prevented his free use of the pen, and his stores of learning and speculation were illustrated by his oral teachings in the class-room, and not by the composition of books. His presence afforded a lucid example of the ideal beauty of human character, or, to use the words of Professor Norton, his friend and biographer, of "the holy charm of moral loveliness," while the sweetness and dignity of his discourse inspired the fancy that the classical bees of Plato had once more settled on modern lips. A devotee of ancient literature, especially of the Latin classics, he was deeply interested in the whole range of elegant letters in the English language. He was a fervent admirer of the terse vigor and ethical severity of Tacitus, while his æsthetic tastes inspired him with a profound sympathy with the graceful ease and masculine sense of the writings of Maria Edgeworth. He was equally addicted to the cultivation of poetry and the study of philosophy. His rare speculative insight was united with singular critical acuteness, a lively and delicate fancy, and an unerring taste in literary composition. The influence of Professor Frisbie was not lost on the plastic minds that waited reverently on his words, and has been reproduced more or less directly

in the solution of high problems of philosophy from that day to the present.

Professor Frisbie's examination of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, first published in 1819, is a master-piece of philosophical analy-



sis, pointing out the defects and shortcomings of the author with equal insight and discrimination, and incidentally exposing the superficial and un-

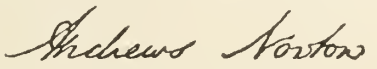
[1] [This cut follows Stuart's likeness of Dr. Kirkland (b. 1770, d. 1840) owned by his nephew, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, D.D., who kindly permitted it to be engraved, and says: "It is painted on wood, badly prepared. With the exception of this defect, it is a splendid portrait and an admirable likeness." It was probably painted in 1810, when Kirkland was forty years old, and was just become President of Harvard College. — ED.]

tenable conclusions of Paley, who until that time had been an important ethical authority with American students. The point which Professor Frisbie insisted on most urgently in his lectures on moral philosphy was the independent character of the idea of Right. This was an emphatic departure from the empirical theory of the sensuous philosophy, — the philosophy founded on the experience of the senses, as the antithesis of the intuitions of the soul, and which will be designated respectively in this chapter, and without any invidious intent, as the Sensuous and the Intuitive systems, — in which the followers of Locke and Paley had found a placid repose, and which had been made the cardinal principle of ethics in some of the most prominent seats of learning in this country. The spirit of Professor Frisbie's teachings is tersely expressed in a sentence from his inaugural discourse: "There will always be a Hobbes, a Rousseau, and a Godwin; let us then have also our Cudworths, our Butlers, and our Stewarts." The term Right, according to his theory, denotes an action which an intelligent moral agent is morally obliged to perform. Absolute right is a perception of the understanding — or, as we should say, the reason — discerning a real and inherent quality in actions. The idea of right is essentially distinct from that of utility, of the greatest happiness, of obedience to the divine will, or of a course of conduct determined by the assurance of reward or punishment. It is a simple idea; it can be described only by synonymous words; it possesses an identity of its own by its very essence, independent of any tendency or consequence. It is that which impresses the belief that an action should be performed, which we approve in the actions of others, and reflect upon with satisfaction in our own; which is perceived in a manner precisely similar to the perception of other ideas. The general tendency of right actions, Professor Frisbie affirms, is indeed to produce good or happiness; but the perception of right is distinct from the perception of happiness. There is another principle of action by which good is to be distributed besides a regard to the greatest good; and this principle is rectitude, or, in the widest sense, justice. Hence those actions are right which, on the whole, are of a nature to produce good or prevent harm, under the control of the principle of rectitude; but the idea of rectitude or absolute right is simple and intuitive, not the fruit of sensuous experience, of traditional teaching, of external authority, or of a rapacious selfhood. The ethical theory thus enunciated by Professor Frisbie forms the silver thread that runs through the most conspicuous philosophical suggestions — we can scarcely call them systems — which have found powerful representatives among the thinkers of Boston. It was the dawn of the intuitive philosophy, in its application to ethics, which has since cast a healing splendor over modern thought, and illustrated the place of Boston in the development of philosophy.

The name of Professor Levi Hedge, who succeeded to the chair of Moral Philosophy after the death of Professor Frisbie, although he had previously taught for a series of years in a kindred department of the college, recalls

the memory of a modest, capable, and faithful worker in the sphere of philosophy, whose example was a lesson in the pursuit of truth, in exactness of expression, in felicity of illustration, and in thoroughness of exposition. He was an adherent of the Scottish philosophy, as represented by Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown; and, as an expounder of their protest against the principles of Locke and of Paley, may be regarded as the fellow-laborer of Frisbie in anticipating the developments of the intuitive philosophy. His clearness of mind, his native good sense, his sound learning, and his austere integrity, gave him a wide influence among the clerisy of Massachusetts; and he will always hold an eminent place among the pioneers of philosophic thought in the capital of the State.

Contemporary with Professor Frisbie, and united with him by the most intimate ties of friendship and sympathy, was Andrews Norton, who, though trained in a different philosophical school, the principles of which he always cherished with singular tenacity, holds a distinguished place among the intellectual influences which have helped to stamp the society of Boston with an impress of liberal inquiry and original thought in the sphere of letters, philosophy, and art. Mr. Norton may be said to have formed a connecting link between the past and the future in American literary cultivation. He appeared at the moment when the scholastic attainments since the period of the Revolution were about to ripen into a more generous development. In early life he was far in advance of most of his contemporaries in sound and exact learning, and in what was then deemed an excessive freedom of speculation. He was connected with Harvard, first as tutor, then as librarian, and afterward as Professor of Sacred Literature. In each of these offices his influence was marked and salutary. His thorough scholarship served to give form and substance to the literary enthusiasm which at that time prevailed in Cambridge. His refined and exquisite taste cast an air of purity and elegance around the spirit of the place. His habits were as severe as those of a mediæval monk. His love of literature was a passion. The predominant qualities of his mind were clearness of perception, rigidity of judgment, accuracy of expression, and a chaste imagination. His peculiar sphere was that of theology and criticism, but no department of elegant letters was foreign to his tastes. Every scholar in Cambridge received an inspiring impulse from his example. The lucidity of his intellect, the depth of his erudition, and the choice felicities of his language presented a new standard of excellence, and gave a higher tone to the literary character of Boston. But the personal traits of Mr. Norton exerted a still more powerful influence. His hatred of pretension was equalled only by his devotion to truth. He spurned with a beautiful disdain whatever he deemed to be false, or shallow, or insincere. He demanded the stamp of genuineness, reality, harmony of proportion and perspective on everything which challenged his approval. His sympathies were not easily won, nor was he



lavish in the expression of even favorable judgments. He was free, perhaps, from what may be called moral suspicion, but he certainly often evinced an excess of intellectual caution. A man of stainless purity of purpose, of high integrity of life, with a profound sense of religion, and severe simplicity of manners, his example was a perpetual rebuke to the conceitedness of learning, the vanity of youthful scholarship, and the habit of "vain and shallow thought." His influence is deeply stamped on the literature of Harvard; the intellectual atmosphere has not yet lost the fragrance of his presence; and if he solved no deep problems of philosophy, if his insight was restricted within a comparatively narrow compass, and he failed to appreciate justly the philosophic tendencies of the age, yet the course of speculative thought in Boston, it is believed, is largely indebted to the influence of his character and example for whatever tincture of sound learning it may exhibit, for its thoroughness of inquiry, its accuracy of research, and its comparative freedom from extreme and erratic conclusions.

The tendency of Mr. Norton's mind in regard to themes of philosophical inquiry was in a sceptical direction. Adopting the cardinal principles of Locke and Hume in regard to the origin of knowledge and the foundations of belief, he pursued them with strict logical sequence to their natural conclusions. In his view there could be but two sources of ideas, — experience and testimony, — which in the final analysis were resolved into one. We have the teachings of experience in regard to the facts of the material universe; and concerning the realm of spiritualities, we are dependent on the authority of divine revelation. The human mind has no inherent faculty of perception in the sphere of facts which transcend the cognizance of the senses. We cannot rely upon the intuitions of reason as the ground of faith in the suggestions of the soul. The veracity of the human spirit as the condition of truth formed no part of his scheme of philosophy. There is no absolute certainty, Mr. Norton affirms, beyond the limit of momentary consciousness, — a certainty that vanishes at once into the region of metaphysical doubt. The doctrine of an intuitive faculty for discovering the truths of religion is utterly untenable; we are not conscious of possessing any such faculty, and there can be no other proof of its existence. Intuition can inform us of nothing but what exists in our own minds, including the relations of our own ideas; it is therefore a mere absurdity to maintain that we have an intuitive knowledge of the truths of religion. I am not aware that Mr. Norton reduced these principles to the form of a connected system, or that he would not have shrunk from the ultimate consequences which they involved. He held them, I think, as incidental to certain theories of dogmatic theology, of which he was the strenuous champion, rather than as a formal, coherent, and uniting body of philosophical truth; but that their spirit pervaded his writings, especially in the latter years of his life, and that they were interwoven with the whole fabric of his mental convictions, will not, I believe, be called in question by those who are the most intimately acquainted with the character of his mind and the tendency of

his opinions. The influence of Mr. Norton in philosophy, however, was provocative rather than creative; he led to doubt with regard to the ancient foundations rather than to sympathy with his peculiar ideas; he prepared the way for vigorous combat, and not for docile acceptance; and, like the influence of Hume on the virile mind of Kant, which "aroused him from his dogmatic slumbers," and sent him forth in quest of new achievements in the pursuit of truth, he inspired not a few of the earnest-minded young men of the day with a passionate zeal for the conquest of the holy Graal, — the discovery of the golden chalice which was brimming with pure wine for the life of the soul.

Geo. Ripley.

MR. RIPLEY was prevented from completing this chapter by his death. In accordance with his plan, of which he left a sketch, we shall continue the subject principally with an account of some of the persons and writers who may be considered as the exponents or organs of the various phases of thought, and whose works had a special influence in developing or directing its tendencies. The period beginning in 1830, or a little earlier, may be noted as one of especial activity and fertility in this respect as well as in many others. Among the salient points and conspicuous influences which marked this period we may signalize the early days of the *Liberator* and of Garrison, like "a voice crying in the wilderness;" the preaching and writings of Dr. Channing; the lectures and writings of Mr. Emerson; Dr. Hedge's articles in the *Christian Examiner* on German Philosophy, Coleridge, and other topics, and his Dudleian Lecture; Theodore Parker at West Roxbury, and later in Boston; Carlyle's various writings; the writings of Dr. O. A. Brownson; the conversations at the house of Dr. Channing, in which Mr. Jonathan Phillips, Dr. Follen, George Ripley, and others took part; the controversy between Professor Norton and Mr. Ripley; and the inception of the Brook Farm enterprise, and the steps taken for its actual realization in 1841.

The period thus indicated was one of great excitement of thought on moral and intellectual questions, especially with the young and the generation just coming upon the stage. Before the impulse given to the revival of thought which Mr. Ripley, in a general way, places about the time of the accession of Dr. Kirkland to the presidency of Harvard College, there had been little taste for abstract speculation, and the Sensuous System of Locke (to adopt, for convenience, the term used by Mr. Ripley) was generally accepted as authority on questions of this kind. A step away from this was taken when the famous *Essay on the Understanding* was disused as a text-book at Harvard, and the rational, but not very profound,

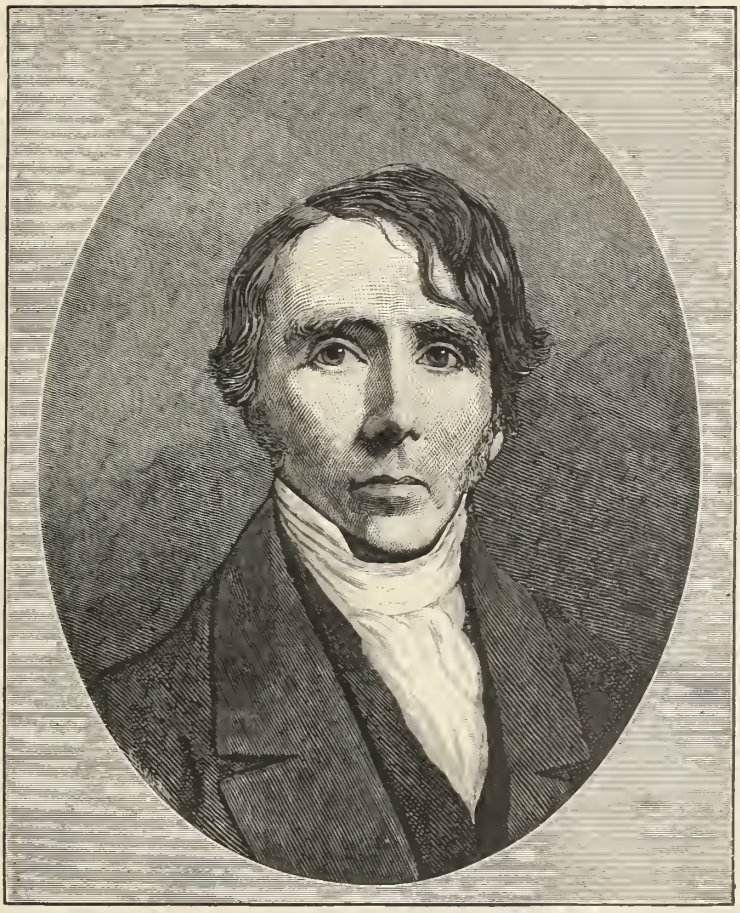
metaphysics of the Scotch school adopted in its place. The *Natural Theology*, *Evidences of Christianity*, and *Moral Philosophy* of Paley were text-books in the college, and were accepted, and perhaps generally acquiesced in, as authority in the fields of morals and theology. In this condition of thought the fervent eloquence of Channing, the inspiring words of Emerson and Carlyle, the stirring appeals of Parker and other reformers to high and abstract principles, came like a fresh and invigorating breeze into a dull and sluggish atmosphere.

Of the influences of which we have spoken, Dr. Channing's preaching and writings are among the earliest in point of time. His connection with our theological and Antislavery history has been treated by other hands.[1] He belonged quite decidedly and avowedly to what we may call, in accordance with the distinctive terms before indicated, the Intuitive School. This philosophy derives our knowledge from the intuitions of the soul, and is in opposition to that recognizing the senses and experience as its only ultimate source. We are informed by an intimate friend of Channing, who was very familiar with his thought, that he repudiated Locke's philosophy while in college, and accepted, on moral and metaphysical questions, the statements of Price in his *Dissertations on Matter and Spirit*, and of Hutcheson's moral philosophy. He recognized also a harmony between his own thought and that of the German systems of philosophy as reported by Madame de Staël. He acknowledged his obligation to the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and to the philosophy of the latter he considered himself specially and greatly indebted. He also read with pleasure Cousin's *Philosophy* and the writings of Carlyle, particularly his *Sartor Resartus*. These tastes will indicate, to those acquainted with the currents of thought at that period, his position with regard to the two parties, which we may designate as the Old and the New, — or, as the latter was called in the language of the time, the Transcendental School. This attitude of his, especially after his part in the Antislavery movement, and in advocating the broadest toleration and freedom in some unpopular cases, — like that of Abner Kneeland, who was indicted for blasphemy, — grieved some of his friends, and offended and disaffected others among the conservatives, who had been wont to listen with delight to his preaching, and who had reverenced the saintliness of his character. In the controversy between Professor Norton and Mr. Ripley we think his sympathy was with the latter, though the former had long been his personal friend.

Although Dr. Channing did not have occasion to advocate distinctly any special system of philosophy, yet the spirit of the school most in harmony with his own thought and pervading his preaching and writing, whose influence was so widely felt, must have had its effect on the prevailing thought of the day. Notwithstanding his philosophic tendencies were decidedly in the direction we have indicated, he must not be regarded as sympa-

[1] [See Dr. Peabody's and Dr. Clarke's chapters in Vol. III. — Ed.]

thizing fully with all the forms and phases of the Transcendental[1] movement; but his chief interest in philosophy we may suppose was in its rela-



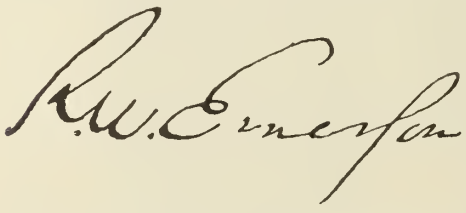
William E Channing[2]

tion to religion and morals; and this philosophy, in his view, formed the only true foundation for these.

[1] As we shall have frequent occasion to use the terms Transcendental, etc., we wish to say that this will not be in any very exact or strictly accurate sense, but in a rather vague and popular one, as convenient for our purpose to denote certain general tendencies of thought and opinion.

[2] [The literature regarding Channing is very extensive, and has recently received many new accessions on account of the centennial of his birth, April 7, 1880, — notably Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, the most important of the later contributions, which have included Dr. C. A. Bartol's Essay in his *Principles and Portraits*. See also the latter's article "Transcendentalism" in his *Radical Problems*, and Charles T. Brooks's *William Ellery Channing, a Centennial Memory*. The *Unitarian Review*, April, 1880, contained papers on him by Dr. J. H. Morison, George L. Chaney, and others. A volume, with an account of the Centennial Celebration in Brooklyn, was issued at Boston in 1880. Professor G. P. Fisher, of Yale, printed an estimate of him in the *International*

The fermentation of thought and feeling developed by the Transcendental movement, especially among the young, has, we think, nothing similar at the present day, and is something very interesting to recall: perhaps devotion to art and practical philanthropy have taken its place. Foremost among the influences that stimulated and sustained this state of feeling were the writings and the public addresses, lectures, etc. of Mr. Emerson. At first he was known to a small but admiring circle as a most interesting preacher, remarkable for independence and originality of thought as well as charm of style and manner; and by many, especially of the congregation of which he was pastor, and by those who knew him more familiarly, he was valued also for higher and more intimate qualities. But he had not much attracted the notice of the general public until his opinion and action in relation to the observance of the communion service caused a good deal of feeling in the body of Christians with which he was associated. As he could not, with his views, continue to administer the rite, his connection with the society of which he was the minister was dissolved. After his return from a visit to Europe he gave a number of lectures; and several of them relating to his tour abroad were of a descriptive character. These were afterward followed by several courses in 1835 and successive years; and, besides, he delivered public addresses on different occasions. The subjects of these discourses were some of a literary, but mostly of a philosophical and ethical, character.[1]



In 1836 appeared a little volume called *Nature*, which, like his other early works, excited the enthusiastic admiration of some, and provoked the adverse criticism or ridicule of others. The earlier courses of the lectures are pleasantly associated, in the recollections of some, with the hall of the Old Masonic Temple in which they were given; and they constituted an era in the social and literary history of Boston, as well as in the life and culture of many individuals. They were looked for from year to year as one of the special pleasures of the winter season. Thus the influence of his writings, but more particularly of his lectures, was deeply and widely felt. To his hearers they seemed to open a new world, — new charms in literature, in Nature, and in thought; new and deeper delights and significance in living,

Review, July, 1879, included also in his *Discussions*. Thomas Hughes's Paper on "Dr. Channing the Abolitionist" is in *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1880. He is one of the subjects of James Freeman Clarke's *Memorials*. Of the earlier books, William H. Channing's *Memoir and Correspondence of W. E. Channing*, Boston, 1854, 3 vols., is the authoritative life; and it may be supplemented by the *Correspondence of W. E. Channing and Lucy Aiken*, 1826–1842, edited by Anna Letitia le Breton, Boston, 1874. The French know him through Rémusat's *Channing, sa vie et ses œuvres*, based on W. H. Channing's Life of him; Renan's *Studies of Religious History;* Lavollée's *Channing, sa vie et sa doctrine*, 1876; and Laboulaye's estimate, which originally appeared in the *Journal des Débats*, 1852, and is now prefixed to the French translation of Channing's Works. — ED.]

[1] Here are some of them: "Philosophy of History," "Conduct of Life," "Representative Men," "Human Life," "Human Culture," etc.

— giving an interpretation of their own minds, souls, and being, so different from the dogmatic formulas and conventional statements common in that sterility of thought in which "the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed." To what were these effects due? What was the secret of this influence? We may say, perhaps, that it was the assertion of the high powers, dignity, and integrity of the soul, its absolute independence and right to interpret for itself the meaning of life, untrammelled by tradition and conventions; the assertion of the soul with its ideas and instincts as the oracle within, the source to us of knowledge and thought in its intimate connection with the source of all life and truth; of the right and duty of all to look at truth and the facts of the universe face to face, thus calling to self-reliance and cheerful hope; teaching and inspiring by his own deep conviction the reality of truth and good; opening glimpses of the eternal beauty, and imparting the joy of high thoughts and lofty purpose. These, with the incidental charm of the beauty, piquancy, and condensed expressiveness of his style; the refined simplicity of his manner; the calm earnestness and sincerity pervading his words, — combined with the remarkable ethical character, the power of touching the springs of highest moral emotion and of lifting his hearers into a loftier sphere, "an ampler ether, a diviner air," — were some of the attractions which drew year after year, with increasing interest, multitudes of young and old, conservatives and radicals, the highly cultivated and those in whom a quick sensibility to what is high and pure supplied the place of culture. In hearing him, a serene and cheerful faith and hope seemed to them to flow over the world and over human life like a brighter atmosphere. And this it was which the young could feel and understand; so that when, if we may be allowed to repeat once more a jest which has been told over and over again to weariness, a man of distinction for learning and ability declared that he could not understand Mr. Emerson but his daughters could, he spoke more truly than he knew.

The term excitement, applied to the feelings of his hearers, seems hardly the proper one. It was rather sometimes like the enlivening effect of the morning breeze, sometimes like the transporting and at the same time tranquilizing effect of high and solemn music, dissolving the hard rigors of life, and infusing sweetness and hope.

The feelings, however, excited by Mr. Emerson's position and words were not all admiration, but some of a quite opposite character. It is amusing and instructive (when we consider the position he now holds, and how almost universally he is the object of such loving and reverent regard, distinguished and admired in the literature and thought of both hemispheres) to recall the way in which he was once regarded and spoken of by a large number of those considered to be the dispensers of correct opinion and taste, and equally so to read the current criticism of his earlier productions.[1]

[1] The following remarks from an article in the *Christian Examiner*, May 1841, by a scholar of distinguished reputation and position, may be taken as a specimen of the way in which

Many who disliked the general tone of what he said contented themselves with ridicule, for which some peculiarities of his style seemed to offer opportunity; others laughed at what they deemed his fanciful and unsound notions, and at the craze of the young people concerning him. Among these, some who knew and esteemed him personally smiled good-naturedly at what seemed novelties or oddities, and at the infatuation of their children; but others took it more seriously. Wise and good men who had labored with earnestness and fidelity in the belief of certain opinions and religious doctrines, the foundations of which seemed assailed or threatened by the freedom with which Mr. Emerson spoke, were pained and offended, especially by his address before the students of the Cambridge Theological School, in July, 1838, in which he spoke of beliefs devoutly cherished by many, not irreverently indeed, but with a freedom which was to them a grief and an offence. Some of his hearers of the conservative class, attracted by the charm of his lectures, tolerated as they might the freedom with which he touched on the exciting and controverted questions of the day in consideration of their enjoyment in listening to him, though at times disturbed or offended when he came too near matters connected with fierce debate and controversy.[1]

Although Mr. Emerson cannot be said to belong to any school or system of philosophy as such, yet the character and tendency of his thought

Emerson's writings, both as to style and thought, were regarded at the time: "Mr. Emerson is an extravagant and erratic genius, setting all authority at defiance, sometimes writing with the pen of an angel, and sometimes gravely propounding the most amazing nonsense. . . . He has expressed such sovereign contempt for consistency, that we must not look for that virtue in what he may choose to say; if we do, we shall look in vain. In its place we shall often encounter point blank contradictions. . . . His writings are thickly studded with oddities gathered from the most unfrequented paths of English literature; and when we add to this the supersublimated transcendentalism of the New Platonic style which he now and then affects, we must not wonder if Mr. Emerson's phraseology frequently passes the comprehension of the vulgar. Moreover, he plays certain tricks with words which disfigure his pages not a little." Of his Essays the same writer says: "The Essay under the affected title of the 'Oversoul' is the most objectionable of all of them, both as regards sentiment and style. . . . From the praises which the author's genius would otherwise deserve, large deductions must be made on the score of whim, oddity, and affectation." These things read curiously to us who have lived to know the estimation in which Mr. Emerson and his works are now held.

[1] A striking instance of this occurred in the inspiring and profoundly touching lecture on Heroism, so full of deepest eloquence. The audience had been carried on and lifted up by its calm and solemn tone to the passage beginning, "Times of heroism are generally times of terror; but the day never shines in which this element may not work." Going on, he says: "More freedom [*i. e.* at this time] exists for culture. It will not now run against an axe at the first step out of the beaten track of opinion. But whoso is heroic will always find crises to try his edge. Human virtue demands her champions and martyrs, and the trial of persecution always proceeds. It is but the other day that the brave Lovejoy gave his breast to the bullets of a mob, for the right of free speech and opinion, and died when it was better not to live." We remember how some of his friends and sympathizers felt the sort of cold shudder which ran through the audience at this calm braving of the current opinion. "He died as the fool dieth" had been the popular dictum about Lovejoy and his death; and this solemn exalting him as a hero and martyr seemed almost an insult to the admiring crowd, who were wholly unprepared for this unexpected turn and shock to their feelings and notions. We have heard some of those who had for him a special regard and sympathy describe their terror, almost, at what they felt was so obnoxious to his audience. Mr. Emerson also delivered addresses, by invitation, before the literary societies of Darmouth and Waterville colleges.

place him most decidedly with the Idealist, Intuitive, or Transcendental School,[1] of which in popular estimation he stood for the representative and type.

The connection of Dr. Hedge with the Transcendental movement was close and important. His education in Germany, where he had passed some years in the earlier part of his life, had given him, besides a familiarity with the language of that country, an interest in its literature, and developed the taste which has led to his wide and intimate acquaintance with the German philosophy and sympathy with its spirit and ideas. This tendency showed itself while he was a student in the theological school at Cambridge, and then and afterward inspired many of his friends with something of his own interest and enthusiasm. In an article on Coleridge,[2] he took occasion to give some account of the leading metaphysicians of Germany — Kant, Fichte, Schelling — and of their systems of philosophy; and thus placed before the public a distinct exposition and defence of the Transcendental philosophy, which may be regarded as an important point in the history of that phase of thought in this vicinity. Speaking of the Transcendental philosophy, he characterizes it as "an attempt to penetrate into the most hidden mysteries of our being." To the opponents of this philosophy this attempt seemed both futile and a fruitful source of obscurities and absurdities. In illustration of this view they liked to instance the seemingly unintelligible, or what they chose to consider ridiculous, utterances of those who had a taste for the speculations of that school, or were ranked among its adherents.

In 1851 Dr. Hedge delivered the Dudleian lecture at Harvard College. His subject was "Natural Religion."[3] In this he takes the ground that all religious truth is properly revealed; that this belongs to a higher power than the unassisted human understanding; and that it has received its original light from revelation. The most striking part of this discourse, and what particularly characterizes it, is his criticism of the common argument for the existence of God from instances of design in the universe. He maintains that design is no adequate proof, and indeed is worthless as a proof by which to establish this truth, since in all such reasoning or proof we carry with us an idea of God already existing in our own minds and in no way dependent on the instances of design. He says: —

"The argument from design has its origin in a law of the mind which demands intelligence as the co-ordinate of being. Whatever conviction it produces is due to that law. Besides, though we grant the argument from design the uttermost that can be claimed for it, what does it give us after all, but the wonderful mechanician, the unfathomable artist? What religion wants and declares is a Father in Heaven, a moral Governor, Ruler, and Judge of the rational world. Of this God the natural

[1] [See a chapter on "Emerson the Seer" in Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England;* and the chapter on "Transcendentalism" in Dr. Bartol's *Radical Problems.* — Ed.]

[2] *Christian Examiner*, March, 1833.

[3] The substance of this discourse may be found in an article in the *Christian Examiner*, vol. xvii. 1852, entitled "Natural Religion."

proofs are our own consciousness, our moral instincts, and the universal consent of mankind."

Earlier than this, Dr. Hedge had taken some part in the discussion of phrenology, which excited a lively but rather short-lived interest in this community on the occasion of a visit of Dr. Spurzheim, one of its founders and chief advocates. This system excited a good deal of interest, and had a certain popularity, as it seemed to offer a cheap and easy philosophy of the mental and moral faculties (a subject of so much interest), and to put the matter almost literally, so to speak, into the hands of all. Its claims and pretensions were attacked by Dr. Hedge [1] in a tone more sarcastic and less respectful than was his wont in dealing with what was opposed to his views, as its pretensions seemed to him unfounded, and its methods as well as doctrines unphilosophical. He points out the materialistic character of the system, as well as its insufficiency as an account of the mental and moral phenomena of our constitution.

Already, in November, 1833, there had appeared in the *Examiner* Dr. Hedge's paper on Swedenborg, which is on the whole a favorable view of him and of his place in the philosophy of religion; and it treats his claims with respect and impartiality. A strong interest in the religious doctrines and writings of the Swedish theosopher characterized many other thoughtful persons, and those who consciously or unconsciously were in sympathy with the spiritual philosophy. In Mr. Emerson's *Representative Men* we find Swedenborg taken as the type of the Mystic, and a very high place assigned to him among the seers, teachers, and prophets of the world. The writings of Sampson Reed, too, an able and devoted follower of Swedenborg, were inspired and pervaded by his teachings. The writings of Swedenborg were also read and admired by many serious and thoughtful persons who did not accept him in the same sense with Mr. Reed, as an inspired teacher, but who found the truths of divine and human knowledge illustrated by the remarkable insight and profound thought of the Swedish seer. Thus his teachings have had a much wider influence, and have been much more deeply felt, than is represented by the number of the professed receivers of his doctrine.[2]

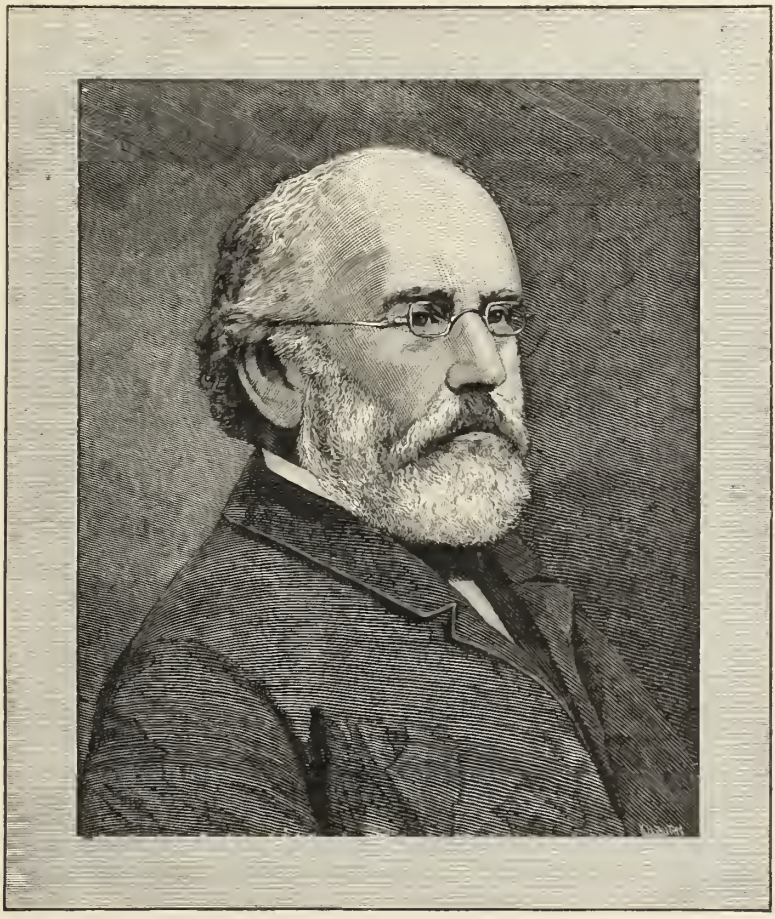
Mr. Henry James, too, has devoted much time and subtile thought, in various writings, to illustrate and explain in numerous relations the truths found in the works of Swedenborg, for whose mind and teachings he has shown profound reverence and admiration.

The part and position of George Ripley in the Transcendental movement was an important and prominent one in various ways. His early life was passed at Greenfield, Mass., where he was brought up in the faith and influence of the Orthodox Congregational Church. After the years spent at the University and the Divinity School at Cambridge, he was settled in

[1] *Christian Examiner*, 1834.

[2] [See the chapter on the "The New Jerusalem Church in Boston" in Vol. III., by a son of Sampson Reed. — Ed.]

1828 as a clergyman over a Unitarian society in Boston, where he continued as minister for several years. He had an ardent love of knowledge and remarkable power of rapid acquisition; and as his taste led him in the direction of theological and metaphysical studies, he became an acute and accomplished scholar in these departments. His ardent spirit was ever ac-



GEORGE RIPLEY.[1]

tive, and his industry untiring. While connected with the religious society he undertook an important literary enterprise, — the publication of a work called *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, which was continued for some time, and embraced several valuable works. In this series the *Philosophical Miscellanies* of Cousin, Constant, and Jouffroy were translated by

[1] [This cut follows a photograph of a crayon kindly furnished by Mr. Ripley's widow. See a chapter on "George Ripley, the Man of Letters," in Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*. — Ed.]

Mr. Ripley himself; some of the other volumes, by Mr. John S. Dwight, Miss Margaret Fuller, Mr. W. H. Channing, and Dr. S. Osgood. The first volumes appeared in 1838, the last in 1842. Most of these works were imbued with the new and fresh thought of the time, and in their general tendency were opposed to the philosophy of experience, as represented by the Locke school. The wide researches of Mr. Ripley led him to acquaintance with the German philosophy and theology which then occupied so important a place in the intellectual world, and he became warmly interested in many of the writers of Germany, — in Kant and Herder, and more particularly in Schleiermacher, whom he much admired, and whose statement of religion he found very satisfactory.

Mr. Ripley was always a busy writer, and while minister of the society in Boston he contributed a number of articles to the *Christian Examiner*, which for a long time was a leading journal of the Unitarian denomination, and embraced in its pages a wide range of discussion on philosophy, morals, and religion. A paper by him on Sir James Mackintosh's work on the moral sentiment goes into a lucid and able discussion of the relation of virtue to utility, and advocates the Intuitive in opposition to the Utilitarian theory of morals and of the ground and origin of moral obligation. This placed him, on the question of morals, as his other writings do on those of religion and philosophy, decidedly in the ranks of the Spiritual or Transcendental school.

An important occasion in Mr. Ripley's literary life, and one which added a good deal to his reputation in the theological world, was his controversy with Professor Andrews Norton, of the Cambridge Theological School.[1]

[1] Mr. Norton, in an address before the alumni of the Theological School on what he called the "Latest Form of Infidelity," took occasion to attack what seemed to him the novel and dangerous views of the evidences of Christianity, which, while they either denied or undervalued the proof from miracles, laid the chief stress on the general character of the teachings of Christ and their adaptation to the moral wants and natural religious instincts of mankind. Professor Norton regarded this rejection or undervaluing of the historical miracles as dangerous to the foundation of Christianity. He, indeed, deemed the denial of the miracles as equivalent to a denial of the divine origin of Christianity, and as nothing more nor less than infidelity, to which he gave the title of "Latest Form," in contradistinction to the Deism of the last century of Collins, Toland, etc. As less open and declared it seemed to him only the more insidious and pernicious. Mr. Ripley girded himself to reply with a sort of joyous confidence, like the rejoicing of a strong man to run a race. From his knowledge and appreciation of the views attacked, and from his confidence in their truth and strength, as well as from his acquaintance with the recent theology and philosophy of Germany he was extremely well qualified for the occasion. The controversy turned mainly on the value and importance of miracles as ground and proof of the Christian religion.

Mr. Norton maintained their absolute indispensableness, and affirmed that a denial or disbelief of them was equivalent to a rejection of any proper belief in religion as a divine revelation. "Christianity," he says, "claims to reveal facts, a knowledge of which is essential to the moral regeneration of men, and to offer in attestation of these facts the only satisfactory proof, — the authority of God evidenced by miraculous displays of his power." Referring to Mr. Ripley's views he adds: "The latest form of infidelity is distinguished by assuming the Christian name while it strikes at the root of faith in Christianity, and indirectly at all religion, by denying the miracles attesting the divine mission of Christ." In the course of his discourse he attacked German theology and philosophy; and first Spinoza, who, though not a German, he says, "is regarded as a profound teacher and patriarch by some of the most noted among the infidel philosophers and theologians of Ger-

Its chief interest consists in our having in conflict before us representatives of the two different schools of philosophy, — Professor Norton representing that of experience and the senses, in the last resort, as the only source of our knowledge; Mr. Ripley, that which we have called the Intuitional, which regards the mind itself, with its intuitions and cognitions, as an independent source of knowledge and belief, — which latter, claiming in the past the names of Plato, Descartes, Cudworth, Malebranche, and Berkeley, was destined to exert so wide an influence among us from the works of Coleridge, Carlyle, Emerson, Hedge, Alcott, Marsh, and others. Though the controversy seems mainly theological and personal, the roots of the positions of the antagonists strike down into the two divergent systems of philosophy, and the theological ground rests on the philosophical.[1]

We pass now to speak of Mr. Ripley's connection with the famous socialistic experiment conducted by the Brook Farm Phalanx. This enterprise was the object of much misapprehension, of a good deal of ridicule and even bitter hostility. It was natural enough that an institution so novel in its arrangements and its claims, so opposed to conservative notions and feelings, should encounter prejudice, misapprehension, and ridicule; neither is it strange that many mistakes, and ludicrous ones, should have been made. Embracing in its numbers such heterogeneous materials, and naturally attracting persons of fantastic notions, with various peculiarities and singularities of character, it was to be expected that some would have vagaries, and some affect singular ways. So the public very

many," and afterward gave an account, in a very unfavorable spirit, of some distinguished recent theologians.

Mr. Ripley in reply controverted Mr. Norton's position that miracles are the *only* proof of Christianity. After quoting his words, "that the divine authority of him whom God commissioned to speak to us in his name was attested in the *only* mode in which it could be, by miraculous displays of his power," and other statements to the same effect, he went on to examine this doctrine, and made many citations to show that Mr. Norton's doctrine, though not absolutely novel, was contrary to the opinion and statements of many of the most distinguished divines and theologians of Europe and America; that it was contrary to the teachings of the Old and New Testaments; and he showed that other proofs, called internal evidence, have ever been admitted to have a force and power that are disparaged by Mr. Norton's claim for miracles as the *essential* and *only* satisfactory proof of divine origin. (It should be said, at the same time, that Mr. Norton did not deny to this internal evidence a high comparative value and use.) To the charges made against some distinguished modern German theologians, and to the severe terms in which Professor Norton had spoken of them as Pantheists and Infidels, Mr. Ripley replied with an elaborate statement of their belief and philosophy, which he substantiated by quotations from their works. He also criticised the translation of passages from them made by Mr. Norton, and charged such versions with incorrectness. To this Mr. Norton replied in a pamphlet criticising and controverting Mr. Ripley's arguments, while he reiterated his own former positions and assertions, and adduced citations in confirmation of them. To this Mr. Ripley replied in a second letter, in which he gives an account of the system and doctrines of Spinoza, to refute the common notion of his Atheism, Pantheism, etc., and defends some of his own former assertions and translations. This was followed by a third letter by Mr. Ripley, which is specially occupied with a defence of Schleiermacher and De Wette; and this concluded the controversy.

[1] In this controversy we believe that it was the general opinion among those who took an interest in the subject, that Mr. Ripley acquitted himself with great credit, both as respects the learning and ability displayed, and the good temper and courtesy shown to his adversary, for whom, as appears from the discriminating notice in the early part of this chapter, he ever retained a high respect.

legitimately had its laugh. But perhaps it was hardly fair, though natural enough, to fix on these oddities and absurdities as the salient and chief characteristics of the enterprise in which many sensible, thoughtful, worthy, and benevolent persons set themselves seriously to work to carry out an experiment which had attractions for themselves, and which they fondly and generously, if not wisely, hoped would lead to important benefit for mankind. To overlook their humane and generous aims and objects, and what were in many respects their wise, skilful, and efficient arrangements, — to ignore, too, what was really accomplished, and to fix attention only on the mistakes and ludicrous aspects of the enterprise, — was not quite just, nor was it a true view of the matter. The mistakes were necessarily the more obvious features to those outside; often made known, too, from the unfriendly gossip of some who became dissatisfied. The better accomplishments could not be so well known without interior acquaintance, or at least sympathy, with the movement. It is, of course, not possible to form any proper estimate of the influence of this experiment, or of what was really accomplished by it. It certainly taught some lessons about associated life, though it may not have demonstrated either its feasibility or the contrary; but that it had various and important influences in the spirit and direction of the ideas with which it was started, we think many who were there will testify. Some of these look back on it as a very profitable as well as delightful part of their lives, and no doubt owe to it—beside valuable practical experience — higher and more generous aims, a free and varied culture, wider sympathies, and more humane views of the relations of society.

The influence on the young, we may perhaps say, was especially valuable; affording them as it did a wide opportunity for out-of-door life, with its broadening and emancipating effects, combined with instruction from many different teachers of diversified character, and bringing them into daily intimacy with persons of various culture and experience, and with principles of humanity and brotherhood as the basis of daily life. And may we not believe that with all the shortcomings and unfaithfulness to its ideal, with the collisions and heartburnings almost inseparable from associations of human beings in any enterprise, a large spirit of humanity was developed and prevailed, and that this brief and imperfect experiment had an important influence in enlarging, emphasizing, defining, and deepening the spirit of true democracy?

It would seem that Mr. Ripley was not satisfied with the efficacy of the church modes of administering Christianity, in promoting its objects and combating the evils of the present social arrangements, and was led to hope for more effective benefit to the cause of humanity and for the protection of human brotherhood, from some organization of labor on the principle of co-operation instead of competition, and with agricultural labor as the basis. Questions relating to this matter were discussed between him and some of the leading philanthropists of the day; and these, Dr. Channing among them, took an interest in his ideas, though probably none of them had the

same sanguine hopes. Thus the plan of doing something toward a reform of social organization, by some form of association, gradually took shape in his mind. The subject of Life in Community, or Association, as a remedy for the evils of the present form of social life, seems to have been in the air at the time. The Mendon Association of Adin Ballou and his associates, and perhaps other similar experiments, were in agitation or actually begun. But whatever aid and incitement Mr. Ripley may have owed to the sympathy and thought of others, we may assert that this enterprise derived its origin from his philanthropic idealism, and that to him belongs the credit of having given form to the scheme as actually carried out, and of having devised and fixed upon the ways and means of its inception and realization.[1]

This movement, in the mind of Mr. Ripley and others, was one form of the strong and rising feeling of humanity and of the brotherhood of man, then so widely pervading the community. With it, too, came the desire and hope for better conditions of life, in which the less fortunate classes might come to share in the privileges, comforts, and various advantages belonging to civilized society.

The feeling which at this time manifested itself in an excited form in the Antislavery agitation may indirectly have had some effect in suggesting or stimulating this movement. Mr. Ripley, and others with him, while sympathizing with the object of the Abolitionists, thought that as the evils of which slavery is so signal and conspicuous a form lay deep in the present constitution and arrangement of society, so their remedy could only be found in a modification or radical change of ordinary life. The feeling, then, which lay at the bottom of the Brook Farm enterprise, and from which it mainly sprang, we may say, from acquaintance with many of its chief actors and friends, was dissatisfaction with the existing conditions of society, — that, under these, some classes enjoy the advantages of high culture and the gratification of the intellect and taste, and if obliged to work in some way for subsistence they yet have leisure and opportunity for refined recreation and for the enjoyment of comfortable or elegant modes of living, and are in some respects subject to more favorable moral influences; while under these, also, other classes are doomed to wearisome or painful drudgery and incessant toil, without opportunity for the enjoyments of intellect and taste, confined to dreary and squalid conditions of existence, and more exposed to temptations at least to the more flagrant crimes. Then, again, there was the feeling that there is something wrong in the mode of industry as now constituted, — namely, competitive industry; a point so much insisted on by Fourier and other advocates of association, in which one man's gain is

[1] The question here naturally occurs, how much Mr. Ripley owed to the theories and writing of Charles Fourier, who had written so largely on the subject of associated life and industry. So far as we learn, it would seem he was acquainted with Fourier's theories through the writings of Albert Brisbane, one of his zealous disciples and expounders in this country, but not with the works of Fourier himself till sometime later, and after being settled at Brook Farm. At any rate he did not at first adopt in their full extent the ideas or system of Fourier, his own notions on the subject being far less systematic and *doctrinaire*, so to speak.

another man's loss, and the necessities of which make it the interest of each to get away from others, and to appropriate to himself as large a share as possible of this world's goods, — a condition of things seemingly so contrary to the spirit of Christian brotherhood. Consequently a mode of life was desired, and even anticipated with more or less confidence by different persons, according to character or mental bias, in which this evil condition of the relations of society might be corrected.

The views and feelings we have thus attempted to indicate, and which so readily suggest themselves to the thoughtful and humane, seem to have lain at the bottom of the movement, and most of those attracted to it shared more or less in them; but, besides these, there were various other considerations inciting to an interest in the enterprise and a wish to take part in it. The idea of a pleasant social life, with congenial society, somewhat free from burdensome conventions, moved some. Then there was the idea of a life of mingled physical and intellectual labor, as more proper and healthful, combined with the notion that exclusive occupation in one or the other is unfavorable to mental and bodily health, and that the alternation of the two, as it is the duty and benefit of all, is also the right and privilege of all. Other considerations were those of the economies of a united household of several families, — economies of fuel and labor, and of the apparatus for cooking, washing, agricultural uses, etc. Among those drawn to it there were some, who, willing to work, were yet indisposed to the struggle for existence in civilized society, or who in the struggle had been unsuccessful. Young women, too, who had found no sphere suited to their taste, culture, or capabilities, hailed the opportunity of a home and a support, in return for work they were willing and glad to give, in conditions of society agreeable to their tastes and character. Some were mainly attracted by the agricultural feature, to whom the cultivation of the soil, as the most primitive and natural, seemed also the most innocent and agreeable, form of industry, and Mr. Ripley himself took much interest in this aspect.

These various considerations and feelings were mingled in different proportions in the different individuals, and had their influence; and they were perhaps more or less shared as motives by all who came with thought and reflection to the enterprise. If it may seem that most of the thoughts and feelings adopted and proclaimed with so much enthusiasm and emphasis are quite commonplace, indeed mere platitudes, it should be considered that since then the mind of society has made progress in democratic ideas; and may we not believe that this, too, is due in some degree to the zeal with which they were adopted and proclaimed at that time? It should be considered, too, that this was an attempt to give substantial form and embodiment to these thoughts and feelings. Mr. Ripley, who was of a sanguine temperament, with remarkable power of quick perception and rapid apprehension, when this matter of associative industry as a remedy for the ills of society was brought to his mind, was seized with the idea of some form of community, some mode of life in association and of co-operative industry,

which might secure better conditions for humanity. Finding a number of persons disposed to sympathize, either practically or theoretically, with his views and hopes, he went forward with an ardor very inspiring to those who came in contact with him. He threw himself with enthusiastic and disinterested zeal into his plans and schemes, worked long and generously, amid many discouragements, with unselfish and never-failing devotion for their accomplishment and success. While under these influences the opportunity of securing a farm which seemed to offer various advantages for trying his experiment induced him to take it. This property was situated in West Roxbury, now a part of Boston, and touched on the towns of Dedham and Newton. It consisted of about two hundred acres, part of it rocky and not very fertile land; part an extensive meadow, reaching to and bordering on Charles River, which was mainly its Dedham boundary. There was on the farm a pleasant old family mansion, on rising ground or sort of knoll, along which, and winding through the meadow till it reached the river, was a lively brook, whence the farm had its name, and which to the younger people was a source of amusement and pleasure, as they wandered along its banks or trapped the wild game of its neighborhood. The nearness of the farm to the city was an advantage in several ways, as for instance affording a market for its products. It was, too, an attraction to some not yet entirely emancipated from the benefits and charms of that civilization which, theoretically, seemed so full of evils; for it should be considered that of those who were early members of the family there were quite a number who had enjoyed many of the advantages and luxuries of civilization and high culture. There was the hope, however, that in time it would not be necessary to go so far to seek those delights of music, art, etc., which on the true theory of life in association were to find place and cultivation among themselves.

A small company, — the pioneers in the work, — first planted themselves on the ground early in April, 1841. Among those who thus began the work were Mr. and Mrs. Ripley, and Miss Marianne Ripley, his sister, who had had a school for young children in Boston, some of whom she brought with her. She made a separate family with them in a small house near the farm; and, in the rather fanciful nomenclature adopted, this was called the Nest, as the principal house was named the Hive.[1]

Mrs. Ripley, who was of an energetic and enthusiastic temperament, entered very heartily into the views and plans of her husband, and was always a prominent person in the conduct of affairs. She threw herself with zeal and efficiency into the various departments in which she could

[1] Mr. Warren Burton, who had been a clergyman, and an author of some small books, accompanied them. He however did not remain long. Hawthorne also came at the beginning, or very early. There were a few who had had some experience in farming, and whose knowledge and skill were highly esteemed in the general lack of this accomplishment. Mr. William Allen, a young farmer from Vermont, had in some way become *interested in the idea*. This was one of the pet phrases. He afterward married, and brought his wife, and continued some time at the farm. Mr. Frank Farley, who is still living, had had also some experience in farming at the West. Several young women were also there, of marked character and intelligence.

take part; especially that of teaching, for which she was so well qualified by her knowledge and previous experience.[1] Besides the principal persons and workers, there were a number of young persons who were here mainly for education, but who sometimes took part in the farm and other work, not always in the most efficient way. There were in the community first and last a large number of such young persons, as many of the principal members were well qualified to give instruction by previous experience, or by their knowledge in different departments. There were also, much of the time, a number of boarders, attracted by the agreeable society, by the pleasant situation, or by sympathy with the idea and mode of life. This appendage of the school and boarders, though not strictly in accordance with the idea of the community life, was taken advantage of to furnish the necessary means for the first starting of the experiment and carrying it on in its early stages, toward which the proceeds of the farm would not have gone far.

And we may here say something of the ways and means of meeting the expenses, and providing for the wants of the company. The food was furnished either from the products of the farm, or was purchased. The necessary funds came from the sale of the farm products, or from other sources indicated above. The clothing of those properly to be reckoned members was also provided for in a similar way, and set off against services of one kind or another. This for the most part could be afforded at a somewhat reduced rate, the material being purchased in quantity, and made up among themselves by those who brought the requisite skill and practice with them, — for in this microcosm a considerable variety of occupations and industries was represented. The school was an important source of income; and this was continued till the end, or nearly so, of the existence of the association. Some of the pupils took part in the work, and thus defrayed a portion of the expense of board, etc. There were always a large number of young persons, scholars, boarders, etc., and this led to a considerable mingling of amusement of various kinds. Moreover, some of the company had a special skill in arranging and directing this element. We may in this connection remark that a prominent feature of the life was the opportunity given for the exercise of divers gifts and faculties; and the way in which

[1] She has recently been very favorably and justly noticed in some articles on Brook Farm in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by Miss Amelia Russell, since deceased, who was herself a long time a member of the association, and was a zealous, active, and valuable co-worker. There were also some young women who were there partly for education, or drawn there by some other consideration. Later than this, but in the course of the first summer, came Charles A. Dana, now editor of the *New York Sun*. With the ardor of youth, and bringing fresh from Harvard, where he had been a student, the latest improvements in scholarly lore, he embraced the ideas and modes of operation of the enterprise with zeal and systematic energy, and long filled an important place as teacher, worker, counsellor, and director. In the course of the first summer, too, came Minot Pratt, with his family. He had been a printer, but was attracted by sympathy and interest in the mode of life, as well as by a taste for agriculture, which he retained until his death, a few years since. He was a man of singular purity and uprightness of character, simplicity of taste, and great intelligence. He was in many ways a valuable member, and for a long time had the chief direction of the farming operations.

they may be easily and naturally brought into play is one of the claims of the theory of association. There were amusements suited to the different seasons, — tableaux, charades, dances; in the winter, skating and coasting, for which the knolls, wide meadows, and river afforded favorable opportunities; in summer, rural fêtes, masquerades, etc., in the charming localities, rocks, and woods around the place.

A great charm of the life was the free and natural intercourse for which it gave opportunity, and the working of the elective affinities, which here had more full play; so that while a kindly feeling was the general spirit of the family, little groups of friends, drawn together in closer relations by taste and sympathy, soon declared themselves. By most who were there the life was felt to be very charming. The relief from the fetters and burdensome conventions of society, from the

> "greetings where no kindness is, and all
> The dreary intercourse of daily life,"

was a constant delight to those who had suffered from them in the artificial arrangements and forms of society. At the same time the relief and pleasures of solitude were not wanting, as the taste that might lead any to withdraw to the solitude of the woods or of their own rooms was respected. There was for a long time a large infusion of romantic feeling and enthusiasm, especially among the younger and more inexperienced, who knew nothing of the embarrassment of providing ways and means. Nor was this enthusiasm confined to these. There was something of the "tête montée" pervading to a great extent the company, and of the feeling expressed in the verse of Virgil, —

> "Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

And if in some instances there was a slight falsetto tone, at the same time there was a great deal of genuine faith in the idea; and a conviction obtained that such a life was in many respects a truer and better as well as a happier one than that of the unfortunates who, according to the current phraseology, were still in *civilization*, — which was a word of somewhat sinister import in the Brook Farm community. Among the less wise and thoughtful there was indeed carried to a silly exaggeration a pity for the *civilisées*. Notwithstanding all this, justice should be done to the feeling of the more wise and thoughtful in entering upon and going through the enterprise. This, we think, those well acquainted with them would bear witness was for the most part simple; and, though colored with an enthusiasm which seemed exaggerated to many, was without that special consciousness and pretension with which they were charged.

The agricultural feature was always a very important one, and of great interest to many of the company, to whom its various aspects and phases were a novelty. Hawthorne, who was there during most of the first summer, and also part of the following winter, was an efficient and stalwart worker in this department, and found amusement in his apprenticeship to some parts

of the farm work, — as milking, etc., and especially, for a long time, in the pleasant operations of hay-making, which was an important part in consequence of the extensive meadows. He was attracted thither, as we understood, by the hope of an opportunity of leading a life more in conformity with his tastes and feelings than was possible in the common arrangements of society, and also of uniting successfully manual with intellectual work. But we think he was disappointed in this, and found it not easy to combine writing with severe bodily toil; and as the former was so manifestly his vocation, he gave up the farm work in the course of the first summer, and though he remained there for some time longer, it was as a boarder, not a worker. The younger people had, as usual, their admirations and worships; and Hawthorne was eminently fitted to be one of these, partly by the prestige of his reputation, but more in consequence of a real appreciation of his genius as a writer, as well as from the impression made by his remarkable and fine personal appearance and by his whole bearing. He was shy in his ways; and though he mingled with the rest of the company in the evening gatherings in the hall or parlor of the Hive, he was silent and apparently self-absorbed, but no doubt carefully observing as was his wont, and finding material for his writing.[1] There was something about him, however, that attracted, notwithstanding this reserve.

In process of time new arrangements were found necessary to accommodate the increasing numbers. The original mansion-house, the Hive, was enlarged by successive additions; and then, with the further increase of numbers, the Eyrie, and afterward the Cottage and the Pilgrim House, were added. Later, some workshops for the exercise of several new branches of industry were erected, — among these, shoemaking, though never on a large scale; the manufacture of Britannia ware, lamps, teapots, etc.; carpenters' rules; carpentry; sash and blind making. The most profitable work, we are informed, was that of the farm, and branches connected with it, — like the nursery, and the business of the trees and greenhouse.

As to compensation, the principle was to apportion it in general to the number of hours, and also to the difficulty and disagreeableness of the kind of work. This was received in the form of board, clothing, and dividends on labor. Compensation was also allowed for extra work.

At the beginning the arrangements were quite simple, and the organization slight; but the tendency was constantly to a more scientific form, according to the principles of Fourier, especially after the scheme had attracted some of his professed disciples and students. It was the aim and hope to have it eventually organized and conducted wholly on that system; though (perhaps from want of sufficient numbers) this was never thoroughly

[1] In his *Blithedale Romance*, which was the fruit of his experience here, in order to deepen the shadows of his picture he avails himself of a most painful and tragic incident, which did not occur here, but elsewhere. Some of the Brook Farmers were sorry to have anything so ghastly connected with what for them had, for the most part, pleasant and beautiful associations.

carried out.[1] The last building, the Phalanstery, was arranged in some measure in conformity with these principles. It was on a large scale, and had many suites of apartments for different families, but was destroyed by fire before completion. The institution thus suffered a loss from which it never recovered, and finally came to an end in the fall of 1847, about

[1] There had been at earlier stages some statements of the plan, but the final formulating of their intents appears in a constitution dated May 1, 1845, in the introduction to which are these words, which show a more sanguine confidence, after about four years' actual experience, and more hope of realizing their expectations, than is commonly supposed to have existed: "We have laid the foundation, and now stand ready to rear the superstructure, which will approach more nearly the ideal of human society than any that has ever existed, — a society which will establish justice between all interests and all men; which will guarantee education, right to labor, and the rights of property to all; and which, by actual demonstration of a state of things every way better and more advantageous, will put an end to the great evils which at present burden even the most fortunate classes. What we have already been able to accomplish ought to give weight to our words. We speak not from abstract conviction, but from experience; as men of practical common-sense, holding in our hands the means of escape from the present conditions of society, and from that more frightful state to which in all countries it is hurrying."

The preamble reads thus: "In order more effectually to promote the great purposes of human culture, . . . to substitute a system of brotherly love for one of selfish competition, . . . to guarantee to each other forever the means of physical support and spiritual progress, etc., we unite, etc."

Its principles may be thus summarized: "*The Government.* — It shall be vested in a General Council which shall consist of four branches, viz.: first, a Council of Industry; second, a Council of Finance; third, a Council of Science; fourth, a President, who together with a chairman of each of the foregoing councils shall constitute a General Council. *Organization of Labor.* — The labor of the Phalanx shall be arranged in Groups and Series, as far as practicable, according to the system of Charles Fourier. *Groups.* — A group is a little company of from three to twenty persons, engaged in some special division of labor or study. In this sphere it governs and is responsible; it makes its rules, and decides upon the management of its own operations. In it the highest talent of its members for its particular duty is called out. *Series.* — The different groups, engaged in divisions of the same employment, are united into a higher combination called a Series, which, through its proper officers, governs and is responsible in that department. These again are concentrated in the Councils of Industry and Science, which have a like power and responsibility.* *Division of Profits.* — The striking features of this, and which are especially in contrast with the usual arrangements of civilized society, are, first, that the net profits after all general expenses are paid are to be divided, one third to Capital and two thirds to Labor; second, that the two thirds allotted to Labor shall be distributed so that the labor of the Class of Necessity shall receive the highest dividend, labor of the class of Usefulness a medium dividend, and labor of the Class of Attractiveness the lowest dividend, — *i.e.*, that the necessary and important, which at the same time may be the most disagreeable and repulsive, shall receive the highest dividend. *The General Council.* — This shall classify all labor, according to its necessity, its usefulness, or its attractiveness, and with reference to the promotion of Social Harmony; and this classification may be varied from time to time, so as to prevent an excess of laborers in any branch of industry, and secure the performance of the labor required."

A distinction should not be overlooked between the earlier and later periods of this experiment. The first was one of much generous enthusiasm, with somewhat vague feelings of humanity, and of hope for better and more humane conditions of life; and this was combined with the undefined and unsystematic way in which it was attempted to carry out the ideas that prompted the movement. The later was a more mature period, when the more scientific and systematic forms of organization were gradually approximated and introduced. The first phase was more agreeable to some of the zealous first-comers.

* We would remark, for the information of those unacquainted with the subject, that the groups and series, etc., are important and characteristic features of the system and nomenclature of Fourier. [Octavius B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*, Boston, 1876, gives at full length, p. 159, the constitution of the Brook Farm community. The literature of the subject is somewhat scattered. See the paper on their "Home-Life" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1878; also the number for May, 1866, p. 565. Other estimates and glimpses can be found in Greeley's *Recollections of a Busy Life*; the various sketches of Hawthorne, including M. D. Conway's introduction to the English edition of Hawthorne's *Note-books*, and in general the reviews of *The Blithedale Romance*; Dixon's *New America*; Noyes's *American Socialisms*. — Ed.]

six years after it began. Pecuniary difficulties in conducting it, we presume, may be stated as the main cause of its failure and of the necessity for its abandonment.

Most of the time there were no religious observances by the association as such,[1] as many of the inmates attended Theodore Parker's church, or others in the neighborhood, while some went to Boston. At one time, however, there were religious services conducted by William H. Channing, or other clergymen who may have been present. Also for a considerable period meetings were held in Boston on Sunday; and these, too, were generally conducted by Mr. Channing, and often had reference to the doctrines of association, in which he was much interested.

An important point to be noted in the history of this movement was the publication of a journal called the *Harbinger*, to advocate the principles of association. The first number is dated June 14, 1845. It was continued for several years, and was first printed at Brook Farm, afterward at New York. In the manifesto of the first number we find its object thus stated: "It is proposed to publish a weekly newspaper for the examination and discussion of the great questions in social science, politics, and the arts which command the attention of all believers in the progress and elevation of humanity, . . . and to be devoted to the cause of a radical, organic social reform, as essential to the highest development of man's nature. . . . The principles of universal unity, as taught by Charles Fourier, in their application to society, we believe are at the foundation of all genuine social progress; and it will be our aim to discuss and defend these principles. . . . The social reform, of which the signs are everywhere visible, comprehends all others." This journal, which was conducted with zeal and ability, is important as showing the faith, earnestness, and seriousness of purpose, as well as hopeful confidence, which the advocates of association had in the truth and ultimate success of their principles. Besides the special subject of association, the *Harbinger* embraced a variety of other topics, particularly in relation to matters of art. The musical articles occupy much space, and were mainly written by John S. Dwight; and these were in the sense and spirit of his other writings on the subject, characterized by warm and discriminating zeal in advocating and expounding the highest forms of musical art, and instructing and elevating the public taste. Mr. Dwight was himself, with other members of his family, a long time at Brook Farm, and had direction of the musical department.[2]

From this episode of associated endeavor we turn to trace the influence of the new philosophical thought and tendency in other fields. It was

[1] In the Phalanstery was a hall intended for meetings of the company, and to be used for religious services by those who might so wish.

[2] In the list of writers given in the first number we find the names of Albert Brisbane, W. H. Channing, C. P. Cranch, G. W. Curtis, C. A. Dana, Parke Godwin, Horace Greeley, T. W. Higginson, G. Ripley, J. R. Lowell, F. G. Shaw, William W. Story, and J. G. Whittier. The translations of George Sand's *Consuelo* and *Countess of Rudolstadt*, by F. G. Shaw, were printed first in this journal.

naturally felt in an especial manner in the Divinity School at Cambridge, although among its professors Mr. Norton was decidedly opposed, and others were by no means favorable, to it; but the students, as belonging to a younger generation, and moreover by their studies particularly occupied with questions of philosophy, were more open to its influence. Various circumstances, which brought the philosophy and literature of Germany to their acquaintance, served further to awaken interest. The coming of Dr. Follen as teacher of German, about 1826–27, had already given an impulse to the study of that language, and Dr. Hedge, then a student of the school, helped to spread it among his personal friends. The writings of Carlyle, in so far as they illustrated German literature and its distinguished representatives, also contributed much to stimulate taste and diffuse knowledge in this direction. Dr. Hedge's book of translations, *Prose Writers of Germany*, was another indication of this tendency. It is proper to connect the interest in the language, literature, and philosophy of Germany with the Transcendental tendency, as they were associated together in the popular mind, and looked upon alike with a vague dislike, suspicion, or dread, as closely connected with infidelity, or at best with mysticism, obscurity, absurdity, and nonsense, and tending to pernicious radicalism; so that the word *German* came to carry with it all sorts of ridiculous and extravagant associations,[1] — and to this some color was lent by the specimens from which the popular, but very slight and imperfect, notion had been derived. Such were the translations of Schiller's *Robbers*, a work belonging to a very crude period of his life, and Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther*, which in itself, in some respects rather remote from the New England style of thought and sentiment, had the further disadvantage of being known from a poor and sickly French version, probably still further disfigured by its translation into English.

The books most in vogue at any period, and especially those which are favorites with the active and influential minds whose mission is to give character and direction to the prevalent thought, may be taken as indications of the tendencies of the time; and so we may fitly notice here some of those which were so regarded at that time.

Besides the taste for German literature and philosophy, the writings of Coleridge excited much interest and awakened a taste for profound and abstract thought on literary and philosophical subjects. First, his *Biographia Literaria*, and then, more exclusively philosophical, his *Aids to Reflection*, with the valuable introductory essay by President J. Marsh.[2] This is more particularly addressed to those interested in questions of theology; but as it is written from the ground of the Transcendental philosophy, and pervaded by its spirit, it was not a small element in the influence in that direction. In this work the very important distinction of the *Understanding* and the *Reason* is much emphasized and insisted on; and this is of the very essence of that

[1] The prevailing misapprehension was also aggravated by the unfavorable representations of English Reviews, from which, at that time, many of the popular literary notions were derived.

[2] Published in Burlington, Vt., 1840.

philosophy, and the whole spirit of the work is very strong and decided in opposition to the sensuous system.

The works of Cousin also were favorite books, — the *Introduction to Philosophy*, translated by Professor C. Henry, and the *Comparative View of the Different Philosophical Systems*. His able and lucid criticism of Locke and his system, and of the philosophy of sensation and experience, was read and valued as pointing out the defects and tendencies of that system.

Besides the writings of Carlyle relating to German literature, other works of his awakened still greater interest, and had a still more inspiring influence; among these, several articles in the *Edinburgh Review*,[1] and the *Sartor Resartus*.[2] It is hardly possible for those not contemporary with the first appearance in this country of Carlyle's earlier works to understand or appreciate the extent and vividness of this excitement. It was an era in the thought, experience, and culture of many, provoking in the same person the most opposite feelings, — delight, admiration, sympathy, at the same time dissent, questioning, and opposition; and stimulating thought by the opposition thus aroused. There was also the charm of his style, then a novelty, so rich and strong, so picturesque and poetical, and at times marked by touching strains of tender humanity. We connect the taste for the writings of Carlyle with the history of thought in Boston, since they nowhere else found so early and cordial recognition;[3] and this, we may presume, because their tone was so much in harmony, in some respects, with the growing tendency among us. At the same time, like those of Mr. Emerson, his writings aroused dislike and ridicule, so that with some of his younger admirers the reading of them was a sort of stolen pleasure. It was one of the jests of the day, ridiculing the tastes and enthusiasm of the young people, that in a group of school-girls the talk would be not of balls and beaux, but of Emerson and Carlyle.

Among the interesting features of this period was the Transcendental Club, of which Dr. Hedge, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Alcott, Mr. George Ripley, Theodore Parker, and some others were the founders. It was instituted with the object of bringing together those who agreed in general tendency of philosophical thought, or rather with the broader object of free and untrammelled discussion of questions of high moment then abroad in the community. The meetings of this club, the character and arrangements of which were quite informal, usually took place at the time of the religious anniversaries, or of the Harvard Commencement. They were held at

[1] "Characteristics," "Signs of the Times," "Burns," etc., — the first-named especially.

[2] [This first appeared serially in *Fraser's Magazine*, and was published for the first time in a collected form in Boston, in 1836, at the instance of Dr. Le Baron Russell, and Rev. Wm. Silsbee, with an introduction by R. W. Emerson. — Ed.]

[3] [Carlyle's will, but recently made public says, in connection with a bequest of books which he makes to Harvard University: —

"Having with good reason, ever since my first appearance in literature, a variety of kind feelings, obligations, and regards toward New England, and indeed long before that a hearty good will, real and steady, which still continues, to America at large, and recognizing with gratitude how much of friendliness, of actually credible human love, I have had from that country," etc. — Ed.]

various residences of persons interested, — as of Mr. Parker in West Roxbury, Caleb Stetson in Medford, Mr. Emerson at Concord, Dr. Francis at Watertown, or at Mr. Ripley's, Mr. Alcott's, and Dr. Bartol's, in Boston.[1] The talk took a wide range, and was at times of a very inspiring character, relating to topics of religion, philosophy, morals, etc.[2]

There were few who occupied a more prominent position, or one of wider influence in the period of which we write, than Theodore Parker. His independence of mind, his devotion to the cause of freedom and humanity in every aspect, and unshrinking courage in advocating and upholding their claims, and his interest in all knowledge and thought, with his warm, genial, and tender affection, made him a very noteworthy and efficient influence in these causes. His strong feeling against what he deemed errors of doctrine, and his own ardent and uncompromising spirit, led him into the ranks of controversy; and his language toward those whom he considered as faithless or hostile to freedom of thought, or to the relief of humanity from its wrongs and burdens, was harsh and unsparing: but this did no justice to his really kind, tender, and loving nature. His biography has been amply given in various forms; to this paper it belongs to say something of his influence on the thought of his period. This was chiefly in the direction of theology and of moral and social reform. He made it his mission to expose and attack the iniquities and falsehood that, in his view, are embodied in the present constitution of society; to assail the evils that oppress humanity and impede its progress, and more especially to expose and combat the errors that are mingled in the religious notions and institutions of the day, especially those which to him seemed to darken and disfigure our conceptions of the Divine Nature, and, though clothed in the garb of reverence and worship, to deface the pure, free, and beneficent character of Christi-

[1] Besides those already mentioned, Miss Margaret Fuller, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, Mrs. Ripley of Waltham, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, John S. Dwight, and others were sometimes present.

[2] One of these meetings, held in Boston, was rendered memorable by one of the remarkable and impressive outbursts of Father Taylor's eloquence. The subject of discussion was, we think, something relating to the influence of preaching and of the administration of religion, and how they might be rendered more effective. Father Taylor, who was present by invitation, was requested to give his views and experience. He had been sitting silent while the others talked, knitting his brows, with his green spectacles thrown up on his forehead, leaning forward or shifting about on his chair, in the attitudes so familiar to those who remember him. When he began to speak he soon rose to his feet, and warming as he went on, in a sort of indignant or sorrowful eloquence, by-and-by took his hearers off their feet, and they were carried away as by a flood. He rebuked the shortcomings of the various religious sects, not sparing his own, the Methodists; characterizing the faults or peculiarites of each with sarcastic wit, and a sort of grim but fervent satire. The points he made were commonplace enough perhaps, — namely, that all that is needed to move men is simple earnestness and living faith, and that this will conquer coldness and indifference in the hearers; so that what he said was not so remarkable as the pervading, fervent power of his utterance. When he got through, the company were so deeply impressed that they were for the most part disposed to entire silence, and though some desultory attempts were made to renew and continue the discussion, all other speech seemed so cold and hard after the glowing words they had heard, and so out of harmony with their mood, that the company soon broke up. [See *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Rev. Edward T. Taylor*, by G. Haven and T. Russell. Boston, 1872. — Ed.]

anity and its founder. Settled at first over a small parish in West Roxbury, he drew a number of hearers from abroad, many coming out from Boston to listen to his earnest and eloquent speech. What attracted these hearers was not, we think, any very remarkable original intellectual power, but a strong common-sense, entire freedom in exploring and judging of questions of religion, perfect fearlessness in uttering his thoughts, and above all an earnest spirit of humanity and a high moral purpose, united with a profoundly reverent spirit.

His sermon on the "Transient and Permanent in Christianity," at an ordination in South Boston (May 19, 1841), was the occasion of a strong outbreak of feeling against him. The doctrine which was the subject of this discourse was a favorite topic with him, — namely, the distinction on the one hand between the *permanent* and immortal element in Christianity, which is the true religion, suited to all times and all men, and destined to imperishable life, and which was taught by Jesus himself; and, on the other hand, the *transient*, consisting of the opinions of men, the dogmas and forms, the ecclesiastical arrangements, creeds, etc., which embody the notions of men about the absolute and eternal, and are destined to change from age to age. What most caused the commotion in the community and the churches was the freedom with which he spoke of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of the miracles there recorded. Many were shocked, many offended and irritated; and a sort of dismay, arising from various causes, pervaded the religious denomination with which he was connected, and, with few exceptions, their ministers withdrew from ministerial intercourse with him. A warm and excited controversy followed; his opinions and utterances were denounced and opposed in various forms, and journals and pamphlets carried on the war. A few came out in the pulpit and elsewhere in his defence, and without assenting to his opinions declared themselves in favor of free and independent speech, and opposed his being excluded from the old intercourse merely on the ground of free utterance of opinions discordant with their own.

His views naturally spread in the train of the discussion, as this became more and more widely remarked and followed. A gift of clear and strong statement helped their acceptance, so that they found ready access to many minds. The inspiration of the freedom with which he spoke, and assailed the opinions and dogmas which oppressed and hampered the minds of so many, attracted not a few. His ardent interest in the great questions of humanity then agitating society, especially that of slavery,[1] commended to the ardent partisans in these matters his opinions on more abstract questions. He was naturally connected with the Transcendental party, and generally attended the meetings of the club before mentioned; was connected with the publication of the *Dial*, for which he wrote much, and was associated in social intercourse and intimacy, as he was in the public mind, with many of the prominent members of that party.

[1] [See James Freeman Clarke's chapter on "The Antislavery Movement." — Ed.]

About the end of 1845 he was invited to preach to a congregation in Boston, to afford him the opportunity of teaching freely in a wider sphere, and where more could hear him, the views and doctrines now of so wide interest. He entered on this new position early in 1846. This society, which became known as the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, met first in the Melodeon, afterward in the Music Hall, where for many years he preached to large multitudes with strong and stirring eloquence. Here he gave his views on religion and morals, and on the exciting topics of politics, especially slavery and the fugitive-slave law. On these occasions he attacked unsparingly some of the prominent and distinguished characters of the day, whom he considered treacherous to the cause of humanity.

These practical questions did not, however, draw him away from his theological studies; and in the midst of the warfare he published several editions of his *Discourse of Religion*, the object of which was to present to the community the grounds of belief in the doctrines of what are called Natural and Revealed Religion.[1] This, and other works in the like tone and direction, were widely read and accepted. Many hailed them as a new light to their minds, and found satisfaction in the clear and earnest statement of grounds of belief in what specially concerned their highest nature, and which seemed to afford a more stable and satisfactory foundation than they had before known. Mr. Parker's position in the theological and antislavery controversies engaged him in a very extensive acquaintance and correspondence. Persons from near and far, whom his words had reached, were eager for closer intercourse with one to whom they felt themselves so much indebted. Many came to his house to see and talk with him; and notwithstanding his overwhelming occupations, and the varied and complicated network of his engagements, he rarely denied himself to such, however trifling or unprofitable their demands.

The Sunday services at the Music Hall became a very notable and conspicuous institution of our city. Here he sometimes treated the great problems of religion and life, assailing moral abuses or dogmatic errors; or from week to week, as any great event or occasion bearing on the claims, rights, or duties of humanity came along, — any exciting questions or incidents, legislative injustice, or popular violence, — in that most electric period of fierce excitement he "fulmined" over Boston from his pulpit, or pleaded with gentler appeals in behalf of the elevation and relief of the suffering and distressed in every form. Mr. Parker maintained all this

[1] He thus states the primitive ground of our belief, or rather of our knowledge, of the existence of God. "It may be called," he says, "in the language of philosophy, an intuition of the reason. . . . Our belief in God's existence does not depend on the *à posteriori* argument, on considerations drawn from the order, fitness, or beauty discovered by observations made on the material world. It depends primarily on no argument whatever; on no reasoning, but on Reason. . . . The intuitive perception of God is afterward fundamentally and logically established by the *à priori*, and beautifully confirmed by the *à posteriori*, argument; but we are not left without the idea of God till we become metaphysicians and naturalists, and so till we can discover it by much thinking."

It may also be mentioned, that, in 1847–50, Mr. Parker shared with others the editorship of the *Massachusetts Quarterly*.

varied existence, in spite of failing health, until he was finally obliged to give up his work and go abroad for his health. He died not long after in Florence.[1]

In 1835 Mr. A. Bronson Alcott opened a school for young children at the Masonic Temple in Boston. This was a remarkable and noteworthy experiment, and claims some notice, since marked philosophical thought and a high ideal were embodied in its conception, and in the novel and peculiar way in which it was conducted. Whatever we may think of the success of the experiment, we may say at least, if he failed, *Magnis tamen excidit ausis*. It was founded on the principle of the Platonic philosophy, that all abstract truth exists in the soul of man; and its aim was not to impart knowledge from without, but to educe both truth and knowledge from the mind of the child, where it lies, unrecognized and unknown perhaps, but still existing in a purer form, or less encumbered by errors, than in later life.[2]

The famous ode of Wordsworth on Immortality may almost be taken as Mr. Alcott's creed in this matter. His thought, as shown in this and in various other manifestations, placed him, in the public estimation, very decidedly among the Transcendentalists, and in the category which we presume he himself would choose, if any, of Platonism. The thought, idea, method, and genius of Plato were the especial objects of his admiration and sympathy; and he may, with as much justice as any modern man, be reckoned among his disciples, and has ever reproduced, expounded, and preached his doctrines. He has always most persistently followed in practice the Platonic or Socratic method of teaching or developing truth, — by conversation; having a profound and unfailing confidence in its value, its power, and its efficacy, and laying the greatest stress on these. For many years he has, when favorable opportunities have offered, embraced them to practise his favorite mode of instruction, and to impart the views he holds so important (of the spiritual nature and destiny of man, and his close relation to the divine), at the same time always manifesting a warm sympathy with whatever in literature and religious history he found cognate with his fervent and unwavering faith in man's divine origin and immortal being. These conversations have at times had very impressive and inspiring effects, and have met with a warm response from large numbers, — of late years particularly at the West, where he has found many to welcome his

[1] [See John T. Sargent's *Theodore Parker, the Reform Pulpit, and the Influences that Oppose it.* Boston, 1852; and other references in the note to Parker's portrait in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] A few extracts from the preface to the *Conversations on the Gospels*, which is a sort of record of the course pursued, will show something of the aim and methods of this attempt to educe moral and spiritual thought from the minds of children. "It is," he says, "an attempt to unfold the idea of spirit from the consciousness of childhood, and to trace its intellectual and corporeal relations, its struggles and conquests, while in the flesh. . . . Assuming as a fact the spiritual integrity of the young mind, he [Mr. Alcott] was desirous to place under the inspection of children a character so much in conformity with their own as that of Jesus of Nazareth. . . . It [the record of these conversations] is a revelation of the divinity in the soul of childhood."

presentation of high and spiritual truth. He generally attended the meetings of the Transcendental Club, of which he was an early and zealous member, and contributed some papers to the *Dial*, with the title of "Orphic Sayings." What most deserves our interest and respect in his course and position is his unwavering and unfailing loyalty to the principles of thought of which we have spoken, and his persistent devotion to the highest conception of the soul and the spiritual life.

The position of Miss Margaret Fuller, as producing a marked influence on the mind of a large circle both of the young and of her contemporaries in age, demands some notice. Her conversations, held in Boston with an audience of thoughtful and cultivated women, seem to have been her opportunity. They were continued for several successive winters. It is sufficient to mention some of the topics discussed to show something of their character, or at least their aim, — namely, Greek Mythology, Fine Arts, Faith, Creeds, Woman, Culture, Prudence, etc. She was also at one time editor of the *Dial*. Her influence on the circle she drew around her, especially on her intimate friends, was remarkable, being both intellectual and moral; particularly on women, to whose hearts and minds she seems to have had a peculiar and most direct access. In exciting them to thought and aspiration for higher culture, or perhaps more especially in leading them to disregard some conventional trammels, and in assisting their endeavors to a higher, more religious, and self-sustained life, she found her mission.[1]

Of course this new phase of thought called Transcendentalism had many opponents. Persons of conservative opinions in religion, morals, politics, and literature were disturbed, offended, or disgusted at what seemed to them its pernicious influences on the great interests of society. Some were amused at what appeared to be its extravagances or absurdities; and some attacked its arguments and its doctrines, or criticised what they deemed to be its inconsistencies and false pretensions, in elaborate counter statements and arguments, or they deplored with sincere dislike and apprehension what seemed to them its disastrous tendencies. Others used freely the weapons of ridicule and sarcasm, for which the novelty, to say the least, of some of the utterances of its adherents and organs appeared to offer fair opportunity.[2]

[1] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Among the more decided and declared antagonists of this philosophy, besides Professor Norton, was Mr. Bowen, professor of moral and metaphysical science in Harvard University. Mr. Emerson's *Nature*, which appeared in 1836, gave occasion for a review of the work in the *Christian Examiner*, January, 1837, by Mr. Bowen. As that little book was looked upon as a sort of condensed essence of the spirit of Transcendentalism, and open to all the charges brought against it, Mr. Bowen took the opportunity to oppose the obnoxious system, in an adverse and unfavorable criticism, with charges of novel and unwarrantable language, of new and barbarous words, indicating vagueness and incompleteness of thought in the minds of the writers, and producing obscurity to their readers. Other charges, besides innovation and obscurity, are those of dogmatism and arrogance in the assertion of their opinions. He then goes on to a more direct discussion of the philosophy, to show its shallowness and falsehood, and incidentally eulogizes Locke, whose philosophy was especially assailed and disparaged by

Let us in conclusion glance rapidly at some of the salient features of the excitable condition of mind which characterized the period with which we are dealing. In the sphere of morals, the strong assertion by Mr. Garrison and his followers of first and absolute principles opened the minds and roused the feelings of the community; and while it powerfully moved the sympathy of those favorably inclined by nature or education, aroused the fears, disgust, or bitter hostility of the adverse element. Two parties were thus arrayed in fierce antagonism, which showed itself in excited meetings and conventions on the one side and the other, or, with those of more brutal instincts, in mobs and violence. The discussion of abstract principles, provoked primarily by the Abolition doctrines, soon ran off in all directions, and brought up all sorts of abstract questions and their unqualified application. Thus the whole theory of government, of social life, its arrangements and usages, — questions of the right to take life at all, leading logically to the doctrine of absolute non-resistance, and thus striking at the foundation of all governmental control and organization, — were brought under consideration. So the right of taxation to support a government of force was denied; and with some the Constitution of the United States, as not condemning slavery, — "the sum of all villanies," — was of no binding value. Then followed the denial of the right to take animal life, thus leading to the disuse of animal food and of substances derived to the use of man from the enslavement and slaughter of the brute creation. Then came the question of women having an equal right with men on the platforms of the free societies, which came up most naturally in connection with the broad principles of freedom professed; and this opened the whole question of woman's prerogatives, and of the right to exclude her from equal participation in the duties and offices of society and government. These, and allied questions, led to inconveniences and embarrassments, and sometimes to ludicrous scenes and incidents, of which the hostile critics were not slow to make the most.

Another extreme question, which to some seemed to flow logically from acknowledged principles, as well as from those recognized as the very essence of Christianity, was that of the right to hold and use money, as in-

the opposite party. We give in his own words one of the objections which he, in concert with the popular voice, makes to this philosophy: "The distinguishing trait of the Transcendental philosophy is the appeal which it makes from the authority of reason to that of passion and feeling," — a statement to which the advocates and receivers of this system would doubtless most decidedly object. He also brings a charge which they might not be very anxious to repel, of its being a revival of the old Platonic School. In the *Examiner*, in November of the same year, Professor Bowen returns to the charge, and in a long and elaborate article compares and contrasts the claims of the philosophy of Locke, or that of experience, with that of this new school. In this he pursues substantially the same line of argument and criticism, but in a more extended and elaborate way, and repeats the charges and objections against the Transcendental system and its adherents, — of arrogance, and obscure and unwarrantable use of language. He naturally has a good deal to say of the German metaphysicians, of whom he takes a very unfavorable view; and of Coleridge, too, who among the English thinkers was considered as rather the type of this mode of thought and speculation. [There is a portrait and sketch of Mr. Bowen in the *Harvard Register*, May, 1881. — Ed.]

volving, in substance, consequences inconsistent with human brotherhood. A small journal was published, and continued for a few numbers, called, we think, the *Herald of Holiness*, which maintained the moral evil of the use of money, and by its earnestness and appeals to high moral considerations interested and impressed some minds.

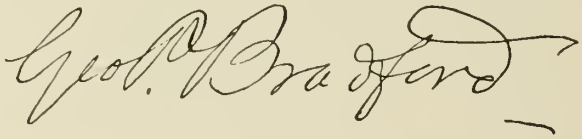
In all this tendency to extremes, and indeed to what may be called extravagances, it is interesting and gratifying to observe that in this region at least there was not that tendency to run into licentious doctrine or practice, or more lax principles of morality, which has sometimes shown itself in times of similar mental and moral excitement. On the contrary, the tendency was to a more strict and even ascetic behavior.

The excitement and interest of this discussion and action of the time reached and pervaded various classes of society, — alike those of high culture and those less educated, but in whom the moral instincts and principles asserted themselves with force, and often in language of rough strength, which was quite current at the time. The Antislavery meetings naturally abounded in specimens of forcible and often rude eloquence, as they had for their staples the exciting and inspiring themes which easily lent themselves to stirring oratory. On their platform might be witnessed a remarkable combination of the higher mixed with the ruder but forcible oratory. Here were, indeed, the refined feeling and feminine dignity of Lucretia Mott and the Misses Grimké; the splendid power, rare brilliancy, glowing words, and trenchant logic of Thompson and Phillips; but also the more rude, but most effective and telling blows of the Goodells and Burleighs and Fosters. That this period has left an abiding influence on the moral and intellectual thought and culture of the country we cannot doubt; and may we not hope, too, that the later, broader, and freer spirit, grafted on the strong and sturdy Puritan stock, will yield rich and wholesome fruits?[1]

[1] Our limits have obliged us to omit the mention of several who deserve notice among those whose teaching or writing has had an influence in modifying, directing, or enlightening the thought of our community, like the Rev. O. A. Brownson, Professor C. C. Everett, and others; but we have chosen to dwell at some length upon some prominent names, rather than furnish little more than a bare catalogue of all who might seem to require notice. We cannot, however, allow ourselves to pass by the name of Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, without some reference at least to her long-continued, disinterested, and unfailing exertions and zeal in promoting everything that promised greater freedom, elevation, and breadth of philosophic, philanthropic, or religious thought or action. We trust that better justice may be done to her character and efficient services than belongs to our subject. Her conversations with Dr. Channing, reported in the volume recently published by her, are in this wise very important, as through various channels they found their way to the minds of a wide circle in the community. This influence was also felt in her teaching, which has ever been characterized by high and ideal aims.

At one time (about 1840) she opened a room for a circulating library and the sale of foreign books and journals. This became a sort of Transcendental Exchange. Persons young and old resorted here, partly to talk with the learned and active-minded proprietor, to get the literary news of the day, the last word of philosophy, of religious literature and thought. Many persons of high culture, or of distinction in the sphere of religious philosophy, philanthropy, or literature, were often here, and likely to meet others, like themselves, interested in the questions then agitating the community, or to talk on the calmer topics of literature and philosophy. Some of Miss Fuller's conversations were held at Miss Peabody's house in West Street.

Though the phase of thought which gave its name and character to this period is no longer so marked and conspicuous, it doubtless gave a permanent and still existing impulse to the mode of thinking and feeling on matters of philosophy and religion. New questions have since arisen to take the place of the old; or more accurately, perhaps, the old ones have passed into new forms and aspects. The hostility and ridicule which it aroused have died away, and its modifying influence is now silently, perhaps unconsciously, felt in many minds to whom it once seemed portentous in its aspect and pernicious in its consequences, and has undermined or lessened the hold of other opinions and doctrines. If we may venture to draw a lesson from a retrospect of the field which we have passed over, when we look back on the angry controversies and bitter hostilities of the past, it may impress upon us that what when novel and strange often seems sinister and threatening, a meteor "shaking from its horrid hair" all sorts of evils and disasters, "may by and by," to borrow the language of another, "take its place in the clear upper sky, and blend its light with all our day."



CHAPTER IV.

THE WOMEN OF BOSTON.

BY MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.

WHEN an English gentleman was asked what seemed to him the most remarkable thing in Boston, he promptly answered, "The Women!" Mary Carpenter said "she did not see what more the women of Boston could ask for," so favorably did their position compare with that of women in any other country.

There is a strong and recognizable type of Boston women whose characteristics are clear and enduring; and the gradual formation of this type may be traced from the earliest periods of the town's history, as in leading individuals those qualities are clearly seen which have made the woman of to-day what she is. The Boston woman inherits from a line of well-bred and well-educated ancestors, mostly English, a physical frame delicate and supple, but enduring. It is capable of great nervous force and energy, and can be made to serve the mind and will almost absolutely. But she is liable to attacks of disease, and under unfavorable conditions her nervous energy degenerates into irritability. More intellectual than passionate, her impulses are under control; and she is reserved and cold in manner, while a gentle purity inspires confidence even before it awakens affection.

Her morality is stern and exacting, and she does not understand the temptations which beset other natures; her own sense of chastity is so high that, like the lady in *Comus*, she walks amid a thousand dangers unheeding and unharmed. She shrinks from contact with evil until it appears as suffering, when duty and benevolence overcome her sensitiveness. She is speculative in theology, while conservative in her tastes; and, though indulging great freedom of thought, is devout in her habits. This conflict sometimes produces a strain upon her feelings too great for endurance, and she seeks refuge in an established church. Perhaps this is only a brief rest in her onward career, or it leads to a life of moral or benevolent activity in which she is content. Her æsthetic nature is serious and refined, preferring the classic music to the modern opera, and pre-Raphaelitism to sensuous

beauty. The subdued style of her dress marks her position in the scale of refinement.

Aristocratic by tradition, she is in danger of becoming exclusive and narrow; but, liberalized by education, she is democratic in her work, if not in her tastes and social habits.

Her hospitality is not free, for her time is precious and her housekeeping orderly; but the old Boston matron made home a radiating centre of goodness and happiness. She gives the name of "friend" carefully, but holds it sacredly. Brissot de Warville said of Bostonians in 1788: —

> "They unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. The young women here enjoy the liberty they do in England, — that they did in Geneva when morals were there, and the Republic existed; and they do not abuse it."

The Boston woman is exemplary in her conduct as a wife and mother. Brissot de Warville again says: "Bostonian mothers are reserved; . . . entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in making their husbands happy and training their children to virtue." He also speaks of their preservation of health and beauty: "I have seen women of fifty with such an air of freshness that they would not have been taken by an European for more than forty. Women of sixty and seventy are sparkling with health." But Boston women are still more remarkable for their virtues in single life. Theodore Parker truly said that he missed elsewhere "his glorious phalanx of old maids."

Boston women have learned to respect work, and a woman can earn her living by labor of any kind, if she be honest, intelligent, and pure in her life, without losing the respect or the companionship of the most refined and respected. Ann Bent and Harriet Ryan[1] — the one a shopkeeper and the other a hair-dresser — are instances within our own memory. Young aspirants in art, however wealthy, seek to sell their pictures, that they may be classed as artists, not as amateurs.

The Boston woman is a representative of New England; and the constant interchange between city and country makes it difficult to draw any sharp distinctions between their inhabitants.

The history of Boston women begins with a young girl, Ann by name, ten years old, who was the first person to leap from the boat which brought over the exploring party from Charlestown, in 1630; and when, as Mrs. Pollard, she died[2] in 1725, aged one hundred and five, there was left behind her a canvas, still in existence,[3] on which the strong hard lines of

[1] She founded a Home for incurable patients.

[2] [Jeremiah Bumstead makes this entry in his Diary: "1725, Dec. 9, old Mrs. Pollard buryed, aged 105. From y^e *Courant*, No. 228: 'Mrs. Ann Pollard, widow of Mr. William Pollard, born in Saffron Walden, in y^e kingdom of England, died Dec. 6, in y^e 105^th^ year of her age. She has left of her offspring 130.'" — *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1861, p. 306. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. I. pp. 84, 521. — Ed.]

the old face indicate a toughness which could well have borne the hardships of the early settlement.

It is not certain that the gentle footfalls of the dearly beloved Lady Arbella were ever heard in what was to become Boston, but we like to recall what manner of woman she and her companions were, as pictured in the story of the voyage which they had just encountered: —

"When the officers were alarmed by the appearance of eight sail supposed to be enemies, the Lady Arbella and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger; but not a woman or child showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to be very great."

She took her full part in all the labors and dangers attendant upon their first landing in Salem; but "the virtues of her mind were not able to stem the tide of those many adversities of her outward condition," and she died about Aug. 30, 1630, deeply lamented by the whole colony. But there were survivors of her sex who bore their part in all the hard labor of the new settlement. "They went once a day, as the tide gave way, to gather mussels and clams on the shore." When Mr. Garrett went to Plymouth, in December, with several men and a girl, in an open shallop, encountering severe cold and storms, the girl suffered, we are told, least of all.

That woman's influence in sustaining the spirits of the colonists was appreciated, is shown by the tender mention of the daughter of Thomas Sharpe: "Boston had not received the like loss of any woman."

Hardly seven years after the settlement the peace of the colony was disturbed by religious troubles. The most distinguished leader of this Antinomian movement was a woman, — Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Marberry, an English preacher, and the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, a man of good estate and mild temper. After all the searching criticism of her enemies, Dr. Ellis[1] asserts "that nothing can be discovered or inferred in this age, from any known record, which sullies her matronly or religious character." Her intellectual endowments were rich, and her personal gifts of eloquence and persuasion very great. Her religious nature having been quickened by the preaching of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright in England, no other minister satisfied her, and she left her home and followed them to New England that she might have the nourishment which her soul craved. She already held "peculiar opinions," for she "vented them" on shipboard, to the dismay of the passengers. On arriving at Boston her eccentricities were reported to the Governor, but she made herself useful "as a woman very helpful in the times of childbirth and other occasions of bodily disease, and well furnished for these offices." Before she appeared in public she had won the confidence and affection of nearly all the members of the Boston church. When she had been thus engaged for about two years, she began to call her friends and converts together, to discuss points of doctrine and strengthen each other in the faith.

[1] [*Life of Anne Hutchinson*, in Sparks's *American Biography*. — Ed.]

Her meetings were confined to women, and sometimes she gathered a hundred. The nominal purpose was to repeat the discourses of Mr. Cotton, and impress them upon the minds of her hearers. She held these meetings twice a week, and at first they were looked upon with general favor; but in the progress of discussion the sermons of other ministers were commented upon and compared unfavorably with those of her favorites, and gradually her own views were presented. Without entering into her theological speculations, we must look through the mists of controversy and the quarrels about words for the real essence of Anne Hutchinson's teachings, for what made her doctrine so welcome not only to the women but to many of the noblest men in the colony. Although expressed in hard, speculative phraseology, as suited the intellectual fashion of the times, yet her real message, as in all true religious revivals, was a re-assertion of the power of the life and the spirit over outward regulations and formalities. Not what you do, but what you are, is the measure of salvation: the covenant of works is of outward forms; the covenant of grace is of inward life. True as this doctrine is in its essence, none is more liable to run into error and extravagance, since the outward life is necessary as expression, test, and correction of the inward feeling. The belief in immediate revelation, which grew out of her spirit and faith, led Mrs. Hutchinson to such extravagant claims as gave occasion for alarm to the magistrates, whose great desire was to keep all things quiet and orderly, that the home government might have no pretext for restricting their liberties.

Mrs. Hutchinson's trial took place in November, 1637, before the full court. William Coddington alone defended her. While her sex was frequently brought forward as a reason against the course she had taken, she was not treated with any courtesy on account of it, but was kept standing until weakness obtained for her the privilege of sitting. Her answers to the charges against her are full of wit and wisdom, and she often confounded her judges with her apt quotations from Scripture. She found her rule in Titus: "Let the older women instruct the younger." The proceedings of the court were arbitrary and severe, but the alarm of the magistrates was real. The Synod decreed, "that though some few women may meet together for prayer and mutual advice, yet such a set assembly as is in practice at Boston is unlawful (when sixty or more meet every week, and one woman takes upon herself the whole exercise)." The court decreed the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson to Rhode Island. Her enemies declared that the judgment of God was seen in some personal afflictions which fell upon her, while her friends equally traced the finger of Providence in the sufferings of the colony. In 1642, after her husband's death, she removed to the Dutch settlements near New Haven, where she and all her family, with the exception of one daughter who was made captive, were murdered by the Indians.

Her influence was very great, and has undoubtedly left its impress upon the life of Boston women to this day. It has been asserted that she was

insane, but there seems no ground for charging her with more than the enthusiasm of a highly wrought and sensitive nature, somewhat bewildered by theological and speculative subtleties.[1]

At a very early period the staid colonists found it necessary to pass sumptuary laws against dress. Roger Williams had enjoined the women to wear veils, but John Cotton especially condemned the practice as not required by Scripture. In Salem his sermon had so much effect that those who wore veils at the morning service left them off in the afternoon. A little later the General Court enacted that "women, not enjoying property to the value of £200, were forbid to wear silk, or tiffany hoods, or scarfs." In 1665 there was such a lack of clothing in the colony that a law was passed, "enjoining all, not otherwise employed, — as women, boys, and girls, — to engage in spinning;" and the selectmen of the town were required to look into the condition of every family and "assess spinners."[2]

About 1648 the nightmare horror of witchcraft began to spread through the colonies, and women were the most frequent victims of the fatal delusion; but the horrors of that story need not be repeated here.[3]

Many of the punishments inflicted on women for other offences were extremely cruel. Dorothy Talboy was hanged for the murder of her child, — although she was unquestionably suffering under religious insanity. Mrs. Oliver "was whipped for reproaching the magistrates," and "had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the elders." A severe law against marriages of persons within the degree of relationship prohibited by the Jewish Code, applied to both men and women: —

> "Such man or woman shall be set upon the gallows by the space of an hour, with a rope about their neck, and the other end cast over the gallows; and on the way from thence to the common gaol shall be severely whipped, not exceeding forty stripes each. Also, every person so offending shall forever after wear a capital I of two inches long and proportionable bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to their cloaths, and sewed upon their upper garments, on the outside of their arm or on their back, in open view."

Even as late as May 10, 1752, an unfortunate woman was sentenced to stand upon a scaffold for the space of an hour, facing the four cardinal points of the compass a quarter of an hour each. In this situation she was obliged to suffer from the mob treatment so brutal that the historian refrains from describing it.

The most severe sufferers from the old-time legal sternness were the Quaker women; and the names of Mary Fisher, Dorothy Waugh, and Mary Dyer fill us with pathetic sadness, but their story has already been told.[4]

[1] [See further on this controversy, in Vol. I. p. 174. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 483, for instances of sumptuary laws. — Ed.]

[3] [The whole course of "Witchcraft in Boston" has been followed by Mr. Poole, in Vol. II. — Ed.]

[4] [See the chapter by the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., on "The Puritan Commonwealth," in Vol. I. — Ed.]

Women, of course, shared deeply in the anxieties and sufferings caused by the wars with the Indians. Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and her family were taken captive by the Indians. After her release she arrived in Boston, May 3, 1676, and published a narrative of her experience. She says: "The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewomen and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and charity I would not forget to make mention of."

Owing to these wars, to fires, and the difficulties with the mother country, there was much distress in Boston during the latter part of the seventeenth century; and in 1698 "the town was full of widows and orphans, and many of them are very helpless creatures." It was counted that one sixth of the communicants in Cotton Mather's church were widows. At the same time the former strictness of morals had become much relaxed, and new laws against all manner of indulgence were required. The laws regarding marriage were severe, and bore harder upon women than upon men, — even upon Indian women; but perhaps they were not more unequal than in any other civilized community. The English law against marrying a wife's sister was strictly enforced.[1]

Only one woman became distinguished in literature during this earlier period. Anne Dudley, the wife of Governor Bradstreet, was born in England, in 1612 or 1613. She was married at sixteen, and probably came over in the "Arbella." Her first book was published in London, in 1650, under the title, *The Tenth Muse, lately sprung up in America: Several Poems compiled with great variety of wit and learning. By a Gentlewoman of America.* She had eight children, but still found time for much study and writing. Her poems[2] are mostly versifications of history. The opposition to literary pursuits is shown by the statement in her prologue: —

> "I am obnoxious to each carping tongue,
> Who says my hand a needle better fits;
> A poet's pen all scorn I thus should wrong.
> For such despite they cast on female wits,
> If what I do prove well, it won't advance;
> They 'll say it 's stolen, or else it was by chance."

A little poem on her children, and another to a bird in contemplation, show a tender feeling for Nature, which, had she lived in happier times for the muse, might have made her a poet of higher rank: —

> "I had eight birds hatched in one nest;
> Four cocks there were, and hens the rest.
> I nurst them up with pain and care,
> Nor cost nor labor did I spare;
> Till, at last, they felt their wing,
> Mounted the trees and learned to sing."

[1] [This law was dropped at the revisal of the laws of marriage and divorce, in 1785. — ED.]

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 461, and the authorities there cited. — ED.]

"The dawning morn with songs thou dost prevent,
Sets hundred notes into thy feathered crew;
So each one tunes his pretty instrument
And warbling out the old begins anew.
And thus they pass their youth, in summer season,
Then follow thee into a better region,
Where winter 's never felt by that sweet airy legion."

From the close of the religious persecutions to the actual outbreak of the Revolution we find very slight indications of woman's presence and influence. The town was growing in wealth and importance, and there was evidently an increase of aristocratic society. Oldmixon says: "A gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress and conversation, which perhaps is as showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London." Women must have contributed to this pleasing condition of society, and an occasional mention of funeral honors shows the deference which was paid to them. Hannah Waldo is recorded as "a pattern of every female virtue." The Castle guns were fired in honor of the funeral of Governor Shirley's wife, and Dr. Colman commemorated her at the lecture before the General Court.

Women were not unfrequently conspicuous in church affairs.[1] The Sandemanian Society was largely composed of women; and "thirty men and twice as many women seceded with Samuel Mather" when he withdrew from the Second Church.[2] Yet the church had treated women rather harshly, for "under certain accusations they were obliged to stand up with a white robe or sheet over them, while the minister read aloud their confession. Afterward, such brethren and sisters who should fall into scandal were allowed to confess to church members only." Women were also active in charity: Dorothy Saltonstall left to the poor two hundred pounds, and twenty pounds to be laid out in Bibles and Testaments to be distributed among poor children. She was also the executrix of the will of her husband, Mr. John Frizzell. Both Increase and Cotton Mather preached funeral sermons on the death of Mrs. Foster, "who dispensed her alms with an uncommon generosity." A French observer of Boston customs says "that men make it not a business to pay court to women;" but I find no indications of special want of courtesy, — the tone is that of polite society.

There was much extravagance in dress as the colony grew in years, and hoops had attained to such a size in 1726 as to be severely attacked. Yet the women were not unwilling to give up their finery, and during the periods of suffering in Boston they wore calicoes and chintzes.[3] When the people, somewhat later, resolved to avoid the use of articles taxed by the English Parliament, women as well as men gave up wearing expensive mourning;

[1] Mary Tomlins purchased a pew in the North Church; and women are often mentioned as belonging to different churches.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 229. — Ed.]

[3] [See Mr. H. E. Scudder's chapter in Vol. II. for the costume of the Provincial Period. — Ed.]

and at the funeral of Mr. Ellis Callender "his sister appeared with no other token of mourning than a black bonnet, gloves, ribbons, and handkerchief."

Judge Sewall's Diary gives a lively picture of home life during the early part of the eighteenth century. His thirteenth child was born January 2, and on the 16th his wife treats her midwife and women. "They had a good dinner of boiled pork, beef, fowls, roast beef, turkey, pye, and tarts, for seventeen guests." Hannah Greenleaf was the midwife.

But the woman of elegant society was not the only representative of her sex in days a century agone. We hear of Mrs. Avery, and many others, keeping shop; and in 1794 a writer of the *Historical Journal of the American War* says a word in behalf of his countrywomen, who bring various articles of home manufacture into Boston for sale. They are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and often obliged to part with goods at a low price, or barter them for articles of luxury. He urges that stands be erected for them near the market.

When the soldiers raised by Governor Shirley to aid General Braddock, in 1755, had been three months in the field, news of their sufferings from want of suitable clothing reached their friends. Immediately a number of young ladies volunteered their services to the town authorities, offering gratuitously to make garments for them. When, some years later, the Stamp Act was repealed, it is said that the subscription to pay the debts of poor prisoners was set on foot by "a fair Boston nymph;" and fifteen hundred families discontinued tea, to thwart the designs of the Parliament in taxing it.

There are slight indications which show that women, or rather ladies, in Boston were less robust in the days of which we now write than they were a century earlier. Whether this was owing to the stove, which then, as when Judge Sewall wrote, "made the room comfortable," or to a growing disposition to consider women as delicate and ornamental, I cannot say; but Blanchard, who visited Boston in 1780, reports: —

> "The women are tall, well formed, of regular features; their complexion is generally *only pale*, without any color. They have fewer attractions and less ease of manner than our French women, but more dignity. . . . At twenty years of age the women have already lost the freshness of youth; at thirty-five or forty they are wrinkled and decrepit. . . . I found that the great part of those who had died were under fifty years of age. There were a very few of sixty, almost none so old as seventy, and I saw none older."

Slavery existed, indeed, nearly through the last century; but its evils were much mitigated by the kindness of the women, who took pains to protect their slaves. In 1699 Mrs. Eunice Wait went to Judge Sewall, expressing her desire that her slave Sebastian might marry Mrs. Thair's Jane; but Mrs. Thair insisted "that Sebastian should have one day in six for the support of Jane, his intended wife, and her children, if it should please God to

give her any." The demand was compromised for five pounds per annum. At a somewhat later day a little ragged child was purchased in the slave market by Mrs. John Wheatley, whose heart was drawn to the little modest, sickly-looking girl, and she took her home and taught her to read and to write. When she was fourteen years old, Phillis began to write poetry. She was encouraged by her mistress in her efforts to learn, and she soon attracted the attention of clergymen and other literary gentlemen. Flattery and attention did not spoil her, but she remained modest and thoughtful. She went to England for her health, where she received even more attention, and her poems were printed, with an engraved likeness of herself. Her poem addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth is noble in sentiment and smooth in versification. She also wrote complimentary verses to General Washington, who sent her a courteous reply. She made an unfortunate marriage with a colored man of pleasing appearance, but selfish disposition and idle habits, and in the troubled time of the Revolutionary war she sank into poverty and distress. Mrs. Wheatley's family tried to relieve her when they learned of her wants, but death soon put an end to her trials. She was never called by the name of her unworthy husband, but always Phillis Wheatley.[1]

During the Revolutionary period we find no woman taking a very prominent position in affairs in Boston; but how deeply interested they were in the struggle, how full of patriotic ardor and willingness to bear their share of toil and privation, is shown by the letters and journals of the day, especially those of Mrs. Quincy and Mrs. Adams.

Dorothy Quincy married John Hancock when he was in concealment with Samuel Adams in Fairfield, Connecticut. A fortnight after the birth of her first child she travelled by carriage to Philadelphia with her husband, then chosen President of the first Congress. When her husband informed her, in great secrecy, that it was thought it might be necessary to burn Boston to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and that he had consented to the destruction of all his property, she was so calm as to be able to attend Quaker meeting immediately after. At a later day she was accustomed to receive all classes at her Saturday salt-fish dinner. When Admiral d'Estaing was invited to breakfast with Hancock, and requested permission to bring all his officers, to the number of three hundred, Mrs. Hancock, being unable to procure milk enough for her table, sent out her servants to milk all the cows on the Common, with directions to send any persons who complained to her. It is said that the owners were rather amused than offended by the proceeding.

Of an interesting circle of women associated with Boston during the stirring periods of the last century, and some of whom still live for us on Copley's canvases, we may not happily forget Mrs. John Murray, who published both poetry and dramas, and Mrs. Edmund Perkins, who was celebrated for her fine intellect. Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren, the sister of James

[1] [See Mr. Goddard's estimate of her capacity, in another chapter. — Ed.]

Otis, was one of the most gifted women of the time; and although born in Barnstable and living mostly at Plymouth, she yet mingled in Boston society, and published some of her writings there. Copley depicts "her face as delicate and intellectual; hair and eyes dark. Her head-dress is of white lace with white satin ribbons. Her robe is of dark-green satin, with pompadour waist trimmed with point lace. Full plait at the back hanging from the shoulders, and sleeves of point lace; front of skirt and sleeves elaborately trimmed with puffings of satin." She wrote, at a later day, a voluminous history of the *Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations*, in three volumes, the last of which was published in 1805. It is written with great spirit and enthusiasm, though in a quaint style. She gives a clear narrative of events, and paints the leading characters in strong colors. She is not lukewarm in her feelings. She was a Democrat, and a warm admirer of Jefferson. Some of her remarks on John Adams were so severe that he defended himself in a series of letters. She replied rather sharply to him, and the dispute was so warm as to endanger their friendship; but after some time their intercourse was pleasantly renewed.[1]

The women of Boston had then little opportunity for methodical education; but they read a great deal, and, having little new reading, faithfully studied the older English literature, especially that of Queen Anne's time. They also saw a great deal of good society; and as the best men were deeply engaged with serious questions of political government, the ladies, who shared their anxiety, gained much from their conversation, and acquired great power of thought and expression. Mrs. Abigail Smith Adams,[2] wife of John Adams, born in 1744, says: "I never was sent to any school; I was always sick. Female education in the best families went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances music and dancing." She says: "It was fashionable to ridicule female learning, and I regret the trifling, narrow, contracted education of the females of my own country." Ladies had a great propensity for letter-writing, which was considered an elegant accomplishment, and they used classical names as signatures, — Miss Smith's being Diana, and afterwards Portia. Calliope, Myra, Aspasia, and Aurelia were used by her friends. Mrs. Adams saw the evil to the Republic from the abasement of one half of its people. She says, somewhat playfully, yet evidently with deep meaning, in 1776: —

"I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies, for, whilst you are proclaiming peace and good-will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, — very liable to be broken; and, notwithstanding all your wise laws and maxims, we have it in our power not only to free

[1] [These letters are printed in 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. She was the wife of James Warren, the President of the Provincial Congress. — Ed.]

[2] [A portrait of Mrs. John Adams is one of those given in Griswold's *Republican Court*, p. 169. It is also in the *Familiar Letters*. — Ed.]

ourselves, but to subdue our masters, and without violence throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet, —

"'Charm by accepting, by submitting sway,
Yet have our humor most when we obey.'"

Again she says: "If we mean to have heroes, statesmen, and philosophers, we should have learned women." Mr. Adams seems to have felt the power of a wife to mould her husband's fortunes, for he closes a letter on the subject by saying, "A smart wife would have put Howe in possession of Philadelphia a long time ago."

Occasionally the women of Boston, like the men who destroyed the tea, took the righting of wrongs into their own hands. Mrs. Adams writes, July 31, 1777: —

"There is a great scarcity of sugar and coffee, — articles which the female part of the State is very loath to give up, especially whilst they consider the scarcity occasioned by the merchants having secreted a large quantity. There had been much rout and noise in the town for several weeks. Some stores had been opened by a number of people, and the coffee and sugar carried into the market and dealt out by pounds. It was rumored that an eminent, wealthy, stingy merchant (who is a bachelor) had a hogshead of coffee in his store, which he refused to sell the committee under six shillings per pound. A number of females — some say a hundred, some say more — assembled with a cart and trucks, marched down to the warehouse, and demanded the keys, which he refused to deliver. Upon which one of them seized him by his neck and tossed him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter, he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him; then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put it into the trunks, and drove off. It was reported that he had personal chastisements among them; but this I believe was not true. A large concourse of men stood amazed, silent spectators of the whole transaction!"

To come down somewhat later, Miss Eliza Susan Morton, afterward Mrs. Josiah Quincy,[1] visited Boston in 1795, and speaks of the delightful society which she met there. She was married in 1797, and came to Boston to live. She writes: —

"Thanksgiving Day, December 1, 1808. On this day of thanksgiving there is no subject which excites more in my mind than the location of our family in New England, and, above all, in Boston."

This circle of Boston ladies showed a warm interest in literary women. Mrs. Quincy and Miss Lowell had become acquainted with Mrs. Grant's letters from the Mountains. They caused an American edition of her work to be published in 1809, and sent the profits to the author. Mrs. Quincy remarked that while assisting Mrs. Grant they ought to remember that their own countrywoman, Hannah Adams,[2] the author of many valuable works,

[1] [The first Mayor of that name. — Ed.]

[2] [There is much about Hannah Adams in Woods's *Brookline*, p. 159, etc.; and a portrait of her is in the gallery of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. See Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*. — Ed.]

was braiding straw for a living. They exerted themselves for her benefit, and succeeded in obtaining subscribers to a life annuity. But "it was requisite that the subscriptions of married women should stand in the name of their husbands." Miss Anna Cabot Lowell was another highly accomplished woman, whose letters and poems were greatly admired: she died in 1820. Mrs. Quincy also exerted herself to have Miss Edgeworth's *Moral Tales* republished in Boston. While she took an active interest in her husband's political affairs, she also taught her children two hours every morning, during which he was in attendance at the Capitol. When Lafayette visited Boston she, as the Mayor's wife, welcomed him in "an elegant and appropriate speech." She was early convinced of the sin of Slavery, and was also interested in philanthropic movements, being for thirty years a subscriber to the Boston Female Asylum. There was of course, in these early days of this century, a prodigy. Miss Helen Sheafe, who died in 1802, wrote a poem at thirteen years of age, in answer to the question, "What is Religion?" But the few did not make the rule, and John Quincy Adams could write, —

"Oh that our young ladies were as distinguished for the beauties of their minds as they are for the charms of their persons! But, alas! too many of them are like a beautiful apple that is insipid to the taste."

The nineteenth century, so remarkable for its rapid progress in the emancipation of the masses from political tyranny, and of the negroes from personal slavery, has also brought great improvement in the condition of women in Boston, as elsewhere. Legislation in regard to women has been greatly amended. The common law of England, which generally prevailed here, was very unjust to married women, who were almost without personal rights in property. But one of its provisions, which held the husband responsible for the crimes of his wife, was disregarded. Mary Dyer suffered in her own person.

Yet there was in Boston society a strong feeling in favor of protecting the pecuniary interests of married women. In 1640 the General Court "voted Mrs. Winthrop three thousand acres of land," although her husband was then living. In the early part of this century the best men of Boston took care to secure a provision for their daughters by will, and to settle their property beyond their husbands' control. Jonathan Jackson used his influence to promote this custom, and as he had given an expensive education to his sons he left his money to his daughters.

But until 1855 a woman could secure the possession of her own property only by placing it in the hands of a trustee, to whose will she was subject, or by making, before marriage, a contract with her husband by which he relinquished his claims to certain designated property. This custom of protection gave some security to wealthy women, but it afforded no relief to the large class who might earn money and be at the same time at the mercy of an extravagant or intemperate husband. In 1855 a very broad statute

was passed, giving a woman the right to hold all property earned or acquired by her, independent of the control of her husband. Some troublesome restrictions in regard to selling her property and conducting business still remain; but the main points are secured.

The laws of inheritance are not yet equalized. A woman cannot, without his consent, deprive by will her husband of more than one half of her personal property; nor can she take away his life interest in her real estate if they have had a living child.

The laws of divorce have been much improved, although still defective, and bearing unequally upon the wife. Even more unequal is the effect of guilt in the marriage relation. Samuel E. Sewall says: "She, if guilty, can under the most favorable circumstances retain only a naked subsistence out of her property; while he, if guilty, may still retain the bulk of his wealth."

In education the advance has been even greater than in legislation in regard to property. Although as early as 1635 measures were taken to establish a school in Boston, yet, as we have seen, there was very little provision for the education of women. Whether from law or custom, girls do not seem to have attended the schools to any great extent. Wealthy families had their children taught at home. The public school system as we now know it was established in 1789. "Children of both sexes were to be admitted, boys for the year round, and girls from April to October;" to be taught to spell, accent, and read prose and verse, and also to be instructed in English grammar and composition. In 1806 the number of scholars in all the schools was 1,760, — boys 1,030, girls 730. No child was admitted under seven years of age. This rule led to the establishment, in 1816, of Sunday schools, for instruction not only on religious subjects, but as preparatory to the grammar and writing schools. This provision being found inadequate, primary schools were established and placed under the care of female instructors, thus introducing this important feature into the school system. In 1825 the number of pupils was 6,220, of whom 2,723 were girls. The girls received rewards at the expense of the city.[1]

The inequality in the provision of education for girls led the Rev. John Pierpont, then Secretary of the School Committee, to propose the establishment of a high school for girls. He advocated his proposition on grounds of "general expediency, and as an object of ambition and of profitable employment of three years of life now inadequately occupied." The school was organized, with Mr. Ebenezer Bailey as master, in 1825. Two hundred and eighty-six candidates presented themselves for examination, but many of them were unprepared for a course of study higher than that of the grammar schools. As many of the best candidates were selected as the single room would accommodate. This school was "kept open eighteen or nineteen months, during which time not one pupil voluntarily quitted it, nor would as long as they could be allowed to stay, except in case of marriage."

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

This is said to have been the first institution of the kind ever established. Many wealthy pupils were taken from private schools to attend it, and many entered the grammar schools to fit themselves for it. A great impulse was given to all the schools. The conduct of the school was entirely satisfactory, and many of the young women fitted themselves to be teachers, and sought employment in the primary schools. The sub-committee reported in its favor. But the very success of the school was its ruin! Mayor Quincy reported against it, on the ground of the large numbers who would desire to attend it in future, and the consequent expense to the city. The cost of each pupil was eleven dollars per year. Mr. Quincy proposed as a substitute to add one year to the course of the grammar schools. The high school for girls was abolished.[1] The cost of this experiment was about $4,500. Public feeling was very much excited on the subject. Many young Irish girls had entered the school and had proved fine scholars; and an outcry was raised against higher education for the poorer classes, as unfitting them for domestic service. The failure of this school, however, stimulated improvement in the private schools.

Schools for young ladies had been largely devoted to teaching the accomplishments. Modern languages and polite literature were studied, and *Paradise Lost* was parsed until hardly a shred of it remained. Mrs. Rowson's school was one of the most famous of the early schools, and was succeeded by Dr. Park's. Mr. Cummings was one of the first to aim at more thorough education, and he introduced the study of Latin: the well-known Mrs. Ripley of Waltham was one of his pupils. Mr. George B. Emerson established his admirable school; and Mr. Bailey, bitterly disappointed at the abandonment of the public high school, opened his private "High School for Girls," which continued for ten years. The monitorial system had attracted much attention and been partially introduced into the public schools. Mr. Wm. B. Fowle opened a school for girls on this plan. These two schools, having about a hundred pupils each, introduced many important features, such as gymnastics, dancing, greater attention to solid branches, with scientific experiments, and great care in sanitary arrangements. It would be impossible to number the many excellent schools which have succeeded. The Chauncy Hall School, originally established for boys, introduced the principle of co-education in 1862. The number of female pupils has risen to sixty-four, the maximum number.

I must indulge myself in speaking of one teacher whose influence has been far-reaching in society, as well as in education, — Mrs. Anna Cabot Lowell, — born Jackson. When suddenly reduced from affluence to poverty, she refused generous offers of support from both her own and her husband's family, and chose to earn an independence for herself and her children by teaching. Her social position and fine education at once brought her pupils, and her school was a triumphant success. She made $3,000 the first year. She did not aim at having a fashionable school, and

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on this point. — Ed.]

discountenanced any pretensions of caste. Her great power lay in arousing the minds of her pupils to intense action, and awakening a love of literature which they never lost. Their enthusiasm for their teacher lasted through their lives. When the Civil War broke out, her sons gave their lives to their country, while she and her daughters labored in the sanitary and freedmen's work. Her influence has been to elevate the office of teacher, and no Boston woman can ever feel that she is lowering her social position by following in her footsteps.

The subject of a Girls' High School was not again brought forward for several years, when the demand for teachers had greatly increased, and Normal Schools had been established by the State. A city normal school for girls was founded in 1852, but the great general demand for high-school education caused its change, three years later, into the "Girls' High and Normal School."[1] Colleges and professional schools being now largely open to women, a strong need of classical education was felt, and in preference to opening the old Latin School to them, a Latin School for girls was opened Jan. 1, 1878.

The employment of women as teachers gradually extended from the primary to the higher grades, and was very much stimulated by the exertions of Horace Mann, on the Board of Education. The highest positions are still closed to women, only one woman — Miss Baker — having ever been appointed head of a grammar or high school.[2]

The subject of co-education does not seem to have been agitated at an early period. When girls went to school at all, the arrangements were made rather from convenience than from theory. In 1830, however, a separation on the basis of sex was made in a few of the grammar schools. This movement was very unpopular in some sections of the city. In 1836 six out of ten of the grammar schools had both boys and girls; and the Committee of that year gave two memorable statements in their report, — one, "That the children of our own city have *ever* been distinguished for moral and upright behavior;" the other, "That the tendency of mixed schools is to demoralization!" Since that time the grammar and high schools in the old part of the city have been divided by sex; while in the suburbs, some of them are mixed and others are not.

The Boston University, established in 1869, has from the first opened its doors freely to women in all its departments. In 1879 it had in its colleges one hundred and forty-seven young women, to four hundred and fifty-eight young men. One female student was in law, two in theology, thirteen in music, and forty-eight in medicine. Two ladies serve on the Board of Cor-

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on this point. — Ed.]

[2] In 1880 one thousand and eighty-nine women were employed as teachers in the public schools, and one hundred and eighty men. Of the pupils in the normal and high schools, there are one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one girls, to one thousand and twenty-five boys; in the grammar schools, thirteen thousand four hundred and twelve girls, to fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two boys; and in the primary schools, nine thousand five hundred and forty-two girls, to eleven thousand one hundred and eighty-eight boys.

porators, and several as official visitors in the Faculties of liberal arts and medicine, and as managers of the hospital connected with the medical school. The aim of the Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women was to found free scholarships at this university. It has supported seventeen young women wholly or in part, but has as yet no endowed scholarships.[1]

The Women's Education Association, founded in 1872, has done a large and varied work. Among other good things, it has established training schools for nurses, diet kitchens, and cooking schools, the Harvard Examination, the Women's Laboratory, and a summer home for working girls. Mrs. Ellen M. Richards was the first female student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which now admits women to all its classes. She is doing a great work in teaching science, as well as in her investigations of adulteration in food. The Society for Encouraging Studies at Home, founded by Miss Anna E. Ticknor, extends its benefits throughout the land. It would indeed be tedious to enumerate all the opportunities for instruction now open to women in Boston. They are sufficient, if well used, to lead to a full recognition of her rights to education everywhere.

The Lowell Institute has done a great deal for women, by simply opening its fine courses of lectures to the citizens of Boston without distinction. It was once thought improper for ladies to attend lectures, and even as late as 1838 the Lyceum audiences were so rude as to make it disagreeable for ladies to gain admission. Mrs. Lowell, the wife of the founder of the Institute, was herself a fine scholar, studying even the higher mathematics with her husband.

In the first half of our century the ladies of Boston were more literary in their tastes than scientific or artistic. They read much, and were familiar with modern languages. Sophia Dana (Ripley) had classes in history, which were highly enjoyed by her pupils. The lectures of the "Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge," and afterward those of Richard H. Dana, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and other eminent literary men, were largely attended by ladies. Miss Sarah Freeman Clarke, the first Boston woman who excelled in landscape painting, and one of the few persons who had the benefit of Mr. Allston's instruction, writes: "In 1827, I think, the first Athenæum exhibition of pictures was announced. A joyous whisper went about that ladies might go to this exhibition unattended by a gentleman. Advanced womanhood will smile at this concession, granted by I know not what social power." This marks a great difference in social customs.

Until within forty years no decent woman entered the pit, now raised into the parquet, of the theatre, and an insulting regulation made the third row infamous. Now ladies go freely into all parts of the theatre, with or without gentlemen, and Kean riots and the rule of the pit are things of the past. Two Boston women — Mrs. Snelling Powell and Miss Charlotte Cushman — have proved that the position of an actress is not inconsistent with the

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter. — ED.]

noblest private virtues and the purest reputation. On the fifth of May, 1852, ladies were for the first time invited to a public political dinner; it was given in honor of Hon. John P. Hale.

Few women have received professional education, except in medicine. As the courts decided that a woman could not even be appointed justice of the peace, the law held out little attraction to those seeking occupation. Few have sought to enter the Church, although one woman has attended theological lectures at Harvard, by favor. But many women have become religious teachers without professional preparation, and it is no unusual thing for a Boston pulpit to be occupied by a woman. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of Nov. 1, 1880, says: "Pulpits in Boston, in the suburban towns, and in cities as far distant as Lowell, were occupied by delegates to the Women's Temperance Convention to the number of twenty-four; and prayer-meetings were also led by them." The "Women's Industrial and Educational Union" hold a service on Sunday afternoons, conducted entirely by women. The city of Anne Hutchinson does not find them to be disturbers of the peace.

The Woman's Board of Missions, incorporated in 1869, has done a large work. Its President, Mrs. Albert Bowker, and its leading Vice-President, Mrs. R. Anderson, as well as many of its officers, are Boston women; but its work is not confined to the city. The Home Missionary Association has also done a good work.

The advancement of women in the profession of medicine during the last forty years has been so great, that it must have more than a passing word.

The work of women in caring for the sick began very early in the history of the colony. Anne Hutchinson was physician as well as preacher. The practice of midwifery was mostly if not entirely in women's hands. But, as years went by, provision was made both for the elementary and professional education of men, while that of women was neglected; so that as the city progressed in knowledge and prosperity, the demand for the educated and scientific physician drove the midwife, who had only learned her business in the school of experience, out of practice. The most remarkable midwife was Ruth Barnaby, who practised her profession forty years in Boston, dying in 1763, at the great age of one hundred and one years. Mrs. Alexander, a highly-educated Scotch physician, well known in the city in the early half of the century, was probably the last midwife whose skill was recognized by the higher classes in Boston, although many still find employment among families of moderate means.

Harriot Keziah Hunt, born in Boston in 1805, gave a great impulse to the employment of women in medicine. A woman of great original vigor of intellect, warmth of heart, and strength of will, she was driven to the study and practice of medicine by her observation of the treatment of disease in her own family. She was educated at private schools, and herself taught in one for a short time. Through the illness of a beloved sister she became acquainted with two English physicians, Dr. Valentine Mott and

his wife. She lived with them for several years, learning all she could of the theory and practice of medicine. Miss Hunt was never strictly a practitioner of any school. A Swedenborgian in faith, she believed much in spiritual and mental influences upon health. Her object was to cure her patients, and she gave them whatever counsel and treatment she felt they needed. Her admirable good sense and warm sympathy often enabled her to "minister to a mind diseased." That she was not more scientifically educated was not her fault, for she repeatedly petitioned to attend the lectures of the Harvard Medical School, but without success. She took an active interest in all reforms, protested against paying her taxes without the right of representation, and being called to court as a witness, she refused to stoop under the chains placed around the court-house in the time of a fugitive-slave case. Full of oddities and humor, her ringing laugh was a tonic more refreshing to her patients than her bitter herbs, and she sometimes recalled them to life by refusing to entertain the idea of their dying. If she failed to gain a good medical education herself, she appreciated its importance, and tried to secure it for others. She aided in the formation of a society for medical education, which established a college in 1850.

I have not space to trace minutely the interesting history of this college. In 1859, Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska was invited to the chair of obstetrics; and by her wish a clinical department was formed, of which she took charge. At the end of three years she resigned her position, the clinical instruction was abandoned, and the "New England Hospital for Women and Children" was established. Dr. Lucy E. Sewall was its first resident physician. This institution still affords almost the only opportunity in New England for the clinical instruction of female medical students. In 1879 ninety-one resident students had received their practical education here, and entered into practice. Several women came from Europe for the purpose of enjoying the educational advantages of the hospital. It has now nine women on its medical staff. The New England Hospital Medical Society numbers thirteen physicians, resident in Boston, with a few from other places.

In 1873 the Trustees of the Female Medical College, by permission of the Legislature, transferred its property to the Boston University. As the Homœopathic Association was the only medical society ready to comply with the terms on which the funds could be transferred, the school was placed under its care. All its advantages are as freely opened to women as to men, and a good opportunity is here offered to study all branches of medical science, as well as the theory and practice of homœopathy. A small hospital gives opportunity for cliniques. About sixteen women of this school are now in practice in Boston, many of whom have recently graduated.

The fourth charitable society in Boston, and the first founded by women, was the Boston Female Asylum, suggested by Mrs. Hannah Stillman. The first meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Jonathan Mason, Sept. 26, 1800. The most wealthy and influential ladies of the

city united in this work, and they were cordially aided by the wealthy citizens with money, and by the clergy, who helped to make their anniversary meetings occasions of public interest. Two curious provisions are found in their Charter: —

1. "That every married woman belonging to said society who shall, with consent of her husband, receive any of the money or other property of said society, shall thereby render her said husband accountable therefor to said society.

2. "That the treasurer of said society shall always be a single woman."

Miss Elizabeth Eaton, well known as a teacher, organized the first Moral Reform Society. The influx of foreigners of the lower classes, which increased very rapidly from 1830 to 1840, bringing so much of want, suffering, and vice in their train, aroused deeply the feelings and consciences of the ladies of Boston. Their exclusive and elegant lives looked to themselves selfish and unfruitful in contrast with the world of human needs brought to their very doors, and they began to ask themselves earnestly as to their duty in regard to it.

Dorothea Lynde Dix was much influenced by the preaching and life of Dr. Channing. She was a woman of delicate physical organization and sensitive nerves, but of fine culture, and was an accomplished teacher. In the midst of her pleasant literary labors she was suddenly impelled to a life of self-sacrifice for others, and turned her thoughts to the condition of prisoners in her own city and State, whom she wished to visit. Every one discouraged her from pursuing her purpose, telling her that it would be at the risk of her life; but she persevered through the winter, and in the spring she saw signs that her labors had not been all in vain. From finding persons of unsound mind confined in the common jails, her attention was turned to the condition and treatment of the insane. In pursuance of this object she visited Europe in 1834, and also travelled over all the United States. Her exertions have contributed largely to the establishment of hospitals for the indigent insane. She was appointed superintendent of nurses during the Civil War, and at its close resumed her philanthropic labors. In spite of her early feeble health she is still living, although she must be about eighty years old, and continues to be interested in her benevolent work.

It would be impossible to name all the important benevolent institutions in Boston in which women have taken part, often originating them, although it is deemed wiser that both sexes should unite in carrying them on. Every sect has done its part. The Catholic Sisters of Charity are constantly engaged in works of mercy, and the Jews never allow their poor to beg of others. The same zeal is shown in the temperance reform, in the work of the North-End Mission, and in the North-End Industrial Home founded by Mrs. Harriet L. Clarke (Caswell), in the care of foundling and destitute children, in the prevention of cruelty to animals, and in many other ways. But it is alike impossible to separate the work of Boston from that of the Com-

monwealth, or of its women from its men. Yet the reflex action upon the life and character of Boston women is very marked: a lady hardly thinks her life complete unless she is directly aiding in some work of reform or charity.

The working women of Boston form a very large and important class, whose influence is too great to be overlooked. While the higher classes of work receive recognition and reward greater than in any other time or country, there are yet many evils pressing heavily upon shop-girls and sewing women,[1] and those employed in serving others. Educated women and men are earnestly engaged in efforts to improve the condition of these classes by industrial education, by opening new avenues of employment, and by promoting a better understanding between employers and employed.

While we cannot willingly admit that the social morality of our city is degenerating, we cannot deny the fact that the efforts of philanthropists and reformers seem as yet only to have revealed the appalling extent of vice, rather than to have devised any practical means of checking it. The question is too profound and too painful to be discussed here, but on its righteous solution depends the future permanence and well-being of our civilization.[2]

In literature, the progress of women has been so rapid that now a woman's name on the titlepage of a book hurts neither its acceptance with the publisher nor its sale to the public. The results of higher education are marked in the superior style and method in the writings of younger women. Of the many women who have contributed to this success, I can name only a very few of those who have most influenced the character of Boston women.

Lydia Maria Francis (Child), born in 1804, exercised a powerful influence both by her character and her writings. An ardent lover of beauty and truth, she was also eminently practical in her work and simple in her habits. Her career was long and brilliant. She was the first (in 1821) to publish a novel, — *Hobomok*, — founded on the Pilgrims' history, and the first to edit a child's magazine. Her *Juvenile Miscellany* was the delight of the children, while her *Philothea* charmed romantic maidens, and her *Frugal Housewife* was the oracle of New England kitchens; it was published in 1829, and had reached its thirty-third edition in 1855. She consciously perilled all her literary success by entering upon Antislavery work, and her *Appeal for that Class of Americans called Africans* made a profound im-

[1] By the last census of Massachusetts, in 1875, there were one hundred and seventy-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-seven women in Boston, — an excess over men of nearly seventeen thousand. It is difficult to classify working women accurately, but it is estimated that there are now twenty thousand sewing women and shop girls in Boston, and twenty to twenty-five thousand engaged in domestic service of all kinds. There are but twenty-eight governesses reported.

[2] The latest authorities estimate that there are in Boston five thousand women who may be classed under the usual phrase of "lost women," — women who are lost to morality and happiness themselves, and who are the sources of evil to others. The deep interest on this subject should look to the prevention of its causes.

pression upon the best minds of the community.[1] Her *History of the Progress of Religious Ideas* is also a work of great value, which has only been thrown into the shade by the great light shed upon the subject since she published it. The loveliness of her life and character was equal to her intellectual ability. She died in 1880.[2]

Although the influence of Sarah Margaret Fuller (Ossoli) — born in 1810 — was by no means confined to Boston, it was here fully felt; and it lingers in all the life and character of Boston women. Rarer than her great intellectual attainments was her power of vitalizing all knowledge, by bringing it into relation with life, not in its practical, but in its ideal aspect. "Is life rich and full to you?" was the question she asked of her pupils; and the heartfelt answer was: "Yes, since I have known you." The Greek mythology, German philosophy, the old English drama, Italian poetry, Beethoven's music, all became part of every individual, as of the universal, life. This transcendental elevation of common life stamped itself strongly on those who came within her influence. Her book on *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* is yet the high-water mark of thought on that subject. She was a leader in the great intellectual movement which introduced to us German literature and philosophy, and at one time edited *The Dial*, whose value has only increased with age. She died, by shipwreck, in 1850.[3]

We still have with us Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, born in 1804, wittily and wisely called the "Grandmother of Boston," for what Boston woman cannot trace much of her best intellectual life to this fountain? The daughter of a scientific father and a mother who was an accomplished teacher, her whole life has absorbed and radiated education; and to her is due much of the highest religious, intellectual, and moral influence of Boston, as well as the wide-spread knowledge of Froebel's thoughtful and humane system of education. Her individual deeds of kindness and her zeal for humanity almost overshadow her literary merits, until we observe the depth of her historic and philosophic learning, the vigor of her thought, and the strength and purity of her style. Her little book-shop, in West Street, was at one time the resort of the most distinguished literati of Boston, as well as of eager school-girls, who bought more pencils than they could use for the sake of a chance word from its presiding genius.

Cornelia Wells Walter (Richards) took editorial charge of the *Boston*

[1] [See James Freeman Clarke's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [There is an appreciative sketch of her by Colonel Higginson in *Eminent Women of the Age*, 1868. Her novel, *The Rebels*, deals with events in Boston during the Revolution, and may be compared with Cooper's *Lionel Lincoln*, a story covering Bunker Hill and other events of the same time. — Ed.]

[3] [Colonel Higginson furnishes a kindly sketch of Margaret Fuller in *Eminent Women of the Age*, 1868. Her chief memorial is the *Memoirs*, a joint work by R. W. Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and William H. Channing. Some autobiographic memoranda, etc., of her later years will be found in *At Home and Abroad*, edited by her brother, A. B. Fuller, in 1856. Also see Horace Greeley's *Recollections of a Busy Life*, ch. xxii.; his introduction to her *Papers on Literature and Art*; O. B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*, ch. xi. For her family connection, see the Fuller Family in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1859. — Ed.]

Daily Evening Transcript immediately on the death of her brother, its first editor, in 1843, but the fact was not publicly announced until the first of January following, when her success was assured. This is believed to be the first instance of the successful conduct of a daily journal by a woman. Miss Walter was the avowed and responsible editor, taking that position at the request of the proprietors and publishers of the paper. The paper gained both in circulation and reputation, especially for the truthfulness of its notices, under her management, which continued until her marriage, in 1848.

Women have advanced very rapidly in the plastic arts. Miss Goodrich[1] took high rank as a miniature painter in the early part of the century; her portrait of Daniel Webster is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1851 a school of design for women was established, with the object of fitting them for practical work. Owing to various causes, the school was not a success; but a class in practical design, under the charge of the Lowell Institute, is freely open to women, who share in its honors and employments. The Normal Art School and the School of Drawing and Painting, at the Museum of Fine Arts, afford to women full opportunity for thorough study. William M. Hunt, for many years the leading artist in Boston, formed a school of women distinguished for the energy and vigor of their work. He gave a great impulse to the pursuit of art, not as an amusement, but as an earnest vocation. In sculpture success has been quite as marked. Harriet Hosmer's fame is European, and Anne Whitney's statues[2] do not "fear the light of the public square." Decorative art has gone beyond all possibility of measurement. Warville "hopes the Boston women may never, like those of Paris, acquire 'la maladie' of perfection in music, which is not to be attained but at the expense of the domestic virtues." Education in music has come, but we hope without the predicted loss of domestic happiness.

Sumptuary laws have been abandoned, but there have been earnest attempts to reform the dress of women, so as to secure greater simplicity and healthfulness. While no great revolution in costume has been affected, and fashion still dictates absurdities, a woman in Boston may now dress simply and reasonably without attracting unpleasant attention by her short dress or thick boots.

The Antislavery movement brought out the influence of women in a remarkable degree. That party which recognized their equal right in the councils of the society was predominent in Boston through the influence of its great leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Angelina Grimke (Weld) was the first woman who spoke in the State House on behalf of the slave. The charm of her voice, her earnestness, and refine-

[1] [Or Goodridge, as the family seem to have written it. See her sister's account of her in Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, 78. She was born in Templeton in 1788, but came to live in Boston at the age of twenty-four, and lived there till 1851, when she removed to Reading, where she died late in 1853. — Ed.]

[2] Her Sam Adams, for instance.

ment won all hearts. Maria Weston (Chapman), Lucy Stone, and Abby Kelley (Foster) soon made Boston familiar with the accents of truth from woman's lips.

But there was a comic side to this grand drama. Abby Folsom, that "flea of conventions," made herself heard in every meeting, till one longed for the authority of the Puritan elders to banish her from the State. She was a working woman from New Hampshire, with some noble qualities of mind and heart; but an over-excitable brain and lively temper made her like "the old woman who never was quiet." She was sincere in her reform work, and would take the drunken woman from the gutter, and shelter her in her own poor home.

Eliza Lee Cabot (Follen), Mary Goddard (May), and numberless other women of Boston were unwearied in raising money for the Antislavery cause by fairs, which they knew how to make occasions of great social enjoyment.

During the late war a woman's branch of the Sanitary Commission was organized in New England. Mary Dwight (Parkman) was its first president, but Abby Williams May soon took her place, which she held till the close of the war. With unwearied zeal Miss May presided over its councils, organized its action, and encouraged others to the work. She went down to the hospitals and camps to judge of their needs with her own eyes, and travelled from town to town in New England, arousing the women to new effort. Then might be seen young and old, rich and poor, bearing bundles of blue flannel through the streets, and unaccustomed fingers knitting the coarse yarn, while the heart throbbed with anxiety for the dear ones gone to the war. A noble band of nurses volunteered their services, and the strife was as to which should go soonest and do the hardest work. Hannah E. Stevenson, Helen Gilson, and many another name became as dear to the soldiers as that of mother or sister. A committee was formed to supply the colored soldiers with such help as other soldiers received from their relatives; and when one of the noblest of Boston's sons passed through her streets at their head, his mother "thanked God for the privilege of seeing that day." The same spirit went into the work of educating the freedmen. Young men and young women, the noblest and the best, went forth together to that work of danger and of toil. These experiences stamped the character of Boston women anew.

The political rights of women have not been forgotten during the whole of this century, although this interest has been postponed to the more pressing dangers produced by Slavery. Seeing the necessary outcome of the doctrines of the last century embodied in the Declaration of Independence, Mrs. Adams had made the comparison of theory with practice in her day. The first Women's Rights Convention in Boston was held June 2, 1854. Since that time agitation has been maintained by means of public meetings, distribution of printed matter, petitions to the Legislature, and the publication of newspapers devoted to the subject.

The *Woman's Journal*, originally edited by Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, and Lucy Stone, with the aid of William Lloyd Garrison and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, has now continued for ten years, and is increasing yearly in value and influence. The legislatures have, through their committees, given respectful hearings to the petitioners for equal suffrage; and a bill for committing the question to the people has been frequently reported by the committee, but has not yet gained a majority in the House. Special efforts to enable women to hold various offices have been more successful; but the history of women's appointment on boards of charity, as inspectors of prisons, alms-houses, etc., belongs rather to Massachusetts than to Boston.

In 1873 four ladies — Abby W. May, Ann Adeline Badger, Lucretia Crocker, and Lucia M. Peabody — were elected to the School Committee of Boston. This Committee, doubting the legality of these elections, asked the opinion of the City Solicitor, which was given against them. When the School Committee organized, they reported against the right of the ladies to their seats. This decision produced great excitement, especially in ward fourteen, which had given Miss Peabody a large vote. The House of Representatives then asked for the opinion of the Supreme Court; this was given to the effect "that there is nothing in the Constitution of the Commonwealth to prevent a woman from being on the School Committee." At the urgent entreaty of her constituents, Miss Peabody carried her claim to her seat to the Supreme Judicial Court, which decided that the Legislature had made the School Committee judges of the qualifications of its members "finally and without appeal," and dismissed the case. Before the close of the session the Legislature, almost unanimously, passed a law rendering women eligible on the School Committee. At the next election Misses May, Crocker, and Peabody, with the addition of Kate Gannett (Wells), Lucretia Hale, and Mary Safford (Blake) were elected and took their seats on the Board. The following year the School Board was reduced to twenty-four, to be voted for by the whole city, instead of by wards. Misses Crocker, Hale, May, and Peabody were re-elected. Miss Peabody received the largest vote ever cast for a member of the School Committee. Miss Crocker was appointed one of the new Board of Supervisors, and consequently resigned on the Committee. At the expiration of the terms for which they had been chosen, neither Miss Hale nor Miss May were re-elected; and so strong was the feeling aroused by this fact, that the friends of education petitioned the Legislature for a law similar to that recently passed in New Hampshire, enabling women to vote for school committee. This law was passed in the winter of 1879, and nearly a thousand women in Boston voted under it that year.[1] The mayor courteously forbade smoking at the polls during the morning hours, and the women generally found the act of casting their ballots unattended by any disagreeable circumstances. A Massachusetts

[1] The official account of the action of the School Committee may be found in their Report for 1874.

MRS. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

School Suffrage Association was organized in 1880, "to make school suffrage effective for the good of the schools." Miss Crocker was reappointed Supervisor at the expiration of her term of office, and Miss Peabody was re-elected on the committee in 1880. On Miss May's retirement from the board, Governor Talbot appointed her on the State Board of Education.

It is impossible in brief space to give an idea of the charm of Boston women in society. Many a foreign traveller has borne witness to it, and many old residents now love to recall the memories of those "who made this world the feast it was" in their youth. But Boston women were then eminently delicate and reserved, and little public record remains of their lives. Eliot, Lyman, Quincy, Sullivan, Amory, are names which at once call up visions of dignified womanly culture and poetic beauty.

Miss Emily Marshall became more widely known than any other lady, simply for her social attractions. Her charm of manner even more than her beauty influenced all who approached her, whether high or low; the hackmen were so spell-bound with admiration that they forgot to open the door of her carriage. She was neither a coquette nor a tyrant, but remained always winning and unaffected, commanding respect as well as love. She married Mr. William F. Otis, and died young.

The late Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis was less truly Bostonian in her manners. She had lived much abroad, and learned the art of entertaining guests simply and agreeably, and was also active in public matters. She took part in the fair for the Blind Asylum, and in 1840 roused the women of Boston to work for the completion of Bunker-Hill Monument. She helped to raise a fund for securing Mt. Vernon to the nation, partly by a successful ball, which brought $10,000. Her patriotism was always enthusiastic; she persuaded the State authorities to make Washington's birthday a legal holiday, and she always held a reception on that day. During four years of the Civil War she had charge of the Evans House as a place of reception for goods and money.

A new feature in Boston society is the establishment of social clubs. Of these, the most celebrated is the New England Women's Club, of which Mrs. Caroline M. Severance was the first president. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, distinguished both in literature and reforms, now fills that position. In its life of twelve years it has done much to encourage the formation of similar unions, as well as to promote all good causes, and to produce greater union among women of similar tastes and aims.

We may look with some complacency upon the history of women in our dearly beloved city for the last two hundred and fifty years, in spite of the blots upon its brightness which we have been obliged to point out; and surely never before to women were nobler opportunities open than those which the near future promises.

Edmah D. Cheney.

CHAPTER V.

THE DRAMA IN BOSTON.

BY WILLIAM W. CLAPP.[1]

THE history of the Drama in Boston presents many features of interest to the general reader, though it can scarcely be said to contain any elements of absorbing interest, or to present issues of vital importance when viewed as one of the component features of the growth of a city. A hundred years have not passed since it possessed with us "a local habitation and a name." In the early days of Boston the lovers of amusements were not sufficiently numerous to warrant even the strolling theatrical manager from England in hoping for a remunerative investment by seeking to introduce dramatic entertainments; and when the population increased sufficiently to promise success, the opposition to stage performances was not only an inherited prejudice on the part of the majority of the people, but prohibitory legislation prevented the erection of a theatre or the presentation of a play.

Cotton Mather, as early as 1686, in his preface to his *Testimony against Profane and Superstitious Customs*, says: "There is much discourse now of beginning stage plays in New England." It was not for many years after this warning note was sounded that any attempt was made to give dramatic entertainments with a view to invite the public and to render it pecuniarily profitable. The opposition to plays in England by the Puritans had been marked. Actors were whipped at the cart's tail. Macaulay says that the Puritans drove imagination from its last asylum. They prohibited theatrical representations, and stigmatized the whole race of dramatists as enemies of morality and religion. This spirit of intolerance was naturally inherited by the descendants of the Puritans in New England. Plays were performed in

[1] [Colonel Clapp published a *Record of the Boston Stage* in 1853. The Boston Public Library has for some years preserved files of Boston play-bills. The principal books throwing light upon the history of the Boston Stage, and upon the careers of those who have been associated with it, are the *History of the American Theatre*, by William Dunlap; *The Polyanthus*, by Hon. J. T. Buckingham; Ireland's *History of the Stage in New York;* Cowell's *Thirty Years among the Players;* Blake's *Historical Account of the Providence Stage; The Stage*, by J. E. Murdock; *Players of a Century*, by H. P. Phelps, of Albany, N. Y.; and the *Lives* of nearly all the prominent actors of the last half-century. — Ed.]

private, and no doubt even the more austere citizens derived gratification from what appeared to be a harmless method of passing a weary hour. The fear, however, that "a play-house" might be erected was so strongly entertained that the performance held at a coffee-house on State Street, when Otway's *Orphan, or Unhappy Marriage*, was given by two Englishmen assisted by some volunteers, led to the passage of "An Act to Prevent Stage Plays and other Theatrical entertainments," which became a law in March, 1750. It was stated by the framers of the law that stage plays "not only occasion great and unnecessary expenses, and discourage industry and frugality, but likewise tend generally to increase immorality, impiety, and a contempt for religion." The provisions were very stringent. Twenty pounds was the penalty to be paid by the owner of the premises let or used for any such purpose. Any actor or spectator present "where a greater number of persons than twenty shall be assembled together" was to pay five pounds. The intent of limiting the number was no doubt to prevent any such undertaking proving remunerative, without perhaps encroaching too harshly upon the right which some held that they possessed to give private dramatic performances at their residences. The law was accepted and enforced, as it was supported by public sentiment. Frequent attempts were made to secure its repeal. Intercourse with New York, where the theatre was established notwithstanding the same objections were urged which had prevailed in Boston, provoked a desire on the part of many of the more liberal citizens to erect a theatre and to conduct it in a manner that would remove many objections which were urged; but the more Puritanical held that stage plays were the "means of disseminating licentious maxims, and tending to immorality of conduct."

The Revolutionary war brought trials and privations which were sufficient to tax the energies of the people to the exclusion of all other topics, and the daily incidents of those troublesome times obliterated the mimic stage from the minds of the people. General John Burgoyne, who was a dramatic author of some note, had in 1774 produced a play at Drury Lane, London; and while in Boston he brought out his second drama, called the *Blockade of Boston*, which was written with the intent of impressing his men with due contempt for American soldiery.[1] In New York, and possibly in Boston, the expenses of living were so excessive that inferior officers of the British army endeavored by the performance of plays to add to their incomes, while the general officers encouraged dramatic performances as a means of relaxation for themselves and as a measure to secure contentment among their subordinates. The salvation of the country from the American point of view became a matter of such serious concern, that on Oct. 16, 1778, the Continental Congress passed the following resolve: —

"Whereas, frequenting play houses and theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary to the defence of their country and preservation of their liberties, —

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

"*Resolved*, That any person holding an office under the United States who shall act, promote, encourage, or attend such play, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed."

The severity of this act indicates the spirit which prevailed regarding the absolute necessity of avoiding the encouragement of any amusement calculated to distract the public mind from the higher duties of the times.

The close of the American Revolution was followed by a total reorganization of society in all the large cities, and the people looking toward the possibilities of the future enlarged their views; and the new generation, with higher aspirations, sought release from many of the restrictions which had so long prevailed. With increasing wealth came a more general attention to literature, and the dramatic works of English authors had peculiar attractions for a large class. The reading of the plays of Shakespeare[1] induced a desire among the people to see with their own eyes the full presentation on the stage of these masterpieces. The fame of Garrick had been echoed by Americans who had witnessed his marvellous performances in London; and John Philip Kemble was known to American readers of the English magazines, which then contained a monthly record of dramatic events. A coterie of wealthy gentlemen of culture in Boston attempted to educate public sentiment to a point which would permit the erection of a theatre. The law prohibiting theatricals had been re-enacted in 1784, though theatres in New York and Philadelphia were in full success. No attempt, however, was made in Boston to introduce theatrical entertainments until June 5, 1790, when Hallam and Henry, who had established play-houses in Philadelphia, New York, and Providence, which had been managed with a due regard for the proprieties of life, presented a petition to the Legislature, praying for leave "to open a theatre in Boston under proper regulations." The petition was not considered. In 1791 several of the leading residents of the town took the subject under consideration. The fact that Philadelphia, New York, and even Providence — the last city being a place of far less importance than Boston — supported theatres, was an argument used in its favor. The attention of the people was called to dramatic entertainments by a special article in the warrant for a town-meeting. An attempt was

[1] [The earliest American edition of Shakespeare was one printed in Philadelphia in 1795–96, in eight volumes, of which there are two copies in the Public Library. In 1802–4 Munroe and Francis published the earliest Boston edition, in sixteen numbers, fifty cents each, making eight volumes. "The press-work was mostly done by them personally on a hand-press, with ink-balls of sheepskin, the ink distributed by the hand. Ink and type imported, none worth using being made here. The engravings were executed by Dr. Alexander Anderson, of New York," — so writes Mr. David Francis, in a copy of a later edition preserved in the Lenox Library. A ninth volume, containing the poems, was added to this edition in 1807, claiming to be the first American edition of the poems; but this is questionable. Dr. Moore, of the Lenox Library, calls my attention to the prospectus of a reprint of Reed's edition of Johnson and Steevens, in twenty-one volumes, announced in Boston about 1807; but no edition of that date is known. What Munroe and Francis call their third Boston edition, 1810–12, in nine volumes, follows Reed's edition, and gave cuts engraved by Anderson. They printed from a copy owned by William S. Shaw. See *Barton Catalogue*. No 49. — Ed.]

made to postpone the consideration of the subject; but public sentiment was becoming enlightened, and at an adjourned meeting the Boston members of the General Court were instructed to secure a repeal of the law. It was urged that "a theatre, where the actions of great and virtuous men are represented, under every possible embellishment which genius and eloquence can give, will not only afford a rational and innocent amusement, but essentially advance the interests of private and political virtue; will have a tendency to polish the manners and habits of society, to disseminate the social affections, and to improve and refine the literary taste of our rising Republic." At a meeting of the Legislature in 1792, Mr. Tudor, of Boston, introduced a bill repealing the act prohibiting theatrical entertainments. The proposition was rejected promptly. A reconsideration was carried, but a protest was sent in by some of the inhabitants of Boston, and by a vote of ninety-nine to forty-four the law was kept among the statutes.[1]

During the summer of the same year a few gentlemen determined to erect a theatre, in order to prove that the much talked-of play-house was not open to the objections which were urged against it. A site was selected in what was then known as Board Alley, now Hawley Street. The alley was originally a path through a pasture made by the worshippers at Trinity Church who resided on State Street and at the North End. It abounded in mud and in livery stables. It is probable that one of the stables became the theatre. A stage was erected, and the so-called "New Exhibition Room" was opened on Aug. 1, 1792, under the management of Mr. Joseph Harper, one of the prominent members of Hallam and Henry's company. The opening bill was rather a tentative performance to test the patience of those in favor of enforcing the prohibitory law, for it was more of the nature of a modern variety show than a dramatic performance. Tight-rope dancing, the *minuet de la cour*, the *gavotte*, and recitations made up the programme. The drama was after this introduced to the expectant Bostonians in the disguise of a moral lecture. Garrick's farce of *Lethe* was produced as a satirical lecture called "Lethe, or Æsop in the Shades," by Mr. Watts, and Mr. and Mrs. Solomon. Otway's *Venice Preserved* was announced as a moral lecture in five parts, "in which the dreadful effects of conspiracy will be exemplified;" and *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, etc., were masked under the same catching and hypocritical phraseology. On October 5 was produced a moral lecture in five parts, "wherein the pernicious tendency of libertinism will be exemplified in the tragical history of George Barnwell, or the London Merchant," delivered by Messrs. Harper, Morris, Watts, Murray, Solomon, Redfield, Miss Smith, Mrs. Solomon, and Mrs. Gray.

This open defiance of the law induced the attempt to procure an indictment by the grand jury, which failed. A warrant, however, was obtained for the arrest of Harper and others, and on Dec. 5, 1792, Sheriff Allen, after the performance of the first act, executed his mandate, and Harper was

[1] [The speech of Mr. John Gardiner, Jan. 26, 1792, on repealing the law, was printed in Boston the same year. See Amory's *James Sullivan*, i. 270. — ED.]

Boſton Theatre.

Federal Street.

On *Wedneſday* Evening, *Sept.* 28*th*, '96.

Will be preſented, the *Tragedy* of

Romeo & Juliet

Romeo,	Mr. Chalmers.
Friar Lawrence,	Mr. Jones.
Capulet,	Mr Kenny.
Montague,	Mr. Rowſon.
Tybalt,	Mr. Fawcett.
Benvolio,	Mr. McKenzie.
Paris,	Mr. Downie.
Friar John,	Mr. Clarke.
Prince,	Mr. Beete.
Balthazar,	Mr. Ratcliffe.
Peter,	Mr. Villiers.
Apothecary,	Mr. Hamilton.
Mercutio,	Mr Marſhall.

From the Theatre, Philadelphia, being his firſt appearance on this Stage.

Lady Capulet,	Mrs. Rowſon.
Nurſe,	Mrs. Baker.
Juliet,	Mrs. Marſhall.

Being her firſt appearance on this Stage.

In Act 2*d*. A *Grand Maſquerade*. Act 4*th*. a *Funeral Proceſſion*, and Solemn Dirge.

After which will be performed the farce of the

Apprentice.

Dick, *(With the original EPILOGUE,)*	Mr. Chalmers.
Wingate,	Mr. Kenny.
Gargle,	Mr. Beete.
Watchman,	Mr. Clark.
Bailiff,	Mr Rowſon.
Iriſhman,	Mr Fawcett.
Scotchman.	Mr Hamilton.
Simon,	By a young gentleman, *(Being his firſt appearance on any Stage.)*
5pouters.	Meſſrs. Downie. Ratcliffe. McKenzie.
Charlotte,	Mrs. Rowſon.

N. B. The *Doors*, till Monday October 3d, will be open at half paſt Five o'clock and the Curtain riſe preciſely at half paſt Six— from the 3d of October the *Doors* will be opened at Five, and Performance begin at Six o'clock.

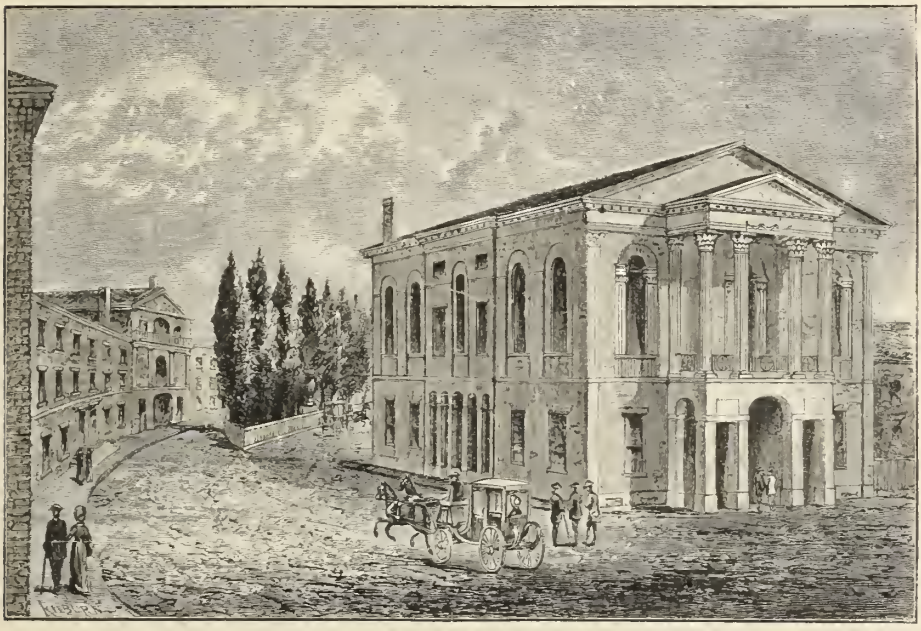
Tickets and Places to be had every Morning (Sunday excepted) at 10 o'clock, at the office of the *Theatre*.

The entry to the PIT, is thro' the BOX paſſage front door

arrested. The audience, composed largely of young men, became noisy. As Governor Hancock had always been a strong opponent of the theatre, it was supposed that the arrest had been made at his instigation, and the portrait of his Excellency, which had been hung in front of the stage box, was torn down and trampled upon, and the State arms shared the same fate at the hands of the descendants of the "Sons of Liberty." The Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, at the hearing the next day in Faneuil Hall before Justice Greenleaf, objected to the legality of the warrant, as contrary to the fourteenth article of the Declaration of Rights, which requires that no warrant shall be issued except upon complaint made under oath. Mr. Sullivan endeavored to combat this point, but the justices admitted the soundness of it, and Mr. Harper was discharged. This was the beginning of the era of legal opposition to dramatic entertainments. Owing to the prevalence of small-pox in Boston, the Legislature met in Concord, when Governor Hancock made allusion to the theatrical row as "an open assault upon the laws and government of the Commonwealth." The Exhibition Room continued to be opened at intervals after this, for *The Contrast*, written by Royal Tyler, Esq., afterward chief-justice of Vermont, was performed. It was the first American play ever produced by a regular company of comedians, and was originally given in New York, April 16, 1790. The new Exhibition Room was taken down in the spring of 1793, when a movement was initiated for the erection of a theatre upon a larger scale. From this date legal opposition to the drama ceased in Boston, though even later it included among its patrons only the more liberal-minded of the population. The argument since put forth, that a theatre is a necessity in every large city, affording a place of resort for visiting strangers who are attracted to a metropolis for pleasure or trade, was not then advanced. Those who enlisted and contributed the means to erect the Federal-Street theatre were actuated by a belief that the influence of the drama was beneficial to society. They regarded the stage as a great instructor, and confidently anticipated not only a harvest of pleasure in witnessing the production of the plays of the great dramatists, but they looked for ample recompense in the good that would arise by showing "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure." Many of the most influential citizens became interested in the erection of the theatre. The prohibitory law was still on the statute book, but it became a dead letter, and was finally repealed. The new theatre was located at the corner of Federal and Franklin streets, and was called the Boston Theatre. The record of the drama in Boston may be said to have begun with the opening of its doors on Feb. 3, 1794, under the management of Messrs. Charles Stuart Powell and Baker. It was a commodious structure, substantially built of brick, and at the time was probably the most imposing theatre in the United States, its appointments being excellent and its stage roomy. The opening performances included *Gustavus Vasa* and *Modern Antiques*, and the company came from England. The prologue, written by Robert Treat Paine, was delivered by the manager in

the character of Apollo. The directors appointed by the stockholders had a supervisory management of the house, but when the season terminated in June, 1795, the management was bankrupt.

Although the success of the new theatre was not such as to tempt the cupidity of any one seeking a fortune, there appears to have been even at this early date a strange infatuation regarding the erection of theatres, which has continued to the present day. Without sufficient legitimate patronage to support one theatre, it was proposed to erect another; and Mr. C. S.



THE FIRST BOSTON THEATRE.[1]

Powell, the first manager of the Boston Theatre, availed himself of the strong political antagonism which prevailed between the Federalists and so-called Jacobins to induce the latter to believe that the old theatre was managed with a view of promoting political animosities. The estimated cost of a new theatre was twelve thousand dollars. A site was selected near the corner of Tremont and Boylston streets, and the Haymarket Theatre was opened Dec. 26, 1796.[2] The most intense jealousy existed between the stockholders, managers, and others connected with the two establishments, and the presence of a supporter of the old theatre at the Haymarket was

[1] [This cut is based on a water-color painting, 14 by 7¾ inches, representing the theatre on fire, with groups of allegorical figures in the foreground. The sketch is from a scrap-book, arranged by the late Mrs. Ann Bromfield Tracy, of Newburyport, and was kindly furnished for this work by Miss E. S. Quincy. The façade of the theatre, forming the design on a medal given to the architect, Mr. Charles Bulfinch, will be found in the chapter on Architecture in Boston. — Ed.]

[2] [A heliotype of the bill for the opening night is given herewith, following an original owned by Colonel Clapp. — Ed.]

regarded as a disloyal act. The rivalry continued until the afternoon of Feb. 2, 1798, when the Boston Theatre was destroyed by fire.

The opening of the Haymarket Theatre introduced to the public several actors who made Boston their permanent residence; and it was also marked by the first appearance on any stage of Mr. James A. Dickson, who subsequently became the manager of the Boston Theatre, and also achieved a high reputation as an actor. He was born in London in 1774, received a business education, and his coming to Boston from Philadelphia was one of

VIEW OF THE HAYMARKET THEATRE.[1]

those accidental moves which was regarded only as a temporary expedient to secure a few months' change, but proved of lifelong continuance, — Mr. Dickson becoming in 1806 joint lessee with Snelling Powell and John Bernard, of the Boston Theatre. He was manager and actor for some fifteen years, and died in this city, April 1, 1853. He gave a tone to the theatre by his personal deportment, and won many friends by his deeds of charity. He closed the theatre on days of public fast and church days, and he gave liberally of his receipts for charitable purposes. He crossed the ocean in search of theatrical talent some forty times in sailing ships; and it was

[1] [This cut follows a water-color painting now in the Boston Public Library. It was painted by Robertson, in 1798; was once owned by John Howard Payne; it is also engraved in Drake's *Landmarks*. The arch on the right is on the spot where the West-Street gate of the Common now is. On the opposite side is the haymarket, taking most of the space lying now between Mason and Tremont streets, and which for a long time was a part of the Common. The theatre is the large building nearly on the spot where the Evans House now stands, as appears by Osgood Carleton's map of 1800. To the right of it is a house where now Hotel Pelham stands. The waters of the back bay stretch beyond. The wall on the extreme left bounds the estate of James Swan, which later (1815) became the Washington Gardens. — Ed.]

through his efforts, in connection with managers of New York and Philadelphia, that George Frederick Cooke, Edmund Kean, and other notabilities came to the United States. The Haymarket witnessed the first appearance in Boston of Thomas A. Cooper, the tragedian, in 1798. His daughter did the honors of the White House under the administration of her father-in-law, President Tyler.

The Haymarket was never a paying theatre, and was taken down in 1803. The large window was carried to Dedham by Mr. Dowse, where it was put in a house, which was occupied for many years by the late Edmund Quincy; the window is still in existence. The Boston Theatre, notwithstanding the protestations of many citizens, was rebuilt, — Mr. Bulfinch, the architect, receiving high praise for his skill in the interior arrangements. It was reopened to the public on Oct. 29, 1798,[1] under the management of Mr. John Hodgkinson, and was continued till 1835, when it was converted into a public lecture-room, under the name of the Odeon. In 1846 it was reconverted into a theatre, and was opened under the management of Mr. O. C. Wyman. With varied fortunes, it continued as a place for dramatic performances until 1852, when it gave place to a block of warehouses, which were destroyed by the great fire in 1872.

The scope of this chapter will not permit of a record in detail of the dramatic events of the past sixty years, nor is it, perhaps, desirable in a paper designed to be only an outline sketch. The drama has flourished in Boston to the same extent as in other cities. The earlier managers, with the exception of Mr. Dickson, were totally lacking in that knowledge of business affairs which is requisite to success. Mr. Dana, of the Tremont Theatre, was a good business manager; and Mr. William Pelby, of the old National, had qualifications to meet the requirements of the strictly business duties which secure success. For sixty years no manager accumulated a fortune, and it was reserved for the present generation to see examples in Boston of men of acute perceptions, shrewd in their financial conduct, bringing to the management of theatricals the same talents which are exhibited by successful traders and merchants.

The Boston Theatre, from 1798 to 1827, was the only thoroughly appointed theatre in Boston, though entertainments were given in halls and museums, and from time to time the small theatre in the Washington Gardens was used by travelling companies and by amateurs. For nearly thirty years the larger theatre had a monopoly, but with the exception of Mr. Dickson none of the several managers acquired large fortunes. The theatre in winter opened at five o'clock, and the performance began at six; and in the spring months half an hour later was the time for the curtain to rise. It was beneath this roof that Hodgkinson, Fennel (the first to give Shakespearian readings in Boston), Cooper, John Howard Payne (then a youthful prodigy), Wallack, Bartly, Edmund Kean, Macready, Forrest, Conway,

[1] [Mr. Edmund Quincy has described this opening in his *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 40. A view of the building is given in Snow's *Boston*, p. 334. — Ed.]

Junius Brutus Booth, Charles Matthews, Sr., and other lesser lights interpreted the masterpieces of the great dramatists. It was here that the Kean riot took place, when the great actor was driven from the stage (Dec. 21, 1825). During a previous visit to Boston he had refused to perform on account of the small audience assembled to witness his performance. This was made the pretext for an organized opposition, which was intended merely to prevent his playing, but which resulted in the destruction of property inside the theatre to the amount of about eight hundred dollars. The riot act was read, but no arrests were made, and Kean escaped,[1] though no intention whatever of doing him personal injury was entertained. A dozen policemen of the present day would have speedily brought the riot to a close. On Nov. 3, 1831, there was an incipient riot at the Tremont Theatre. Mr. J. R. Anderson, an English singer, with his wife, — formerly Miss Bartollozzi, — were announced to appear in *Guy Mannering*. On his passage from England to New York his servant was treated badly by the colored stewards, and a difficulty arose between one of the passengers, an American, and Mr. Anderson on this account. A very trivial affair was so magnified that the indiscretion of a hot-headed foreigner became a topic of public interest. Mr. Anderson was accused of speaking "disrespectfully of the American people," which in those days was regarded as an offence worthy of most signal rebuke. He was driven from the stage at the Park Theatre in New York, and came to Boston. There was considerable opposition manifested when he appeared on the stage, which subsided till late in the evening, when a large crowd collected outside, broke a few of the windows, and rushed into the theatre, the cry of "fire!" being raised. Mr. Anderson made his escape that night, but he resumed his engagement with partial success, and the public became convinced that a riot instigated by New Yorkers, based upon a few hasty words, was not very creditable to the city of Boston. This was the last theatrical disturbance of any magnitude. It is a gratifying feature of the present dramatic period that theatrical riots have ceased to interrupt performances. The busy community no longer take an interest in the personal quarrels of rival actors, or attach importance to their opinions of our institutions.

It was the custom in the earlier days of the theatre to signalize passing events by such appropriate notice as the resources of the stage would permit. The proposed launch of the frigate "Constitution," which was set down for Sept. 20, 1797, was regarded by Manager Hodgkinson as an event worthy of his attention. In forty-eight hours he completed a very passable piece, and announced its performance. The historic frigate moved only a few feet on the first attempt to launch it, and a second trial was abortive; but the third trial, Oct. 21, 1797, proved successful. At the theatre the

[1] [Kean fled to a house in Roxbury, and the next morning started for New York. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 160. The heliotype, given herewith, of the letter from Mr. Kean is a facsimile of the original, which was addressed to Mr. James A. Dickson, the manager of the Boston Theatre, and presented by him to Colonel Clapp. — Ed.]

HAY-MARKET THEATRE.

On MONDAY Evening, *December 26, 1796*, will be presented
The favorite COMEDY of

THE BELLE'S STRATAGEM.

Preceding the piece, an occasional Address, written, & to be spoken by Mr. Powell.

Doricourt, Mr. S. POWELL
Sir George Touchwood, Mr. MARRIOTT, *his first appearance in Boston*
Flutter, Mr. POWELL
Saville, Mr. DICKINSON, *his first appearance on any Stage*
Courtall, Mr. TAYLOR
Villers by a YOUNG AMERICAN
Gibson, Mr. CUNNINGTON
Hardy, Mr. SIMPSON
(From the Theatre-Royal, Bath, being his first appearance in America.)
Letitia Hardy, Mrs. S. POWELL
Lady Frances Touchwood, Mrs. HUGHES
Miss Ogle, Miss HARRISON
Kitty Willis, Mrs. PICK
Mrs. Racket, Mrs. SIMPSON
(From the Theatre-Royal, Bath, and being her first appearance in America.)

In Act 4. a Masquerade Scene, in which will be introduced

A PASTORAL BALLET DANCE,

Composed by *Mons. Francisqui.*

A Pas de Six, by Messieurs Dubois, Renaud, Rogers, Sevens, mosdame Pick and Sevens, and miss Gowen.

A Pas de Deux, by Mons. Francisqui and Madame Val,
A Pas Seul, by Mons. Lege------A Pas Seul, by Mons. Francisqui,
To conclude with a DANCE by Mons. Lege, Mons. Francisqui, and Madame Val.

To which will be added, *a Grand Historical and Tragi-Heroic Pantomime*, called

MIRZOR AND LINDOR.

Interspersed with Dances, Fights, &c. under the direction of Mons. FRANCISQUI.

Mirzor, Governor of an Island in America, Mons. VAL
Lindor, a French Colonel in garrison in the Island, Friend of Mondor, and secretly in love with Mirza, Mons. FRANCISQUI
Commander of a Spanish Privateer, in love with Mirza, but not beloved by her, and likewise friend of Mondor, Mons. LEGE
Valet de Chambre, Mr. CUNNINGTON
Mirza, Mirza's Mother, *with a Song*, Mrs. PICK
Alinda, Daughter of the Governor, Madame VAL
Nova Woman, Servant to Mirza, Madame LEGE
Indians, Servants of Mirza, Mrs. MARRIOTT, and Madame SEVENS
Savages, Sailors, and French Soldiers, by the rest of the Company.

In Act 3, the *Entering* and *Marching* of the SAVAGES,

Negroes, Messieurs Dubois, Renaud, Sevens, and Rogers
Chief of the Savages, Mons. LEGE.

Lindor orders a Military evolution with the Savages, to remind the Governor of the manner the Europeans and the Savages formerly went to war.

The celebration of *Mirza* and *Lindor's* MARRIAGE.

MINUET *de la Cour*, by Mons. FRANCISQUI and Madame VAL

A NEGRO'S DANCE,

A Circle Dance, by Mad Sevens----A Savage Dance, by Mons. Lege
A *Pas Seul*, by Mons. Francisqui,

The whole to conclude with a general Dance by the characters.

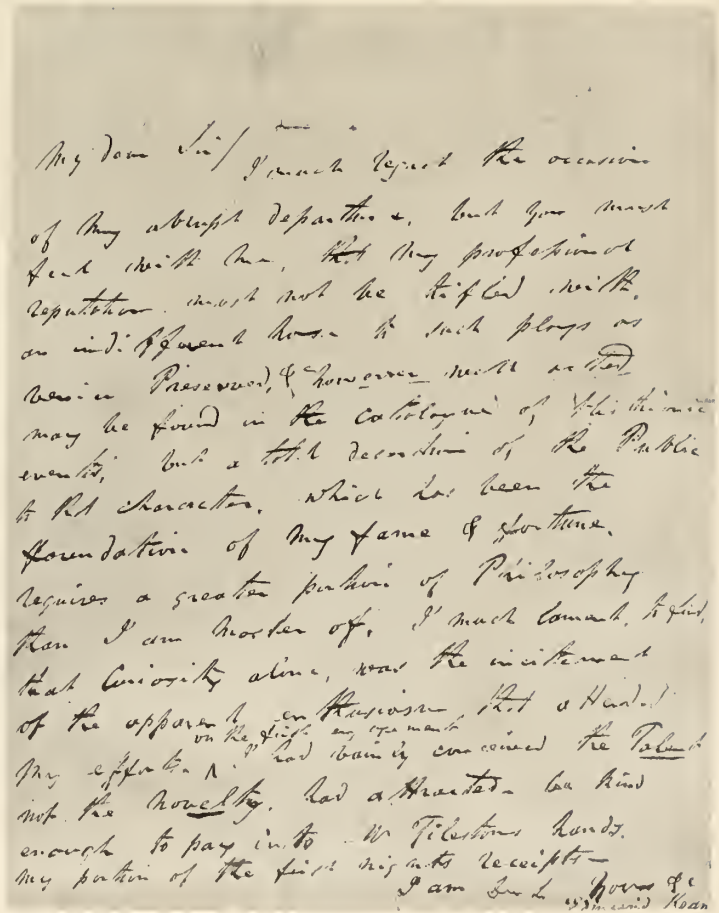
In addition to the above, a New Federal Overture, composed by Mr. VAN HAGEN.

First and second row of BOXES, 6s.--Third row, 4s.--PIT, 3s.--GALLERY, 1s. 6d.

To be open'd this day at Six o'Clock.

VIVAT RESPUBLICA.

EARLY PLAYBILL.



My dear Sir, I much regret the occasion
of my abrupt departure, but you must
feel with me, that my professional
reputation must not be trifled with.
an indifferent house to such plays as
Bertram (Pizarro), & Town over must be. (Both
may be found in the catalogue of this theatre
may be found in the catalogue of this theatre
events, but a total desertion of the Public
to Bad Character. which has been the
foundation of my fame & fortune.
requires a greater portion of Philosophy
than I am master of. I much consult, at first,
that curiosity alone, was the incitement
of the applause on Thursday, but a Hundred
pounds on Tuesday, my opponent
my efforts & had barely covered the Talent
not the novelty. had attracted a like kind
enough to pay in to Mr Tilestones Bands.
my portion of the first nights receipts—
I am Dear Sir Yours &c
Edmund Kean

EDMUND KEAN TO JAMES A. DICKSON,
MAY, 1821.

launch of the new piece was more successful, for it took place according to the programme. It abounded in patriotic allusions, and its songs, in keeping with the spirit of the times, became very popular. In December, 1799, the death of Washington cast a gloom over the whole nation. The theatre remained closed during the week, and was reopened on the evening of Jan. 10, 1800, — on the day devoted by the citizens to public obsequies. The commemorative ceremony at the theatre, which followed the play, was thus announced: —

"A Monody, on the death of General Washington, by Mrs. Barrett, in the character of the Genius of America weeping over the tomb of her beloved Hero. With a solemn March of Officers, Drums, Fifes, Band of Music, Soldiers with Arms and Colors reversed, forming a Grand Processional Dirge. After the recital, Military Honors will take place over the Monument of the Departed, but never to be forgotten, Saviour of his Country.

"N. B. — The theatre will be hung with black, and every tribute of respect due to the melancholy occasion properly attended to."

The capture of the British frigate "Guerrière" by the American frigate "Constitution" induced a patriotic effusion on Oct. 2, 1812. In the course of the entertainment the following scenery and incidents were introduced: —

"Scene 1. — State Street. *Huzza for the 'Constitution.'* Scene 3. — Cabin of the ship. Song, *A Cruising we will go.* Duett, *Conquer, or Die.* The 'Guerrière' is seen through the cabin-window under sail; orders are given to clear the ship for action, and scene changes to *a view of the ocean.* The 'Guerrière' is seen under easy sail, and the 'Constitution' in chase. The action commences, — the mizzenmast of the 'Guerrière' goes by the board; the action continues, and the 'Guerrière' loses her foremast and mainmast, — fires a gun to the leeward, and surrenders to the 'Constitution.' Scene last. — State Street. American officers, sailors, and marines enter with American colors, and the piece concludes with a song and chorus, called *The Good Ship 'Columbia.'*"

In 1813 *The Heroes of the Lake, or the Glorious Tenth of September*, was produced, to commemorate the brilliant victory of the youthful Perry. In the following spring Commodore Perry came to Boston and visited the theatre, where his presence was greeted with the wildest applause. The treaty of peace with England was also duly celebrated by an occasional piece; and when the frigate "Constitution" returned to Boston, the day was made notable by the production of scenes interspersed with songs, entitled *The Sailor's Return, or "Constitution" Safe in Port*, which proved not only attractive, but stimulated the spirit of patriotism, and in a measure educated the audience to a proper appreciation of passing events. Mr. Dickson, in 1823, arranged a pageant in commemoration of Shakespeare. The house in which the dramatist was born at Stratford-on-Avon was represented with fidelity by the scenic artists, and a procession of the most celebrated

characters, and a selection of scenes, was made from his plays. The prize ode by Charles Sprague was recited by Henry J. Finn, who became one of Boston's most popular actors. The visit of Lafayette to the theatre in 1825 was noted by a new and appropriate drop act.

The second dramatic temple of note in Boston was the Tremont Theatre, which opened its doors to the public, under the management of William

CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN.[1]

Pelby, Sept. 24, 1827. The first season was an unprofitable one, and the contest between the two theatres was disastrous to both. Mr. J. B. Booth, Richard Russell, George H. Barrett, Francis W. Dana, Thomas Barry, J. S. Jones, Andrews and Preston, were charged with the management. The the-

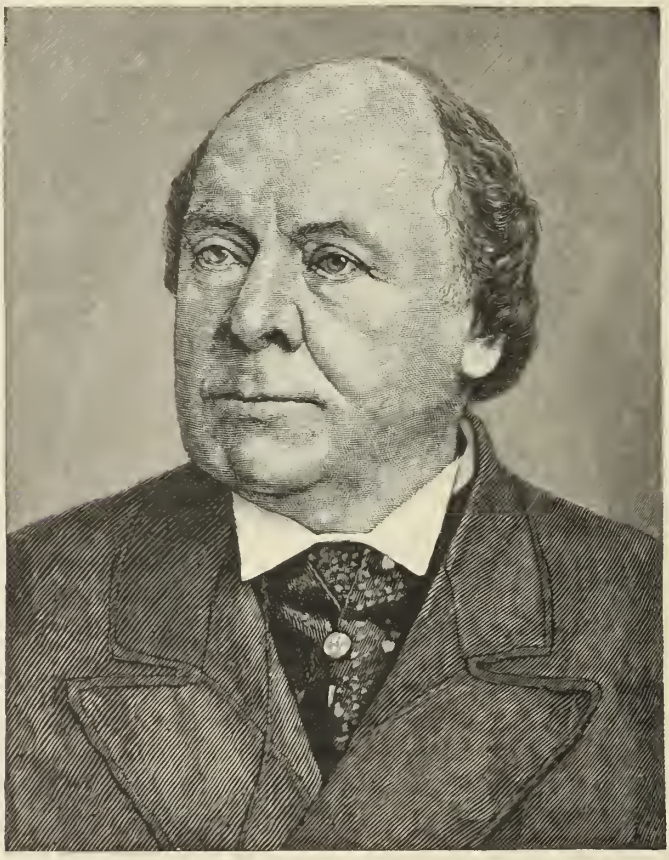
[1] [Charlotte Cushman was born in Boston, July 23, 1816, and made her first appearance on the stage at the Tremont Theatre, April 8, 1835. She had previously appeared at a concert. She died in Boston, Feb. 18, 1876. Emma Stebbins published in 1878 *Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters, and Memories of her Life*. See also *Belgravia*, May, 1876, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1878. The City of Boston built a public school on the site of her birth-place, and the school was named for her, — indicating a striking change in public sentiment from even days within the memory of living citizens. She was present at the dedication, and made an address. — Ed.]

atre in 1843 was sold to the Baptists, and the closing performance occurred June 23, 1843. The most notable events of the sixteen years of its existence were the appearances of Charles John Kean, Master Burke, Charles Kemble, Fanny Kemble, Charles H. Eaton, Tyrone Power, the Woods, J. Sheridan Knowles, Fanny Jarman, Charlotte Cushman, James E. Murdoch, Ellen Tree, John Vandenhoff, Fanny Ellsler, Buckstone, and John Gibbs Gilbert. The theatre had its profitable seasons, but they were not numerous, and its financial history differs but little from that of the old Boston Theatre. Mr. Thomas Barry was manager for seven years, without profit to himself, though his efforts to advance the legitimate drama were worthy of large success. The theatre was too small to enable even crowded houses to meet the extraordinary expenses incidental to great attractions.

The City Theatre, before alluded to, at Washington Gardens was so named in 1823. It was formerly an amphitheatre and intended for summer presentations. It was located in the rear of the present St. Paul's Church. Private theatricals by amateurs were often produced at this house. Of the more modern establishments devoted to the drama we cannot give more than a mere outline as a matter of historic record.

Warren Theatre, *Portland Street, near corner of Traverse Street.* — Opened July 3, 1832, by William Pelby, having been remodelled from the American Amphitheatre, which had been opened Feb. 27, 1832, by William and Thomas L. Stewart, for equestrian performances. Reconstructed in 1836 by Mr. Pelby, and reopened Aug. 15, 1836, as the National Theatre. In 1848 Thomas Barry became stage manager under Mr. Pelby, and so continued until Mr. Pelby's death, which occurred May 28, 1850, when he became acting manager for Mrs. Rosalie Pelby. Mrs. Pelby retired from the proprietorship Feb. 28, 1851, and March 3 of the same year the house reopened under the proprietorship and management of Messrs. Barry, Wright (John B.), & Co. The season closed June 13, 1851. For the season of 1851–52 Messrs. Wright, Fenno (Henry W.), and Bird (George) were the managers, Mr. Fenno having been for several years the treasurer, and the previous season one of the joint managers. April 22, 1852, the theatre was burned. It was rebuilt and reopened Nov. 1, 1852, by Joseph Leonard. Mr. Leonard was manager for one year (season of 1852–53), and W. M. Fleming during the seasons of 1853–54, 1854–55, and a part of 1855–56 (to Dec. 8, 1855). For the remainder of the season the theatre was under the management of the stock company until December 26; Mr. Cushing, of Cushing's New York Circus, from Dec. 31 to Feb. 23, 1856; G. H. Griffiths, from March 3, two weeks; and James Pilgrim, from March 19 to June 4. The house then had a checkered existence. Sept. 8, 1856, it was opened as Willard's National Theatre, Henry Willard manager. Mr. Willard's term of management ended early in December; and Dec. 10, 1856, the house was opened as the People's National Theatre by a committee of management, with Henry Farren as acting manager. Soon after Mr. Farren's name appeared as stage manager, and James Pilgrim as acting manager. This season closed Feb. 6, 1857, and February 9 there was a reopening by James Pilgrim. March 2 Mr. Pilgrim appeared as lessee, and William B. English as manager. March 30 Mr. English's name alone appeared, and he remained sole manager until the closing of the season, July 30, the house having meanwhile resumed its old title of National

Theatre. The ensuing season he opened the house Aug. 31, 1857, and remained as manager until Feb. 20, 1858. April 5 it was opened for a brief period under the management of Charles R. Thorne, Sr. For the season of 1858–59 it was opened, August 23, by James Pilgrim and John Moran. Mr. Moran retired Jan. 1, 1859. The house, after being closed a short time, was reopened January 15 by James Pilgrim. This season was brief, and February 14 the theatre was opened, with Walter Gay as the ostensible, but William B. English as the real, manager. Mr. English closed his season



JOHN GILBERT.[1]

July 4. For the season of 1859–60 the establishment was opened under the management of Henry Willard, who retired October 3, to be succeeded (from October 3 to 22) by F. B. Conway. November 9 it was reopened as the People's National Theatre by William B. English, with whom John Moran became associated December 9. This firm continued in control during most of the winter. March 10, 1860, E. B. Williams and Thomas Hampton became managers for a time, the season closing May 15. During the season of 1860–61 J. C. Myers and C. J. Boniface were the managers, the

[1] [This cut follows a photograph taken some years ago, and furnished by Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert was born in Boston in 1810; was christened by Dr. John Lathrop in the Old North Church, and made his first appearance here, at the Tremont Theatre, Nov 28, 1828. — Ed.]

house again being known as the National Theatre. In 1861–62, William B. English was again the manager, and during a part of the time, beginning in January, 1862, it was known as the Union Concert Hall, and devoted largely to variety performances. During the season of 1862–63 Mr. English was also manager, and the house resumed its former name of National Theatre. Dramatic and variety entertainments were given up to, and including, March 23, and the theatre was burned March 24. The stage fixtures, to a considerable extent, had been removed to the new Tremont Theatre upon the opening of that house in the early part of 1863.

Lion Theatre, *west side of Washington Street, south side of present Boston Theatre.* — Opened Jan. 11, 1836, by James Raymond and others of New York for dramatic and equestrian performances, E. C. Weeks being at the head of the establishment. In 1839 it was converted into a lecture and concert hall by John Redman, and known for a time as the Mechanics' Institute. It was then leased by the Handel and Haydn Society who opened Dec. 29, 1839, as the Melodeon. For a series of years this was the leading concert and exhibition hall in Boston. In 1844 it was temporarily converted into a theatre, by Leander Rodney, for a series of performances by William Charles Macready and Charlotte Cushman, who opened there October 2, with Henry J. Conway as stage manager. Subsequently it was occupied chiefly for concerts, lectures, and entertainments, but rarely for theatrical entertainments. When the Boston Theatre was built in 1854, the Melodeon became the property of the corporation owning that establishment, but some years later it was sold to other parties. In 1857 it was occupied for a short season by E. Warden as the Melodeon Varieties, and then resumed its former name of the Melodeon. In 1859 the hall was rebuilt, and the New Melodeon was opened Dec. 12, 1859, by the Melodeon Minstrels, J. W. Anderson manager. After a six weeks' season Mr. Anderson and the Minstrels retired, and for two seasons the hall was under the control of J. P. Ordway. It continued to be let for concerts, lectures, panoramic, minstrel, and other exhibitions. From April 2 to May 12, 1860, — six weeks, — Mr. and Mrs. Henri Drayton gave a series of parlor operas. In September, 1860, they returned, but were prevented from appearing by the enforcement of a restriction against dramatic performances which had been placed upon the Melodeon by the owners of the Boston Theatre when the Melodeon was sold by them. March 4, 1862, a company of French Zouaves appeared in a semi-dramatic entertainment, but two nights later were transferred to Allston Hall, where they appeared from March 6 to 11. During the National Sailors' Fair, held in the Boston Theatre from Nov. 9 to 22, 1864, amateur theatrical entertainments were nightly given in the Melodeon for the benefit of the Fair, by Arthur Cheney, H. C. Barnabee, John F. Pray, and others. The Melodeon eventually became a billiard-hall, and continued as such until 1878, when it was leased to Jason Wentworth, who opened it, Oct. 15, 1878, as the Gaiety Theatre, the restrictions against theatrical performances having expired some years previous.

Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts, *Tremont Street, between Montgomery Place and Bromfield Street.* — Opened by Moses Kimball and others, June 14, 1841. For two seasons musical and olio entertainments were given, and the first dramatic entertainment took place Sept. 4, 1843, W. H. Smith being stage manager. Mr. Smith was engaged as stage manager at the old and new establishments eighteen years. The closing dramatic performance in the old house was given Aug. 8, 1846. Signor Blitz subsequently exhibited there, giving his closing exhibition Sept. 12, 1846.

Eagle Theatre, *corner of Haverhill and Traverse streets.* — Built in 1841 as an amphitheatre, and for its first season occupied for equestrian performances. Opened

June 27, 1842, as the Eagle Theatre, by Wyzeman Marshall, the company being an especially strong one. On account of the excellent character of the performances and the low prices at this theatre, and especially its proximity to the National Theatre, then under Mr. Pelby's management, the latter establishment began to fare badly, and Mr. Pelby had recourse to strategy in order to get even with his rival. Obtaining possession of a part interest in the property, he proceeded, under cover of improving his portion of the building, to render the whole useless. This was done by cutting away some of the supports of the roof. The last performance was given on the evening of March 22, 1843, and Mr. Marshall took his company to Providence, where he opened April 3.

Howard Athenæum, *south side of Howard Street.* — Formerly the Millerite Tabernacle. Fitted up as a theatre and opened Oct. 13, 1845, by W. F. Johnson, W. L. Ayling, Thomas Ford, and Leonard Brayley. Burned Feb. 25, 1846. Rebuilt, and reopened Oct. 5, 1846, by James H. Hackett & Co. as managers, and W. H. Chippendale as stage manager. Mr. Hackett relinquished the management to Thomas Ford, Feb. 23, 1847. Season of 1847–48, — began with Thomas Ford as lessee and manager, and W. L. Ayling as stage manager; leased by Sands, Lent, & Co.'s Circus, and also by Astor-Place Opera Company. Season of 1848–49, — began under Ford; leased by John Brougham and W. E. Burton for the appearance of Macready, who opened October 30; latter part of season under Ayling's direction. Season of 1849–50, Charles R. Thorne, manager. Season of 1850–51, — began by Messrs. Baker & English as managers; before the close, W. L. Ayling assumed the management. Season of 1851–52, — Wyzeman Marshall, manager. Season of 1852–53, — Henry Willard, manager. Season of 1853–54, — Henry Willard, manager. Season of 1854–55, — opened by Henry Willard, who disappeared Aug. 29, 1854; house closed, but reopened September 18 for a short season, with W. Palmer as manager, and J. B. Strong as acting manager; opened November 6 for two weeks, with an Indian exhibition, D. Swain manager. November 20, — opened by Pentland's Circus, which remained until January, 1855; Feb. 28, 1855, Henry Willard resumed management. Season of 1855–56, — opened Sept. 19, 1855, with J. M. Field and T. Placide as managers; October 24, Mr. Field became sole manager; this season closed about November 1; November 26, reopened with J. W. Buckland and Henry Farren as managers, who continued until Jan. 28, 1856, when J. W. Buckland became sole manager; Mr. Buckland closed February 2; house reopened February 21 for two weeks, with B. Duffy as manager; theatre occupied by Buckley's Serenaders from March 24 to April 12; by the Chinese Jugglers from April 17 to May 10, and later for benefits, etc.; Buckley's Serenaders had a summer season from July 14 to 26. Season of 1856–57, — opened Aug. 18, 1856, by F. A. and J. Munroe, F. Harrington, and E. B. Williams, who closed in November; from Nov. 18 to Feb. 14, 1857, occupied by the Marsh children, R. G. Marsh manager; from April 27 to May 19 by an entertainment of magic, and from June 1 to 13 by Donetti's dogs and monkeys; June 15, opened with dramatic performances, with H. Ashley business manager, and John Gilbert stage manager; July 6, E. L. Davenport became manager, and Jacob Barrow business manager, and August 11 J. Barrow lessee and manager, and H. Ashley acting manager, the season closing August 29. Season of 1857–58, — from Aug. 31, 1857, to December 5, occupied by the Marsh children, R. G. Marsh manager; Dec. 21 to Jan. 9, 1858, H. Ashley was manager, and from March 1 to July 26, J. Barrow. Season of 1858–59, — August 19, Zavistowski's Juvenile Ballet

Troupe opened for two weeks; September 3, the "regular" season opened, and closed about the middle of October; from November 1 to 27 the Martinetti and Blondin Troupe appeared, J. N. Buckland manager; from Nov. 29 to Jan. 8, 1859, Nixon's Circus appeared; from January 17 to 29 E. A. Sothern was manager; from January 31 to February 5, T. E. Mills; and February 28 the house was opened with E. L. Davenport as manager, who brought the company from the Boston Theatre. Season of 1859–60, — E. L. Davenport manager, opening Aug. 29, 1859, and closing July 9, 1860. Season of 1860–61, — E. L. Davenport manager, closing in June, 1861. During the summer of 1861 Frank Rivers's company from New York gave a series of variety performances. Season of 1861–62, — E. L. Davenport manager until November, 1861; the North American Circus then appeared, after which W. M. Fleming assumed the management, continuing until spring, when Wyzeman Marshall became manager April 14, 1862, the season closing August 30. Season of 1862–63, — Wyzeman Marshall manager, opening Sept. 1, 1862, and closing May 2, 1863. Season of 1863–64, — Henry Willard manager. Season of 1864–65, — Henry Willard manager. Season of 1865–66, — opened with Henry Willard as manager, who was superseded, May 1, 1866, by Isaac B. Rich (previously treasurer) as lessee and manager; the house was reopened under Mr. Rich's management, May 14. Season of 1866–67, — Isaac B. Rich manager. Season of 1867–68, — Isaac B. Rich manager. In 1868 a summer dramatic season was managed by Messrs. B. F. Lowell and Morris Simmonds, with F. S. Chanfrau as an attraction, and Kate Fisher afterward appeared. Season of 1868–69, — opened Aug. 10, 1868, as a variety theatre, by Isaac B. Rich and J. C. Trowbridge as lessees and managers, and Josh Hart as stage manager; two months later the firm became Rich, Hart, and Trowbridge. Season of 1869–70, — opened with the same managers, but Mr. Hart and Mr. Trowbridge retired before the close of the year; Jan. 1, 1870, John Stetson became a partner with Mr. Rich in the management, and from that time until the end of the season of 1875–76, six and a half years, Messrs. Rich and Stetson were managers; Mr. Stetson then became sole manager, and so continued two seasons, — namely, 1876–77 and 1877–78. Season of 1878–79 (opening Aug. 31, 1878, and closing June 21, 1879), — B. F. Tryon and Fred. Stinson, managers. Season of 1879–80 (opening Sept. 8, 1879), — Josh Hart and B. F. Tryon, managers. Season of 1880–81 (opening Aug. 23, 1880), — William Harris, manager. Since 1868 the entertainments have consisted of variety and drama, the former species of entertainment predominating.

Boston Museum, *east side of Tremont Street, between Court and School Streets.* — Opened by proprietors of old establishment, Nov. 2, 1846. W. H. Smith continued as stage manager until the end of the season of 1859–60, and was succeeded at the opening of the season of 1860–61 (Aug. 6, 1860) by E. F. Keach as acting manager. Mr. Keach continued as manager three and a half years, until his death (Jan. 31, 1864), and was succeeded Feb. 13, 1864, by R. M. Field, who has continued as manager to the present time. In the summer of 1880 the interior of the house was entirely rebuilt, and its seating capacity increased. The new establishment was thrown open on the first night of the fortieth regular season, Saturday, Aug. 28, 1880. It has been the most continuously successful theatre that Boston ever possessed.

Brougham and Bland's Boston Adelphi, *on Court Street, between Cornhill and Brattle Street.* — Opened April 5, 1847, by John Brougham and W. H. Bland; continued under the same management through its first season and through a portion of its second season, which began Sept. 6, 1847. Mr. Brougham retired from the manage-

ment, and in February, 1848, the house was called simply the Boston Adelphi, and at a later period Bland's Boston Adelphi. Mr. Bland also retired from its management at the end of the season; and subsequently, during the latter half of 1848, the year 1849, and the early part of 1850, it was occupied for exhibitions of various kinds, chiefly of the minstrel class, under different managers. Jan. 7, 1850, it was opened for minstrel entertainments under the name of the Adelphi Saloon. A little later it was converted to business uses.

Bland's Lyceum, *east side of Sudbury Street, near Court Street.*—Opened Sept. 19, 1848, by W. H. Bland, after the termination of his management of the Adelphi, on Court Street. Early in November Bland and Skerrett were both announced as managers. The house was kept open through the winter, spring, and early summer, and was reopened by Mr. Bland for a second season, Aug. 13, 1849. From November 5 until December 29 it was occupied by Dumbolton's Minstrels, Mr. Bland having retired from its management. Jan. 21, 1850, it was opened under its former title of Lyceum Theatre, by C. J. Smith, but, as before, minstrelsy soon usurped the place of the drama. March 19, 1850, it became the Odeon, under the management of G. Crouta and L. Mestayer. June 10 of the same year G. C. Howard began a short term of engagement. August 12, Parker's Ethiopian Troupe began a short season. For the season of 1850–51 it was open at irregular intervals. Oct. 13, 1851, it resumed its old name,—the Lyceum. In May, 1852, after having been closed for a time, it was opened as the Eagle Theatre, and the season continued until July 5. There was a reopening August 3, with J. H. Robinson as acting manager. December 13, the name of Mrs. H. Lewis was put up as manageress, and that of Thomas Ward as stage-manager. In March, 1853, after having been closed for a time, it assumed the name of Goodall and Olwine's American Theatre, W. R. Goodall being the stage-manager, and Wayne Olwine acting manager. As early as April 9 of the same year Mr. Goodall's name disappeared, Mr. Olwine's name remaining as the sole manager. April 25 Henry Willard became sole manager; but his term was short. June 12, 1853, the house was opened under the management of J. H. Robinson, as the Eagle Theatre. Dramatic performances were continued under his management through the summer and early autumn; and its later occupants were a gymnastic troupe, opening December 5, and the Philharmonic Vocalists, opening December 31, 1853. Soon after the minstrel season, the site of the theatre was turned over to business uses.

Dramatic Museum, *north side of Beach Street, near United States Hotel.*—Opened Oct. 16, 1848, with R. Hamilton as manager. December 11 Mr. Hamilton's name appeared as stage manager, and Joseph Proctor's as acting manager. Jan. 3, 1849, Mr. Proctor's name alone appeared; and March 23 it was replaced by Mr. James Anderson's. The house was kept open through the season; and for the ensuing season was reopened August 20 as Thorne's American Museum, C. R. Thorne, Sr., manager, and James Anderson stage manager. It was not long continued under this name, and October 31 it became known as the Beach-Street Museum. December 24 L. Gilmore became lessee and manager. During 1850 it was closed most of the time. October 21 in that year, however, it was opened by G. Crouta as the Olympic. Mr. Crouta's season was short, and the establishment was then closed, never to be reopened for dramatic purposes.

Boston Theatre, *west side of Washington Street, above West Street.*—Opened Sept. 11, 1854, Thomas Barry, manager. Mr. Barry continued as sole manager five years. In the summer of 1859 the corporation owning the property was reorganized,

and during the season of 1859–60 the theatre was managed by the directors, with Mr. Barry as their representative. During this season the house was not open continuously, and there was no regular stock company. The reopening under the new corporation took place Sept. 13, 1859. For the season of 1860–61 the house was leased to Bernard Ullman, who, with Max Strakosch, had managed an opera season in January, 1860. Under Mr. Ullman's management the house became known as the Academy of Music. Mr. Ullman let the theatre to various operatic, dramatic, and circus managers, from time to time, the house being closed when not thus occupied. During the season of 1861–62 it was let in the same manner to various parties for short periods, — the Ravels, James Nixon (for Edwin Forrest), and Henry C. Jarrett being among the principal lessees. In February, 1863, Wyzeman Marshall became the lessee, and March 23 the theatre was reopened under his management, and under its old name of the Boston Theatre. At this time Mr. Marshall was also manager of the Howard Athenæum. The season closed June 22. The succeeding season (from Aug. 24, 1863, to June 13, 1864) was also under Mr. Marshall's management. In August, 1864, Messrs. B. W. Thayer and Orlando Tompkins obtained control of the stock, and henceforth were virtually the managers, although the lease was held by other parties, — namely, Henry C. Jarrett for two years, seasons of 1864–65 and 1865–66; Edwin Booth and J. S. Clarke one year, season of 1866–67; and J. B. Booth six years, beginning with the season of 1867–68, and ending with the season of 1872–73. At the beginning of the season of 1873–74 (Sept. 1, 1873), the names of Messrs. Thayer and Tompkins first appeared upon the bills as proprietors, with L. R. Shewell as manager. Mr. Shewell continued as acting manager five years, ending with the season of 1877–78, which closed June 17, 1878. Mr. Thayer died in December, 1875, and Jan. 1, 1876, Noble H. Hill became associated with Mr. Tompkins in the proprietorship, the firm title being Tompkins & Hill. Since Mr. Shewell retired from the management Eugene Tompkins has been acting and stage manager.

The Aquarial Gardens, *on Central Court, off Washington Street.* — Opened towards the end of 1860 by James A. Cutting, who had previously, in Bromfield Street, a similar but smaller establishment. H. D. Butler became associated with Cutting in the management of the new place. Dramatic entertainments began Feb. 25, 1861, with C. H. Wilson as stage manager, and continued until about the middle of April. June 16, 1862, opened by P. T. Barnum, as Barnum's Aquarial Gardens, with a dog show, followed soon after by a baby show. Dramatic performances were given from Dec. 16, 1862, until Feb. 14, 1863. Then called Andrews's Hall, and occupied for balls, and occasional exhibitions and fairs. Oct. 2, 1865, opened as Théâtre Comique by Jason Wentworth, with James S. Maffitt and W. H. Bartholomew as acting and stage managers respectively, for performances of variety, pantomime, and light spectacular pieces. Continued by Mr. Wentworth under this title four seasons. July 1, 1869, Wentworth sold to John Stetson, who rechristened it the New Adelphi, under which name it was opened Sept. 6, 1869, with William Horace Lingard as manager. Comedies, light pieces, and Lingard sketches were played until November 27, when Lingard's term of management expired. Reopened November 30 as a variety theatre, under management of George F. McDonald. Continued two seasons for variety and dramatic performances (chiefly burlesques) under various managers, including McDonald, the Worrell Sisters (Sophia Worrell, directress), H. G. Clark, Maffitt & Tyler, James S. Maffitt, and John L. Hall, who acted chiefly for Stetson, who retained control as lessee. From Aug. 29 to Oct. 8, 1870, known as the Worrell Sisters' Adelphi. On

its reopening, Oct. 24, 1870, it resumed its old name of Adelphi. So continued until Feb. 4, 1871 (John L. Hall, manager), when it was burned. Rebuilt for business uses.

New Tremont Theatre, *Studio Building, entrance from Tremont Street, near Music Hall.*—Remodelled from Allston Hall, and opened Feb. 9, 1863, under the management of Mrs. Jane English, with a ballet and pantomime troupe, which was succeeded by other dramatic features. May 11, Juignet's French Dramatic Company appeared, followed by the Holman Opera Troupe, etc. Opened for the season of 1863–64, November 30, with Mrs. Julia Bennet Barrow and Mark Smith as managers. The house closed after a brief season, and was reopened Jan. 7, 1864, under the direction of Mrs. Barrow. The house was then kept open continuously, the French company closing the season. During the season of 1864–65 it was occupied by various parties and combinations, including Morris Brothers, Pell & Trowbridge's Minstrels, after the burning of their Opera House on Washington Street, Oct. 25, 1864, from October 31 to December 22; MM. Juignet and Drivet's French Dramatic Company, two engagements, from Jan. 30 to Feb. 11, 1865, and from April 3 to 15; Messrs. E. L. Davenport and J. W. Wallack from May 1 to 27, and Mr. Davenport as manager from May 27 to June 10. During the latter part of 1865 the theatre was let to the Cotton & Murphy Minstrels from October 2, for five weeks, and MM. Juignet and Drivet's Dramatic Company from November 13 to December 23. The house was let for occasional exhibitions subsequent to this, but in 1866 was converted to business uses. Since reopened as Allston Hall for pedestrian matches, etc.

Continental Theatre, *south corner of Washington and Harvard Streets, on the site of the Apollo Gardens, where for several years concerts and other entertainments had been given.*—Opened Jan. 1, 1866, with Lon Morris as manager, and J. L. Saphore as stage manager. Mr. Morris closed his season March 10, 1866. Opened by Messrs. Wilder, Sloat, & Co., March 12, and continued under their direction until April 14. George K. Goodwin was then manager from April 16 to May 12; and Albert Cassedy, for a brief period, from May 14. Opened for its second season Aug. 20, 1866, as Whitman's Continental Theatre, with B. F. Whitman manager, and E. L. Davenport stage manager; season made memorable by the production of "The Black Crook," which revived the fortunes of the house; last dramatic performance of the season, July 4, 1867. For the season of 1867–68, opened September 2 as the Continental Theatre, under Mr. Whitman, who remained as manager until Jan. 25, 1868, when he was succeeded by C. H. Garland. Mr. Garland's season closed February 22, and the house then remained closed, with the exception of two performances on Fast Day, April 2, under the management of J. Wentworth & Co., of the Théâtre Comique, until April 13, when it was opened for a series of German dramatic performances by Madame Fanny Janauschek, who on that date made her first appearance in Boston. Madame Janauschek's engagement continued one week, and the theatre remained closed for the remainder of the season. Aug. 31, 1868, it was opened as Willard's Theatre, under the management of Henry Willard, who continued at the head of affairs until September 30. Mlle. Marie Zoe played October 1 and 2, and on the latter date the performance came to an untimely end, on account of a series of "strikes" among the employés. Mr. Willard had in the meantime disappeared, and the house had passed into the hands of the managers of the Boston Theatre. Oct. 21, 1868, it was opened under the name of the Olympic Theatre, by Madame Fanny Janauschek (her second engagement here). Madame Janauschek's name appeared as directress, and Oscar Guttmann as stage manager. Ten performances in German were given,

the concluding one November 5. November 16, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Florence began a season of three weeks (W. H. Bowditch, business manager), which closed December 5. December 21, the theatre was reopened under the management of J. B. Booth, with the Elise Holt Burlesque Company. The burlesque season continued until Jan. 30, 1869, six weeks; and Stone & Murray's Circus Company appeared from February 8 until March 6. Variety performances were given July 4; and similar entertainments from July 26 to August 28 were under the management of John Stetson. MacEvoy's Hibernicon was exhibited in the summer also. During the season of 1869–70 the theatre was not open continuously, but was occupied by various attractions, — namely, from September 13 to October 30, under the management of Kate Fisher; November 22 to December 8, by Sharpley's Minstrels; Jan. 31, 1870, for a short season, by Allen, Pettingill, Delehanty, & Hengler's Minstrels; March 21, for a week of dramatic performances, under the management of J. B. Booth; April 18, for a short season, by the New York French Dramatic Company; May 23, for a short time, by MacEvoy's Hibernicon; and from July 18 to 30, for representations of a military drama by Post 7, G. A. R. During the season of 1870–71 the theatre was opened in the same irregular way, — namely, from September 5 to 10 by Colville's Novelties; from September 26 to October 1 for dramatic performances, with John G. Nagle as manager and N. D. Jones as stage manager; from November 21 to 26 for dramatic performances, by Mr. and Mrs. Harry Watkins; from Dec. 20 to Jan. 7, 1871, three weeks, for the performance of a military drama by Post 7, G. A. R.; January 31, for a sparring exhibition; February 14 to 18, by the Adelphi Theatre Company, which had been burned out; February 20 to 25, by Morris Brothers' Minstrels; April 10 to 22, by the Boston Theatre Company, J. B. Booth manager; and May 31 to June 3, by the Boston Theatre Company. For the season of 1871–72, opened Aug. 14, 1871, as the St. James Theatre, with J. C. Trowbridge & Co. as lessees and managers, and W. B. Cavanaugh as director of amusements. Variety and pantomime formed the staple attractions. The season continued until December. Feb. 12, 1872, opened for dramatic performances, under the management of W. H. Leake, who was succeeded June 24 by Ada Harland, the season closing July 6. Aug. 26, 1872, the house was reopened by Mr. Leake with a minstrel company for one week, followed September 2 with a dramatic company for one week. September 9, McGill & Strong's Tableaux of Ireland appeared; dramatic entertainments from September 16 to 19; the Tableaux of Erin, October 23; dramatic entertainment, November 9; and further dramatic performances under Mr. Leake for a few nights, beginning November 1. The theatre was soon after closed and converted to business uses.

Selwyn's Theatre, *east side Washington Street, just north of Essex Street.* — Built by Arthur Cheney and Dexter H. Follett, and opened Oct. 29, 1867, with John H. Selwyn as manager. In 1869 Cheney became sole proprietor. In 1869 (from June 7 to August 7) there was a summer season, under management of William Horace Lingard. In the season of 1869–70 Thomas Barry was stage manager, Selwyn retaining the position of manager, which he continued to hold through that season. July 4, 1870, last performance of any kind given in Selwyn's Theatre, the establishment afterward assuming the name of Globe Theatre. Under latter title, opened Sept. 12, 1870, with Charles Fechter "sole manager." Fechter remained as manager until Jan. 14, 1871. Jan. 16, 1871, W. R. Floyd became manager, and so continued until the burning of the theatre, May 30, 1873. Rebuilt by Mr. Cheney, with the aid of an association of right-holders, and reopened Dec. 3, 1874, with D. W. Waller as

manager. In the season of 1875–76 (opening Sept. 13, 1875), W. R. Floyd was again manager, and he continued in the same capacity through the season of 1876–77. From Dec. 30, 1876, to March 12, 1877, the theatre was closed for reconstruction under the orders of the Building Inspectors. Last season under Cheney's control ended May 26, 1877. House leased by John Stetson, and opened by him Sept. 3, 1877, since which time it has been under his management. In the summer of 1880 the house was in a measure reconstructed and greatly beautified, the reopening taking place Sept. 6, 1880.

Gaiety Theatre, *Washington Street, adjoining Boston Theatre, and on site of the old Lion Theatre and the later Melodeon.* — Reconstructed from the Melodeon (second structure of that name), and opened by Jason Wentworth, Oct. 15, 1878.

Park Theatre, *west side of Washington Street, north of Boylston Street.* — Reconstructed from Beethoven Hall, and opened April 14, 1879, Henry E. Abbey. of the New York Park Theatre, manager. John F. Schoeffel, who was associated with Mr. Abbey in conducting the Park Theatre in New York, and various other theatrical enterprises, including Sarah Bernhardt's professional visit to America, became connected with the Boston Park as associate manager, the firm title, Abbey & Schoeffel, first appearing March 8, 1880.

Vaudeville Saloon, *Boylston Hall, over Boylston Market, south corner of Washington and Boylston Streets.* — Opened by Wyzeman Marshall, July 13, 1840. Season closed Aug. 28, 1840.

Olympic Saloon, 253 *Washington Street* (*old number*), *between Bromfield and Winter Streets.* — Opened June 14, 1841, by William Lee, as Lee's Grand Saloon, for musical entertainments and dancing. Opened for dramatic performances March 14, 1842, by a portion of the company formerly at the Tremont Theatre. Season closed on or about June 22. Reopened for musical entertainments, etc., as Lee's Grand Saloon, July 14, 1842.

In addition to the theatres already enumerated, there have been several establishments devoted to variety entertainments, and at these light dramatic performances have sometimes been included as incidental features.

The events of recent interest in the dramatic record are still fresh in the public mind, and brief allusion only can be made to them. Mr. Edwin Booth made his first appearance on any stage at the Boston Museum, Sept. 10, 1849, when he performed the part of Tressell to his father's Richard III. He first came to Boston as a star at the Boston Theatre, opening April 20, 1857, where to many he developed a new dramatic revelation. Rachel's brief engagement at the Boston Theatre, which began Oct. 21, 1855, gave to our citizens the first and only opportunity they enjoyed of witnessing the classical acting of the leading actress of France. Adelaide Ristori came Oct. 29, 1866, and Madame Janauschek followed April 2, 1868, at the Olympic Theatre, as interpreters of their respective schools of acting. In later years Salvini, John McCullough, Clara Morris, Lawrence Barrett and Mlle. Bernhardt have delighted large audiences by their masterly display of histrionic genius, and the remembrance of Miss Neilson's charming performances of Shakespeare's heroines is mingled with regret at her early death. "The palmy days of the drama," so frequently spoken of

by lovers of dramatic representations, is a period which is without date in the calendar. Measured by a pecuniary standard, the present time is the most propitious era which the drama has ever witnessed in the United States. The stage was regarded fifty years ago as a school for culture, and the theatre was the resort of those who sought something more than mere amusement. To-day, ninety per cent of the patrons of the drama seek at the theatre not mental food, but relaxation from the routine cares of business. Even in our largest cities, where a floating population composed of strangers make up the night's changing audiences of the theatres, it would be impossible to make a season profitable to the management if the so-called legitimate drama were on the programme. The society comedy has taken the place of even the old English standard plays. Shakespearian revivals are not of long continuance, even when the leading parts are sustained by eminent actors. The star system, which has been regarded as so pernicious in times past, is still retained. There have been many instances in Boston where a single actor of eminence has received more for a week's performances than was left in the treasury to pay the expenses of the stock actors and the running expenses of the theatre. Attempts have been made to render the theatre self-supporting, by depending upon a good corps of actors; but the thirst for novelty on the part of the public has rendered this effort futile.

Within a few years the stage has witnessed an innovation which threatens to revolutionize the drama in this country. In the early days of the drama in England travelling companies had their circuits, and with well-organized corps appeared from time to time in smaller places, where a week or two exhausted the patronage of the place. In some of our larger cities the regular dramatic season was supplemented by a summer season in some smaller city. The theatre and the drama were identified, for the manager of the theatre had his organized corps of actors, which possessed sufficient talent to produce plays in the absence of stars. The theatre was an institution. The new departure threatens to take from the theatre the prestige it derived from its company, and to make its management entirely dependent upon what are known as travelling companies. Mr. Forrest and other eminent actors had their own pieces, and they carried with them one or two actors to support them. It was stipulated in Mr. Forrest's engagement at times that so much should be allowed for the salary of his leading lady or his leading support. The idea has expanded, and now not only the play is the property of the actor, but he brings his own company, properties, etc. The duration of the engagement is brief, rarely extending beyond two weeks. It is true that the play may be better performed, as practice makes perfect; but the managers of theatres must either keep their own companies on the road when their theatres are leased by these travelling corps, or they must dispense with stock companies and become mere dramatic landlords. It is certain, however, that the effect upon the stage of this modern idea of furnishing novelties to a novelty-seeking public must prove detrimental to the drama.

There have been several very successful plays written by American authors, which have derived their chief claim to celebrity by the acting of the leading actor, who has secured the special right to these plays. No Boston author has as yet written a play which is likely to keep possession of the stage. It is only within a very few years that there has been any pecuniary incentive to induce authors to devote their talents to this branch of literature. A single play, written by a resident of Boston but recently, has, owing to its merits and the happy acting of the stars, netted the writer some ten thousand dollars. This, however, is quite exceptional. Boston has witnessed the production of many local pieces which have not been without merit, but not one is likely to hold more than a temporary place in dramatic literature.

It may or may not be true that the verdict of a Boston audience is more highly valued by artists than that of any other city; but Boston may be justly credited with a public possessing an appreciative sense of dramatic talent. Not a few of the most popular stars have received their earliest incentive to exertion from the encouragement of a Boston audience, while the most eminent foreign actors have found their warmest welcome in this city. The leading theatres in Boston are to-day under the management of those who fully understand that excellence can alone command permanent success. Of late years we have witnessed, both in the scenic illusions and the minor accessories, a great advance upon the crude representations of thirty years ago. Criticism, kindly but just, may be credited with a potent influence in securing these improvements, and thereby elevating the tone of the drama.

The theatre, within the remembrance of the patrons of the drama of the present day, has yielded to a healthy public sentiment and has become purified. There is no longer a portion of the house set apart by custom for the abandoned and profligate of both sexes, and the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited in the saloons attached to theatres. There are many who hope to see the theatre take a position so elevated as "a school of morals and of manners, of dress and deportment," that it shall become "the ally of the church, an adjunct of the school-room and the college, and a succursal to the public library, picture gallery, and museum of every large and populous city." Every lover of the drama will cordially accept this standard. Its realization, however, depends upon the public.

The story of the drama in Boston, since it can be said to have been fairly planted, differs in no essential point from the record it has made in every other city where the English language is spoken. The same vicissitudes have marked the stage everywhere. The drama flourishes, declines, revives, only to decline and revive again, as the years roll on. The theatre has become one of the necessities of a large city. It may instruct at times, but this element is not vital to its success. Its influence as a teacher has not kept pace with its importance as one of the institutions of a great metropolis. Without any Government subsidy or protection as an æsthetic institution,

it maintains itself by its inherent claims to consideration; and while it is thus made self-dependent it must seek to please the popular taste of the period, in order to secure an existence.

Eminent Actors. — The following is a list of several of the prominent actors who have appeared in Boston. The date preceding their names is the year when they first appeared in Boston, and the other dates represent the year of their birth and death:

1795, John Hodgkinson; 1765–1805.
1796, Mrs. Elizabeth Kemble Whitlock; 1761–1836.
1796, James A. Dickson; 1774–1853.
1798, Thomas A. Cooper; 1776–1849.
1806, James Fennel; 1766–1816.
1809, John Howard Payne; 1792–1852.
1811, George Frederick Cooke; 1756–1812.
1818, James W. Wallack; 1795–1864.
1821, Edmund Kean; 1787–1833.
1822, Junius Brutus Booth; 1796–1852.
1822, Henry J. Finn; 1785–1840.
1822, Charles Matthews; 1776–1835.
1824, William A. Conway; 1789–1828.
1826, William C. Macready; 1793–1873.
1827, James H. Hackett; 1800–1871.
1827, Edwin Forrest; 1806–1872.
1828, John Gibbs Gilbert; 1810.
1830, Charles John Kean; 1811–1868.
1830, Master Burke; 1818.
1833, Thomas Barry; 1798–1876.
1833, Fanny Kemble; 1809.
1833, Charles H. Eaton; 1813–1843.
1833, Tyrone Power; 1797–1841.
1833, Charles Kemble; 1775–1854.
1834, J. Sheridan Knowles; 1784–1862.
1835, Charlotte Cushman; 1816–1876.
1836, Mr. and Mrs. Keeley. Mr. Keeley; 1793–1869.
1836, Josephine Clifton (Mrs. Robert Place); 1813–1847.
1836, James E. Murdoch; 1811.
1837, Miss Ellen Tree (Mrs. Kean); 1805–1880.
1837, John Vandenhoff; 1790–1861.
1838, Miss Jean Margaret Davenport (Mrs. General Lander); 1827.
1839, Mrs. Fitzwilliam; 1802–1854.
1839, E. L. Davenport; 1816–1877.
1840, William Creswick; 1813.
1840, J. B. Buckstone; 1802–1879.
1842, George Vandenhoff; 1820.
1843, John Brougham; 1810–1880.
1845, Anna Cora Mowatt; 1818–1870.
1846, Julia Dean; 1830–1868.
1846, William Warren; 1812.
1847, J. R. Anderson; 1819.
1849, Edwin Booth; 1833.
1849, Barney Williams; 1824–1876.
1852, G. V. Brooke; 1819–1866.
1852, Mrs. Julia Bennett Barrow; 1824.
1852, E. A. Sothern; 1826–1881.
1853, Eliza Logan (Mrs. Wood); 1830–1872.
1853, Joseph Jefferson; 1829.
1853, Maggie Mitchell; 1837.
1854, Miss Agnes Robertson (Mrs. Boucicault); 1833.
1854, Dion Boucicault; 1822.
1855, Rachel; 1820–1858.
1855, F. B. Conway; 1819–1874.
1857, Charles James Mathews; 1803–1879.
1858, Lawrence P. Barrett; 1836.
1860, John McCullough; 1837.
1861, Charles Dillon; 1819.
1866, Adelaide Ristori; 1821.
1868, Fanny Janauschek; 1830.
1870, Isabel Glyn (Mrs. E. S. Dallas); 1823.
1870, Charles Fechter; 1825–1879.
1873, Salvini; 1829.
1873, Lilian Adelaide Neilson; 1850–1880.
1877, Clara Morris; 1850.
1877, Mary Anderson; 1859.
1878, Modjeska; 1844.
1880, Sarah Bernhardt; 1844.

The Theatres and Places of Amusement. — The following list shows the order in which the various theatres and places of amusement in Boston have been opened:

1792, New Exhibition Room, or Board-Alley Theatre.
1794, Boston Theatre.
1796, The Haymarket.
1823, City Theatre, Washington Gardens.
1827, Tremont Theatre.
1832, Warren (later National) Theatre.
1836, Lion Theatre.
1840, Vaudeville Saloon.
1841, Boston Museum (old establishment)
1841, Olympic Saloon.
1842, Eagle Theatre.

1845, Howard Athenæum.
1846, Boston Museum (new establishment).
1846, Boston Theatre, Federal Street (reconstructed).
1847, Boston Adelphi.
1848, Lyceum (later Odeon, Eagle, American, and again Eagle Theatre).
1848, Dramatic Museum (later American and Beach-Street Museums and Olympic).
1852, Ordway Hall (later Ordway's Varieties, Morris Brothers, Pell & Trowbridge's Opera House, etc.).
1854, Boston Theatre (later Academy of Music, and again Boston Theatre).
1858, School-Street Opera House.
1859, New School-Street Opera House (later Boudoir Theatre).
1860, Aquarial Gardens (later Théâtre Comique and New Adelphi)
1863, New Tremont Theatre.
1863, Buckley's Minstrel Hall
1866, Continental (later Olympic and St. James) Theatre.
1867, Selwyn's (later Globe) Theatre.
1874, Burnell's (later Boylston) Museum.
1876, Germania Theatre.
1878, Gaiety Theatre.
1878, Palais Royal.
1878, Gray's Opera House.
1878, Alhambra.
1879, Park Theatre.
1879, Forest Garden.
1879, Oakland Garden.
1879, Park Garden.
1879, Dudley-Street Opera House.
1879, Siege of Paris Opera House.
1879, Union's Opera House.
1879, Novelty (later Hooley's, and again Novelty) Theatre.
1880, Ocean Garden.
1880, Halleck's Alhambra.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FINE ARTS IN BOSTON.

BY ARTHUR DEXTER.

A PURITAN society was not favorable to art. Men believing in a literal interpretation of the Scriptures frowned on everything like graven images, and set themselves grimly to the work of ruling and strengthening the community they had founded for conscience' sake, in a moral atmosphere too cold to cherish any of the softer graces. Not until a hundred years after its foundation do we find any traces of art in Boston. By that time the severe race of Puritans had passed away; the young colony had prospered, and drawn over from England many who held less sad views of life, who saw no harm in fine clothes, and hung on the walls of their houses a few good pictures brought from their old homes. Portrait painting is usually the first branch of art which springs up naturally in a young country; and while the sober and serious minded were glad to have the features of their favorite minister handed down for the veneration of future church members, more worldly citizens got their own portraits painted in the bravery of dress which marked its wearer as one of the gentry, or at least as a prosperous merchant.

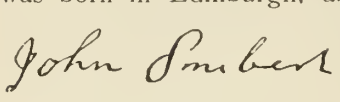
Bishop Berkeley, then Dean Berkeley, came to America in 1728, with the benevolent design of establishing a college for heathen children. Two years later he returned to England, disappointed and mortified. So far as the infant heathen were concerned, the scheme had proved an utter failure; but the Dean left behind him a verse, —

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

and the first portrait painter of any skill whom Boston had known. Whether there had been any such here previously is not certain, — perhaps Pelham, of whom we shall hear later, may have already done a few heads in order to engrave them; [1] but certainly our earliest artist worthy

[1] [There is a surmise that one Tom Child, who died in Boston in 1706, was a still earlier limner of features. See *Sewall Papers*, ii, 170. See also some notes on presumably earlier portrait painters in *Mass. His. Soc. Proc.*, Sept., 1867, p. 47. — ED.]

of the name was John Smybert. He was ours only by adoption; for he was born in Edinburgh, about 1684, and went to London as a coach painter. He attracted the notice of some picture dealers, who employed him to make copies; so that he soon found himself rich enough to carry out the wish of his heart, and to visit Italy. There he worked hard for three years, copying the old masters, and was employed by the Grand Duke to take the portraits of some Siberian Tartars, presented to the Duke by the Tsar. When Smybert afterward landed in Narragansett Bay, "he instantly recognized the Indians to be the same people as the Tartars," — thus counting himself among those who have traced an Asiatic origin for the red man. On his return from Italy to London he obtained a good deal of business, but gave it up to accept the post of Professor of Drawing, Painting, and Architecture, in the college which Berkeley destined to civilize the American barbarians.



When the scheme was abandoned by its founder, Smybert moved from Rhode Island to Boston. He married a daughter of Nathaniel Williams, who was the Latin schoolmaster of the town for fifty years, and had two children, — one of whom, Nathaniel, was already showing promise as an artist when he died, still young. Smybert had been well recommended to the quality of the Province. Chief-Justice Lynde entertained him as his guest; and his host's portrait is one of the best of his pictures which have come down to us. Though not a great painter, Smybert had a dry sincerity of style which makes his portraits interesting and valuable as memorials. Peter Faneuil,[1] the Chief-Justices Lynde[2] (father and son), Sewall[3] and Oliver, Judge Edmund Quincy, and many other leading men of the day, their wives and daughters, still look out more or less grimly from his canvases.[4]

Smybert died in 1751. A year before, there had come to Boston — some say from Connecticut, where his father had travelled about painting portraits — one Jonathan B. Blackburn, who succeeded Smybert as the painter of the quality. His style was much like Smybert's, generally rather harder and dryer, yet on the whole so similar that it is often impossible to be sure to which of the two a picture should be attributed, unless the date of it decides. More than fifty portraits by Blackburn are now known, most of them in or near Boston. They were all painted within fifteen years; then he suddenly left the town. The reason why he did so is not known; but Mr. Perkins, in his *Memoir of Copley*, hazards the guess that

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 260, — if by Smybert. — Ed].

[2] [Ibid., p. 558. — Ed.]

[3] [Ibid., p. 148, — if by Smybert. Copies of engravings after Smybert's likenesses of Benjamin Colman and William Cooper are given in Vol. II. p. 212. A copy of Pelham's engraving of Smybert's portrait of Joseph Sewall is given in Vol. II. p. 241. — Ed.]

[4] Mr. A. T. Perkins, in his notice of Smybert, enumerates more than thirty of his portraits still existing here. [Smybert lived on Court Street, between Cornhill and Brattle Street; and his painting room was afterward occupied by Trumbull when he retired from the army. In later years Allston had a studio on the same spot. — Ed.]

this young painter's increasing success may account for Blackburn's departure. If this was his reason, it was perhaps a wise step. Copley was then painting at least as well as his older rival, with every promise of painting better before long; his social position naturally made him the favorite with the upper classes, who were the chief patrons of art, — and there was hardly room for two portrait painters in Boston. So it was good policy to move on to some untrodden ground, and leave this field to the rising young artist who threatened to seize it for himself; and Blackburn left the town in 1765.

In the sister art of copper-plate engraving some progress, not much, had been made in the young colony. Peter Pelham may be considered its founder here. He may indeed be reckoned our earliest painter, too; for although none of his paintings exist, he certainly did use the brush occasionally, though only in order to provide subjects for his graver.[1] Were it not for his distinguished step-son, however, his name would be of little interest, — of no more than those of Francis Dewing,[2] who engraved Captain Bonner's *Map of Boston* in 1722, or of Nathaniel Hurd,[3] who was born here in 1730 and was a pupil of Pelham, or of a dozen others whose names have been discovered and set down by earnest searchers of colonial records, and of whom no more is known than that they lived and engraved. The art was in a rude state at best; and Paul Revere's name is familiar to our ears through the memory of a certain ride he took, on a spring evening in 1775, rather than because his patriotism found a vent in prints of political caricatures and of the "Boston Massacre," or because he engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the bills of the paper-money ordered by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in session at Watertown.[4]

In Limerick, Ireland, one Mr. Richard Copley had married Squire Singleton's daughter, and emigrated with his young bride to America; and on July 3, 1737, John Singleton Copley was born in Boston. About the same time Richard Copley died in the West Indies. Some time before the future artist was eleven years old, the widow married Peter Pelham, already spoken of, — surveyor, painter, and engraver. "The household of Peter Pelham was perhaps the only place in New England where painting and engraving were the prominent pursuits," says Mr. Perkins in his *Memoir*. Young Copley was born with a love of art; and family tradition speaks of

[1] [Copies of engravings after Pelham's likenesses of John Moorhead and Timothy Cutler are given in Vol. II. p. 214; and Pelham's engraving of Greenwood's portrait of Thomas Prince, in Vol. II. p. 222. The knowledge we have of Pelham and of some of his contemporaries is contained in W. H. Whitmore's *Notes Concerning Peter Pelham and his Successors, prior to the Revolution*, Cambridge, 1867, which had previously appeared in a less perfect state in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1866–67. See also *Heraldic Journal*, iv. 177. Mr. Whitmore reported what he supposed to be an early work by Copley, and a portrait of Pelham in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1878, p. 37. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. liii. — Ed.]

[3] [Copley painted his friend Hurd once or twice, and an engraving of him is preserved in the *New England Magazine*. See *Perkins's Life and Paintings of Copley*, p. 76. — Ed.]

[4] [Some specimens of Revere's work will be found in his views of Boston, given in Vol. II. pp. 411, 532; and his portrait of Hancock, in Vol. III. chapter i. See references to other engravings of his, in Vol. II. pp. 130, 438. His portrait is given in another chapter. — Ed].

his sketches on the walls of his nursery and in his school-books. It is hard to believe, therefore, that his son, Lord Lyndhurst, was quite correct in writing that he "was entirely self-taught, and never saw a decent picture, with the exception of his own, until he was nearly thirty years of age." There were Smyberts and Blackburns in plenty in Boston, besides a few good pictures which had come from Europe with the richer settlers, and now hung on their walls; and during the three or four years of Pelham's married life he, something of an artist as he was, must surely have pleased himself by pointing out their merits to his step-son, and giving all the help he could to the young artist's first attempts.

Pelham died in 1751, and the widow and her sons were left to live in a small house near the Quaker meeting-house, in Lindall Row. In the next year Copley painted a portrait of his step-brother, Charles Pelham, and a year later he painted and engraved a head of the Rev. William Welsteed,[1] of Boston. Major George Washington, visiting Boston in 1755, sat to him for a miniature;[2] and the portrait of General Brattle, in the uniform of a British officer, dates from the year following. Little is known of him in the next few years, except that he painted diligently, steadily improving. His style gained breadth; and his portraits had an air of high breeding so superior to those of Blackburn, that it is likely enough that the elder artist saw the prudence of retiring before his young rival. In 1769 Copley married Miss Susan Clarke, daughter of Mr. Richard Clarke, a distinguished merchant. At that time he moved in the best society, where his courtly manner and genial disposition made him a general favorite.

His pictures show us the faces and forms of the aristocrats of Boston, of the time when there were aristocrats here. Winthrop, Boylston,[3] Quincy,[4] Langdon, Hubbard,[5] Adams,[6] Hutchinson,[7] Hancock,[8] Pepperell, — almost every great name of the day is found in the list of his sitters; so that some one has said that one of these ancestral pictures is a Bostonian's best title of nobility. Their air is worthy of the subjects. Smybert's and Blackburn's people often look like bourgeois; Copley's are all gentle-folk, — fine ladies and courtly gentlemen, who thought well of themselves and of their place in the world. This unconscious seizing and embodying the peculiarities of his age are characteristic of Copley. Like Sir Peter Lely he was a born court-painter: and, like him, he often went too far, and elegance became affectation and even awkwardness. He was not a good painter of flesh, which he left hard and dry; though his hands were always well shaped and delicately moulded. But his draperies were admirable. The costume of the time gave him full opportunity to indulge his taste and skill.[9] Silks, satins, and all rich stuffs, elaborately dressed heads or wigs,

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 222. — Ed.]
[2] [Ibid., p. 127. — Ed.]
[3] [Ibid., p. 453, for Nicholas Boylston, and p. 556 for Thomas Boylston. — Ed.]
[4] [Ibid., p. 121. — Ed.]
[5] [Ibid., p. 455. — Ed.]
[6] [See Vol. II. p. 438, and III. ch. i. — Ed.]
[7] [Ibid., p. 68. — Ed.]
[8] [Ibid., p. 519, for Thomas Hancock, and Vol. IV. p. 5, for John Hancock. — Ed.]
[9] [Ibid., p. 454. — Ed.]

pearl necklaces, laced waistcoats and embroidered coats, swords and cocked hats, curtains whose heavy folds, contrasting with the small heads and slender throats, afford a glimpse of park or fountain beyond, — these outward signs of elegant and aristocratic life were managed skilfully, giving his portraits an air of courtly grace. His method of painting was exceedingly tedious. He used to match with his palette-knife a tint for each part of the face, thus occupying himself and the sitter a long time before he touched the canvas. We hear of one lady sitting to him fifteen or sixteen times, six hours at a time. Yet it is said on good authority that he left more than two hundred and fifty oil paintings in America, besides crayons and miniatures,[1] — all done in twenty years.

In 1771 Copley wrote that he was making a comfortable income; and two years later he owned all the land which lies between Charles, Beacon, Walnut, and Mt. Vernon streets, Louisburg Square and Pinckney Street, — about eleven acres.[2] Twenty-five years later the estate had risen greatly in value, and was sold by his agent to Jonathan Mason and H. G. Otis. The price, some $18,000, did not satisfy Copley, who tried to annul the bargain, — even, as the story goes, sending his son John to Boston for this purpose. In 1774 he took a step which changed the whole course of his life. Some time previous he had painted a portrait of his half-brother, Henry Pelham, — the "Boy and the Squirrel." The picture is not dated, and accounts differ widely as to the exact year. The painter sent it to England to be exhibited at Somerset House. A letter which should have accompanied it did not arrive; and West, to whom it was consigned, could only guess it was an American picture from the wood of the stretching frame, and because the flying squirrel is an American animal. In his enthusiasm he declared the coloring worthy of Titian. The rule excluding anonymous works was waived, and the picture was received. The praise of the best judges reached the artist and his friends in America. They urged him to go to London. It was a bold step, and he hesitated long before taking it; but finally he went, and never returned. After travelling and studying for two years on the Continent he went back to London, and was soon joined by his family. Then began a career of uninterrupted success. It was his own opinion, shared by later critics, that his best pictures were painted in America. In England, however, he executed several larger and more important works; he was the fashion, and many of the nobility sat to him, including the three princesses, daughters of George III. He took up historical painting, following the fashion of the day, — painting the "Death of Chatham," now in the National Gallery, and well known through Bartolozzi's engraving; "The Siege of Gibraltar," in the Guildhall of London; and other large pictures.[3]

[1] [His miniature of Governor Bowdoin is engraved in Mr. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. xlviii, and N. I. Bowditch's *Gleaner Articles*. — Ed.]

[3] [Among them the large painting of "King Charles I. demanding in the House of Commons the five impeached members, 1641," which now hangs in the Boston Public Library, having been purchased and presented in 1859. See Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 522. — Ed.]

In 1777 he was chosen an associate, and six years later a member, of the Royal Academy. He died in 1815, and was buried in Croydon Church

THE BOY AND THE SQUIRREL.

near London.[1] His son, John Singleton Copley, was later created Baron Lyndhurst, and was thrice Lord Chancellor of England.[2]

[1] [Mr. A. T. Perkins printed privately in 1873 *A Sketch of the Life, and a List of some of the Works, of John Singleton Copley;* and added a *Supplement* later. See also *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan. 1873; an illustrated paper on Copley by his grand-daughter, M. B. Amory, in *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1881, p. 759; Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*, 71; Cunningham's *Lives of the British Painters*, iv; and Dunlap's *Arts of Design in the United States.* — Ed].

[2] [The future Lord Lyndhurst was born in Boston in 1772, and died in England in 1863. His sister, Mrs. Gardiner Greene, died in Boston in 1866, aged ninety-five. — Ed.]

Another young American, who was to be our best portrait painter, had gone to England two years before Copley left Boston, — Gilbert Stuart. Born in Rhode Island in 1755, he began to paint almost in his cradle; and by the time he was thirteen had taught himself so much that he had orders for portraits. An artist named Cosmo Alexander, here on a visit, was so struck with the boy's talent that he took him back to England in 1772, promising to put him in the way of learning his art; but he died almost as soon as he reached home, and Stuart was left alone. After a two years' struggle to support himself and get an education at Glasgow University, he returned to America. For a year he painted, not without success. But the times were stormy; the colonists had other things to think of besides art; and Stuart, conscious of his deficiencies, and determined to conquer them, sailed again for Europe in the last vessel that left Boston harbor before the blockade, in 1775.

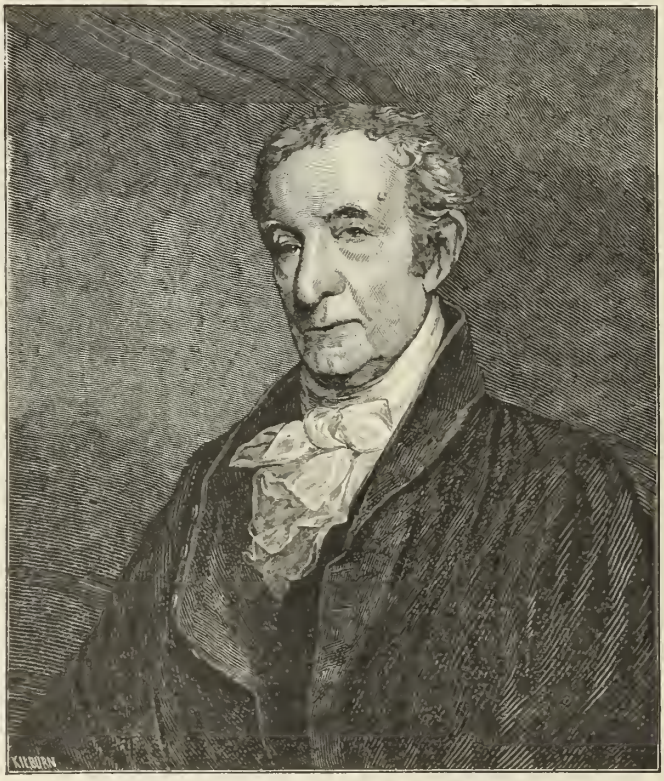
Reaching London, without any introduction he called upon West, who must have seen great promise in his attempts; for Stuart became his pupil at once, and was soon after living in his family, working hard, attending Reynolds's lectures, and studying anatomy. Before long he was assisting West in his pictures; and by 1785 had left his master, and set up for himself; and with immediate success, — no one but Reynolds and Gainsborough getting as large prices for their pictures as he. His house was the resort of clever men of all ranks and parties, half-a-dozen guests finding places every day at his hospitable table. All through his life Stuart's love of good company was next to his love of art, and sometimes interfered with the devotion which art demands of her followers. In 1786 he married; and then made a trip to Ireland, where he had the same social and professional success. But in 1792 he grew homesick, suddenly abandoned friends and engagements, and sailed for New York. After painting there for two years with much success, he moved to Philadelphia; thence to Washington; and finally came to Boston, which was his home for more than twenty years, until his death, July 27, 1828.[1]

Here he gained the same popularity as an artist and as a genial companion which he had met everywhere. Charmed by his powers of conversation, yielding to his wonderful faculty of entering into the train of others' thoughts, each sitter wore his own characteristic expression while in Stuart's chair; and the finished portrait often revealed habits of thought and feeling known only to intimate friends. No artist ever surpassed, perhaps none ever equalled, him in this faculty. "He seemed," in the words of Allston, "to dive into the thoughts of men; for they were made to rise and speak on the surface." Even in his more careless works this quality is hardly ever absent. Like Copley, Stuart painted the best people of his day; but his

[1] [Stuart was buried in the burying-ground on the Common, but the precise spot is not known. He lived and had his painting-room in Washington Place, Fort Hill, and later on Essex Street, near Edinboro' Street. Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 407. During the war of 1812 he lived in the Bartlett House in Roxbury. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, 305. — Ed.]

portraits are so much more individual, each man's idiosyncrasies are so brought out, that the last generation lives for us with a vitality unapproached by the earlier artist.[1]

As a colorist Stuart stands very high, if judged by the best of his work. This was very unequal; and he painted some pictures which were hard and even absolutely bad in color. His best were superb, — the flesh



GILBERT STUART.[2]

brilliant and transparent in the lights, mellow and still fleshlike in the shadows. The balance of light and shade is excellent, avoiding the danger-

[1] [There is an enumeration of these portraits in George C. Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, 1879. The present History contains engravings of the following: Nathan Appleton, Washington Allston, John Adams, Nathaniel Bowditch, Joseph S. Buckminster, Sir Isaac Coffin, Bishop Cheverus, Samuel Eliot, James Freeman, John Sylvester John Gardiner, Commodore Hull, General Knox, Dr. Kirkland, John Lowell, Harrison Gray Otis, Paul Revere, President Quincy, Josiah Quincy (d. 1775), Joseph Story, Washington (two), and Daniel Webster. See also Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*, p. 107; a Paper on the "Youth of Stuart" in *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1877; and John Neal's reminiscences in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1868. — ED.]

[2] [This same likeness was engraved in an early number of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and is photographed in the Catalogue of the Art Museum Exhibition of Portraits painted by Stuart, held in 1880. The original picture was painted by John Neagle in 1825, and is the property of the Boston Athenæum. A pen and ink sketch of himself by Stuart is owned by Miss I. J. Falconer, of Brooklyn, N.Y. — ED.]

ous extremes which he himself pointed out in the words: "Where there is too much light there will be no flesh in the shadows; where too little, not enough flesh in the lights." As compositions, his works are of little value. Caring for nothing but the face and head, and for them as the handwriting of the mind, he slighted all the rest, — "copying the works of God, and leaving clothes to the tailors and mantua-makers." One of his maxims runs thus: "Keep your tints as separate as you can; no blending; it is destructive to clear and beautiful effect: it takes off transparency and brightness of color, and renders flesh of the consistency of buckskin." He did not always observe his own rule; but when he did, his heads are marvellous examples of handling. The flesh glows. At a proper distance the tints melt into each other with a pure richness which has never been surpassed in flesh-painting. Looked at more closely, they are models for an artist in knowledge and certainty of aim and the production of effects by the fewest touches and simplest means.

Stuart said that the most signal mistake of his life was the declining an offer made him in 1792 to go to Nova Scotia to paint the portrait of the Duke of Kent, who offered to send a ship of war for him; but he had come to America with the fixed purpose of painting Washington, at any sacrifice, and the offer was refused. From a pecuniary point of view this may have been a mistake; for Stuart's fame it was a wise decision; for America and for the world it was a fortunate one. He had shown in Europe a fondness for convivial society which interfered with his art. He would probably have yielded again to its temptations, returned to England, resumed his old life, and left behind him at his death the portraits of many lords and ladies; and the world would have lacked those works of his brush in which succeeding generations behold the Father of his Country. Stuart's portraits of Washington are numerous, — most of them reproductions of the head belonging to the Boston Athenæum. This and the companion head of Mrs. Washington were painted to hang at Mount Vernon. The artist preferred it to any he had made, and retained it until his death, having obtained the General's consent to accept repetitions of the pictures in place of the originals.

Although this has thus come to be the typical likeness of Washington, it is a question whether it is the best one Stuart ever made. His own preference may have sprung from a sense of difficulties overcome; for when Washington sat for it, he had just had inserted a set of false teeth, which as he soon after wrote to his dentist gave the lips, both above and below, a pouting and swelling appearance. This defect is much less shown in the portrait painted for Colonel Gibbs. Less mellow in color than the Athenæum head, this has more fire and character. Both pictures show how Stuart dived beneath the surface and saw the mind in the visage. Judgment and self-control, resolution and an iron will, a strong temper held firmly in check, benevolence, sagacity, — all that we so rightly worship in Washington can be recognized by an attentive seeker in these portraits. Fortunate indeed was it that such a painter lived in the time of such a man; and that

he clung to the determination which had brought him back to his native land, and left to it such images of its greatest and purest patriot![1]

In 1826, two years before Stuart's death, the first attempt was made at an Art Gallery in our city, when the Boston Athenæum threw open to artists a room containing a collection of casts from the antique, the gift of Augustus Thorndike, and one or two portraits of benefactors of the Athenæum. The next year the first regular exhibition of painting and sculpture was opened to the public. From that time an exhibition was held every year; and, although the number of works collected was small at first, the movement was an important one, keeping alive and fostering a love of art. As works of art became more common in private houses, their owners lent them to these exhibitions where they could be seen and studied; while from the sale of tickets and by private donations a considerable collection was formed as years rolled on, and this was for a long time the only gallery of the kind in Boston. In 1831 the two Washington heads by Stuart were added, through the liberality of the Washington Monument Association and some private persons. Crawford's Orpheus was purchased, mainly by subscription, in 1844. The Athenæum had neither sufficient funds nor enough space applicable to the purposes of art; and when the Art Museum was opened in 1876, the principal works were transferred to the new building as a loan, and will probably remain there, as they are seen to much more advantage, while the Athenæum needs all its space for library use.[2]

It is not the purpose of this chapter to give the lives of the artists of Boston, nor even a list of them; only to speak of those whose works and lives have influenced the progress of art among us.[3] As far as we have gone, portrait painting was the only branch of art cultivated with any zeal or success. We come now to one who was an artist in the highest and fullest sense of the word, whose whole life was art, — Washington Allston. Coleridge called him "the first genius produced by the Western world," — and his influence on all who came near him, and that which his works still exert, is such as only genius is capable of. Copley and Stuart are remembered as good painters, and nothing more. A halo of poetic memories surrounds Allston's life and lingers about his pictures. "The power of infusing one's *own life* into that which is feigned appears to be the sole prerogative of genius," — these are his own words: they are the key to the distinctive character and charm of his works. Joined to a richness of color worthy of Titian or Paul Veronese are a pure

[1] [See an engraving of the Athenæum head and the note to it, in Mr. H. C. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. The larger picture, called "Washington at Dorchester Heights," is given in Dr. Hale's chapter in the same volume. — ED.]

[2] [See Quincy's *History of the Boston Athenæum*, passim. In 1823 the Athenæum bestowed a life-membership on Gilbert Stuart, "as a testimony of respect for his eminent talents." — ED.]

[3] [The chief general works covering in some sort Boston's share in the development of American Art are William Dunlap's *Arts of Design in the United States*, and H. T Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*. Mrs. Jameson not inaptly describes Dunlap's book as "gossiping, tedious, and conceited;" yet time is increasing its value. There is a paper by Horatio Greenough on "The Beginning of American Art," written in 1843, and printed in *The Crayon*, ii. 178. Mr. S. S. Conant supplied the paper, "Progress of the Fine Arts," in the *First Century of the Republic*, New York, 1876. — ED.]

sweetness, a repose, a breath of poetry, the outcome of his spirit and life, — an absence of all strife for effect or appeal to any but the best part of a love

Wa. Allston.[1]

for the beautiful, a simplicity and unconscious grace, recalling what those who knew him have said and written of his person and character. The

[1] [This cut follows a sketch by Stuart, owned by Miss Ellen T. Parkman, whose permission has been kindly given to have it copied. Tuckerman records a likeness in youth, painted by Allston himself; a bust by Clevenger from life; one by Brackett, after death; a head by Paul Duggan, for the American Art Union Medal; a statuette by Thomas Ball; and Leslie's portrait in the New York Academy of Design. (*Book of the Artists*, 148.) Harding painted two portraits: one is in the Providence Athenæum, the other in the possession of Mrs. James, Cambridge, Mass. The profile in the *Outlines*, after a cameo by King, is admirable. Allston's *Lectures on Art* were published in 1850, edited by his nephew, Richard H. Dana, Jr.; another nephew, Edmund T. Dana, furnished the account in the *Encyclopædia Americana*; and it is understood that his papers passed into the possession of his brother-in-law, the late Richard H. Dana. Besides Tuck-

poetry of his nature was only faintly shown in his published verses, mostly the immature work of youth. Occasionally, in after years, placing his latest work on the easel of his studio, he recited to a visitor in a sweet undertone lines which had taken shape in his mind as he painted; and these, gathering depth and color from the place and the moment, seemed better than when judged in the full glare of literary criticism. But he never wrote such poetry as he painted.

Born in South Carolina, in 1779, Allston was educated at Newport and Harvard College (1800), and sailed for England in 1801. After two years spent in diligent drawing, and in the best literary and artistic society, he visited France; and at the Louvre, then rich with the spoils of Napoleon's campaigns, he rejoiced in what he called the "*gorgeous concert of colors*, . . . the poetry of color, procreative in its nature, giving birth to a thousand things which the eye cannot see." Thence through Switzerland he came to Italy; and in 1805 reached Rome, where he spent four happy years, — living on terms of friendship with Coleridge, Turner, Fenimore Cooper, and Irving. To Coleridge, Allston declared he owed more intellectually than to anybody else. While in Rome he studied anatomy and modelled in clay, — a process which he declared many years after taught him to draw the human knee; a thing he could never do before, and never afterward found difficult. The color of the old masters, especially the Venetians, was the object of deep study with him, — and with profit; for twenty years later the Roman artists, though they had forgotten his name, asked after him whom they called the American Titian. The years 1809–10 he spent in Boston. He married Miss Ann Channing, to whom he had been long engaged, and opened a studio in Court Street, between Brattle Street and Cornhill, on the same spot where Smybert had painted eighty years before. He executed several portraits at high prices, and returned to England with his wife in the next year. Leslie, the artist, and Morse, famous as the inventor of the electric telegraph, but then a painter, became his pupils and life-long friends. While Wordsworth, Sir George Beaumont, Collins, Haydon, and other men of distinction eagerly sought his society, he labored so unremittingly at his art that his health gave way, and he fell alarmingly ill. His friends nursed him tenderly, until returning health enabled him to finish and send to the British Institution his picture of "The Dead man Revived by the Touch of Elisha's Bones." It was rewarded with the first prize, of two hundred guineas, and pronounced by West to be worthy of the fifteenth (sixteenth?) century. It was afterward purchased by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

erman and Dunlap, there are other expositors of his life and works, — like William Ware's *Works and Genius of Allston;* Charles Sumner's paper in the *Boston Book*, 1850; Sara Clarke's "Our First Great Painter" in *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1865; Mrs. Jameson's account in her *Memoirs;* Margaret Fuller in her *Literature and Art*, ii; C. Lester's *Artists of America;* M. F. Sweetser's convenient little compend, *Allston*, 1879; Irving's recollections in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature;* also in Irving's *Spanish Papers*, ii. 143; glimpses in J. R. Lowell's "Cambridge thirty years ago" in his *Fireside Travels*, and in Leslie's *Autobiography;* and a portraiture in the Art Novel, *Ernst Carroll*. Dr. O. W. Holmes contributed a paper on the Allston exhibition of 1840 to the *North American Review*, vol. l. — ED.]

Soon after this he was driven nearly frantic with grief at the loss of his wife; but recovering the tone of his mind under the kind care of Morse and Leslie, he visited Paris in 1817; and later in the year painted his "Uriel in the Sun," which took the prize in the British Institution, and was bought by the Marquis of Stafford. "Jacob's Dream," purchased by Lord Egremont, dates from this year, as well as the first sketch of "Belshazzar's Feast."

He returned to America in 1818, in spite of the strong advice of Irving, who declared that had he remained in England for a few years longer, surrounded by everything to encourage and stimulate him, he would have been at the head of his art. Allston himself wrote: "Something like encouragement seems to appear in our horizon. If we have any talents we owe something to our own country when she is disposed to foster them." Landing in Boston, in October, he at once opened a studio in a barn on the Prince Estate, near the corner of Pearl and High streets, where he remained several years. He was chosen an associate of the Royal Academy, London, soon after his return. He had brought home with him his picture of Elijah; and it was purchased from his studio by the Honorable Mr. Labouchere, M. P., afterward Lord Taunton, and carried to England; whence it was brought back in 1870 by Mrs. Samuel Hooper, and presented to our Museum of Fine Arts. In 1827 he sent to the Athenæum Exhibition several pictures which attracted much notice. In 1830 he was married for the second time, to a sister of Richard Henry Dana, — the union proving a most happy one; and the next year he built himself a studio in Cambridgeport,[1] which was to be his home for the rest of his life. He had brought from England the large canvas of his "Belshazzar," thinking that six months' more work would finish it. Several liberal Bostonians purchased it for $10,000, advancing part of the price. The picture was set up in his studio; and Stuart, now an old man, was called upon for advice and criticism, which he gave unsparingly and honestly. Allston recognized the justice of the strictures, and undertook a radical change in the perspective, which involved immense labor, and was unfinished at his death. For twenty-five years the great work stood in his studio, carefully hidden from all visitors, but ever present to the mind's eye of the artist. Though he from time to time painted pictures of a size and of subjects better suited to his taste and the quality of his genius, the "Belshazzar" was never out of his thoughts; or if he forgot it for a while, the indiscreet surmises of the public, and the more legitimate inquiries of the owners of the picture left his mind no rest. His modesty took alarm at the glowing anticipations which occasionally appeared in the newspapers. He knew that his friends had formed high expectations from his genius, and feared to fall below them. The subject grew hateful to him. The mechanical labor was too great for his feeble frame; yet, shrinking nervously from showing the picture to any one in its incom-

[1] [His house stood on the corner of Magazine and Auburn streets, and his studio was nearly opposite. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 193. — Ed.]

plete state, he called in no assistance in laying on ground tints and other work which might have been done by a house-painter. Again and again the work was put aside in discouragement, and resumed as a duty; and this went on for twenty years and more, — the mental distress and physical labor gradually wearing him out, — until, after a hard day's work on the unending task, he complained of a slight oppression in the evening, and sinking down in his chair fell asleep, on July 9, 1843.

As the artist left it, — unfinished in many parts, with traces of the former design half obliterated by the new, — the picture was exhibited in the Athe-

TITANIA'S COURT, BY ALLSTON.

næum Gallery. It is now in the Museum of Fine Arts. There are things in it as fine as anything the master ever painted; but, as a whole, it is incongruous and incomplete. Those who can see what might and would have been from what partly is, may study it with pleasure and profit; but it is a disappointment to those who love pictures, but have made no study of art. The work was one to which his genius was adequate perhaps, but his habits of mind and thought were entirely unsuited to it. Such a task needed a hand of more vigor and resolution, — not his rare delicacy of touch, and nature too sensitive for contact with the rough side of life. It was carving granite with a razor; and the blade broke.

This excess of finer qualities in his nature stood in his way in many of his pictures, which bear marks of over-work. He was too fastidious at all times. "Let well enough alone" was a phrase often on his lips, but seldom remembered at the right moment. Secluded in his studio, he kept

a picture before him, touching and re-touching it, unwilling to let it go from his hand, until the life was sometimes worked out of it. After his death some of the sketches found in his studio were published in a volume, through the liberality of Mr. Stephen H. Perkins. They give, in some respects, a higher idea of the painter's genius than his pictures themselves. The golden color, rival of the Venetians', is of course wanting. But, united with the delicacy of everything he touched, there is here a freshness and vigor, a firmness and certainty which his finished works often lack.

In 1839 a collection of more than forty of his pictures had been exhibited in Harding's gallery in School Street; and in the summer of 1881 the Museum of Fine Arts afforded to the present generation their first opportunity of seeing the wide and firm foundation on which Allston's reputation is built, by gathering together about fifty of his works, principally from the houses of Boston families, who possess most of the pictures painted after his return from England.

Although his retiring nature kept him far from the crowd, and only a chosen few came near him; though he founded no school, and there was no troop of admiring disciples to follow his footsteps in life, and spread his fame when he had gone, — his name is still a spell. When we speak of the great artists of the world, who are of no age or country, who lived for art alone, and will never die while art lives, Allston's name rises to our lips with those of the great of old. It is not only that we place him higher than other American artists; he stands apart from them, — the only Old Master of modern times.

Contemporary with Allston, though younger, was Stuart Newton; a painter with that rarest of gifts, — an exquisite eye for color. "Ah, sir, Newton's color is *magical*," Allston often said. His drawing was sometimes faulty; but his pictures, generally small and of the kind known as *genre*, are full of refinement; and his command of delicate humor and simple pathos is remarkable. His works were not very numerous; and on the rare occasions when one is offered for sale here, it is eagerly secured as a treasure. He was a charming companion, and a great favorite in society. He was born in 1793, at Halifax, N. S., where his father was collector of customs; his mother was a sister of Gilbert Stuart. In 1803, after his father's death, he was brought to Boston by her, and the talent he already showed for painting led to his becoming a pupil of his uncle. As neither of them had a very patient temper, the connection was a brief one. About 1815 he went to study in Italy; and two years later, through the advice of the Countess of Albany, he settled in London, where he was intimate with Leslie and Morse. He began by painting portraits, but soon found out that his talent lay more in small pictures of familiar life. In October, 1831, he came to this country for rest and a change of air; and in the next year he married Miss Sullivan, of Boston, and returned with her to England, where he died at Chelsea, in 1835.

Turning to engraving, in order to keep something of a chronological order in our survey, it must be said at the outset that there has never been anything like a school of copperplate engravers in America. Unfortunately for the cultivation of this art, we have surpassed the world in bank-note work; and many who might have reached eminence have been drawn aside to the more mechanical branch, where minute work is the great thing demanded, and artistic qualities are of less moment. In Boston the brothers John and Seth Cheney are almost the only names of importance in the past. Born in South Manchester, Connecticut, in 1801 and 1810, they began to work without the benefit of instruction and with home-made tools. After some years' practice of their profession in Boston, they went to London, where they engraved some of the plates for Parker's Boston edition of the *Waverley Novels*. On returning to this country John soon moved to Philadelphia, where he lived until he gave up engraving, in middle life. The younger brother Seth, after a second voyage to Europe, during which he studied in Paris with Delaroche, and in Italy, came back to Boston, and began to take portraits in crayon. This branch of art he followed with great success, beginning about 1840, and, with one brief absence in Europe, continuing its pursuit until his death in 1856. In 1850 the publication of the outlines by Washington Allston, already mentioned, was undertaken by Mr. Stephen H. Perkins; and the two brothers, who had abandoned their former profession, took up the graver again to do honor to the dead master. It was no speculation or business enterprise, and never paid for its cost. It was a labor of love with the liberal projector and the artists. These brought to the task an exquisite delicacy of touch, and such a reverent accuracy that, as one of them said, he would not presume to choose between the two sides of one of Allston's lines, but gave with three fine lines the middle and each edge of the outline. The result was a volume of perfect execution. The plates and stock were burned in the great fire of 1872, and the book is now rare.[1]

The art of wood-engraving has of late years reached a high degree of perfection in America. Many books and periodicals have been published with illustrations surpassing in excellence anything of the kind produced in Europe. Encouraged by the liberality of the publishers, engravers have come forward, ambitious to lift the art out of the condition into which it had sunk, — where fineness, or rather minuteness, of work was sought at the expense of more artistic qualities. Fac-simile work is less valued, the engraver aspiring to a place by the side of the artist, using his graver as a drawing-instrument, and seeking by proper direction and character of his lines to give texture and quality as well as the values or "color" of the original. Boston is now the home of some of the best living engravers on wood; but in the past we have had but one whose work was worthy to rank with the best, and who helped to advance the art to its present state.

[1] The plates of "Jacob's Dream," "The Ship," "The Prodigal Son," and "Prometheus" were engraved by John Cheney; "The Sibyl," "The Faries," and "Titania's Court," by the two brothers, jointly: all the others by Seth Cheney.

John Andrew, born in England in 1815, came to America in 1848, and to Boston two years after, where he lived until his death in 1870. He was one of the most widely known artists in the country, and his work may be found in the most important books and periodicals of his time on both sides of the Atlantic.[1]

Returning to painters, we must mention James Frothingham, born in Charlestown in 1786, who was for years the best portrait painter in Boston, and yet never had the success or reputation which he deserved.[2] Some of his portraits were excellent in color; and Stuart, after having once advised him to stick to his father's business of chaise-painting, changed his opinion entirely, and said of one of his pictures, "No man in Boston but myself can paint so good a head." Chester Harding, too, born in Conway, Mass., in 1792, although never more than a respectable artist, was, by a strange freak of fashion and for a season, more employed than Stuart himself. Harding wondered at it as much as we must, confessing that he could account for it only by the fact that he was a backwoodsman newly caught and trumpeted forth as a self-taught man. A belief in the superiority of such seems to be one of our national weaknesses. We may learn in time that a self-taught man is apt to turn out a second-rate article. The number of Harding's pictures (mostly portraits) is very large; they are hard as sign-boards, though often good likenesses. Joseph Ames, born in Roxbury, N.H., in 1817, was for some years a popular artist here, principally as a portrait painter. Some of his pictures are excellent in color. His many likenesses of Webster became, like Stuart's Washington, the popular type of the original. After several years' absence from Boston, he died in New York, in 1872.

This was a period in which our artists were, perhaps, as good as those of other cities, yet they have little claim to be mentioned as exercising any influence on art among us beyond keeping it alive. A backward glance over these years is not caught by any figure rising above the crowd and arresting the attention. Our interest in art continued to be of a respectable but rather languid kind, until stirred afresh by the arrival among us of one whose genius gave him authority to speak, while his enthusiasm compelled all to listen, — William Morris Hunt.

He came of an old New-England family, and his father was for many years a member of Congress. He was born in Brattleboro', Vermont, in 1824, and entered Harvard College in 1840, but did not complete the full term of instruction. He was not a hard student, and gave a good deal of his time to the art for which he was born, painting and modelling with a natural facility which left no doubt of the wisdom of his choice when he determined to make art the business of his life, and quitted college to go to Europe. For a year or two he was at Düsseldorf, and then went to Paris, where Couture, at the height of his fame, was his master, and at once recognized his

[1] [See W. J. Linton's "History of Wood Engraving in America," in *Am. Art Rev.*, i. — Ed.]

[2] [His portrait of Samuel Dexter hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. — Ed.]

great powers. Hunt was tremendously in earnest in whatever he did; and from the days of his student life to the day of his death, his art was the one thing he thought worth living for. After painting for some years with Couture, he became a follower of Millet. But there was no imitation of either master in his work; he judged both, taking what his ripening taste approved, and no more, and combining this with the fruits of a constant observation and intense love of Nature, and an absolute devotion to his art.

In 1855 he came to America, and fixed himself at Newport. Many who had seen his pictures in Paris had come home with high praises of them; and a reputation awaited him which he justified, taking a position as one of the leading artists of America by the side of men twice his age. In 1862 he moved to Boston, and here was his home for the rest of his life. More work than he could do was pressed upon him, especially in portraits, so that he had less time than he wished for other branches of his art; and

THE DISCOVERER.

in summer he often ran away from the crowd to some out-of-the-way nook in the country, and made studies from Nature. The great fire of 1872[1] destroyed his studio, with almost all his drawings and sketches, — the work of more than twenty years. But his energy and industry were unchecked; and in 1877 he gave a private exhibition in his new studio of a large collection of pictures and studies produced in the five years since the fire, — a collection even more remarkable for the variety of subjects and of manners than for its size. It may be doubted if any painter ever lived who could show power in such varied walks of art. It was hard to believe that one mind and one hand had conceived and executed the works which covered the walls.

In the spring of 1878 he spent some time at Niagara, and made several large views of the Falls. Though painted with great freedom, and so hastily as to be rather studies than finished pictures, they were wonderful exhibi-

[1] [Mr. A. T. Perkins communicated to the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1873, a statement regarding the loss of collections and objects of art in this fire. — Ed.]

tions of power. The rush of the mass of water, the mist rising from below and half concealing the opposite shore, all the varieties of color and accidents of light and shade were shown with a truth and poetry unapproached in more elaborate pictures of the same subject. Viewed at a proper distance, they were as good representations of the scene as can be imagined; while artists were loud in praise of their technical qualities.

Hunt's bodily strength had never been great, and he overtasked himself at this work. He was called from it to Albany, to undertake the filling of two large spaces above the windows of the Senate chamber in the new State capitol. After some hesitation whether he was strong enough for the work, he accepted the commission, and spent the summer in Boston making the cartoons. He began the work on the last day of October; and, once engaged on it, he found it so congenial to his taste that he was unconscious of

THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT.

fatigue, and his health and spirits improved; but when the task was accomplished, in the end of December, he found how much the labor had told on him, and went to Vermont for rest. Although not suffering from positive disease, he did not regain his strength. He had been offered the work of adorning the lower walls of the Senate chamber, and had planned a journey to Venice in company with the architect of the capitol to study the great mural works of Tintoretto, which he hoped to rival; but he began to fear that his strength had finally abandoned him when he most needed it to carry out the crowning effort of his life. In July he went to the Isles of Shoals; but he did not improve as fast as he had hoped; his spirits sank, and he was at times greatly depressed. On the morning of July 8 he was missing for a short time. A search revealed his lifeless body floating in a small reservoir among the low hills. At once the news was telegraphed to the press in all directions that he had committed suicide. There was no proof of this; and common charity might have stayed the hand which spread with indecent haste a report which was only a conjecture.

In November, 1879, a large number of his pictures was placed in the gallery of the Art Museum. The collection embraced the whole period of his artist-life, from the time he was a student in Paris; but while it bore the strongest testimony to the power and variety of his genius, it did not show anything like a steady advance in merit, or, indeed, regular progress of any sort. Studied chronologically, the collection showed that in all periods of his career he had from time to time made sudden changes in manner, as if conscious of a wealth of resources to be drawn on at will. He plainly had more ways than one of reaching his aim, and chose that which pleased him best at the moment. The sense of power thus conveyed was accompanied by a conviction that Hunt had not reached the height he would surely attain when he had determined in what path he could best walk. The cartoons of the Albany paintings — his latest works — were also his greatest achievements, fullest of thought, the mature work of his genius. They promised success on a higher plane than he had reached before, — and the hand that traced them was still forever!

After coming to live in Boston, Hunt had opened classes for instruction in painting with a success that made him a power in the community of art. Nothing was ever seen here like the hold he gained on his pupils, and the zeal with which he inspired them. His enthusiasm was magnetic, inducing a like zeal in his scholars, who worked under his inspiration as no classes in our practical, unimaginative community ever worked for a master. And yet it is hard to say how great or how lasting an influence his teaching will have on our future art. It will be less than his followers expect. With all his genius and power, Hunt had no fixed manner of his own. To the last his efforts were tentative. His works give the impression of great power in varied directions, rather than of any such digested knowledge and fixed principles as fit a man to be an instructor in art. He loved originality so much that he hesitated to attempt to teach pupils how to do anything, and only urged them to work with all their might. He roused their enthusiasm more than he instructed them. What has been published of his talks to his scholars,[1] interesting and suggestive as it is, shows how little he chose to teach them *how* to paint. Naturally, too many of them caught up only the trick of imitating his superficial manner, which does not and cannot supply the want of a thorough education in drawing and modelling, and in the principles of color. Hunt himself had acquired these by long years of hard labor; and his teachings presumed that his pupils possessed the knowledge which can only be thus acquired, and which should have preceded his instruction. The consequence is that most of them are imitators of their master's mannerisms, and little more; and imitation is not art.

[1] [*William M. Hunt's Talks on Art*, edited by H. M. Knowlton, was published in 1877. A memoir of Hunt, by F. P. Vinton, was printed in the *American Art Review*, i. An exhibition of Hunt's pictures was given in the Museum of Fine Arts in 1879–80; the catalogue was prefaced by a sketch by John C. Dalton. He fitted up the upper part of the building on the corner of Boylston Street and Park Square for his studio. — Ed.]

Sculpture was later than painting in getting a foothold in Boston, and was for a long time represented only by portrait busts. Frazee, a native of New Jersey, and Clevenger, of Ohio, lived here for a time; and they have perpetuated in marble the heads of many prominent citizens of the last generation. Ball Hughes, a Scotchman of great talent, also resided here, producing many familiar subjects, and modelling a life-like figure of Dr. Bowditch, which stands, cast in bronze, at Mount Auburn. Most of our sculptors have taken advantage of the greater facilities afforded by Italy for practising the art; and Rome and Florence have each long had a number of young Americans seeking inspiration from the antique, and profiting by the cheapness of continental life and the propensity of the average travelling American to bring a statue or two back with him. It is an easy thing now for one of our countrymen to go to Italy and be a sculptor; but it was a far more serious step, not likely to be taken unless by one who felt a real zeal in the cause of art, when Horatio Greenough left home, the pioneer and first founder of the colony of American sculptors in Italy.[1]

He was born in Boston in 1805. He showed a propensity for art from early boyhood, using his knife to carve flowers on the handles of his toys, and making little bas-reliefs of his playmates, and coming tardy to school because he had loitered to admire a wooden eagle over a doorway, and dream how glorious it would be if he could carve such things. At Harvard he lived with Edmund Dana, to whose house Allston came every Saturday evening; and the young student always cut short his weekly holiday and hastened home to listen reverently to the great painter, who recognized in him a true artistic feeling, and encouraged him to choose art as his profession. While in college Greenough offered a design for the Bunker Hill Monument, which was adopted and substantially followed in form and proportion.[2] Without waiting to obtain his degree he set off for Europe, and there spent most of his life, residing principally in Florence, and laboring hard at his profession. His best known works are the "Washington," and the group of "The Rescue," — both executed for the Government, and placed at the Capitol. Much fault has been found with the first, — a semi-nude figure, more like an antique Roman than the hero of the Revolution; but in justice to the artist it should be remembered that it was intended for the rotunda, and that he was much displeased at its removal to the open air, declaring that for such a position he would have made a purely historical statue of Washington on horseback and in his usual dress, and feeling that his poetical treatment of the subject unfitted it for direct and flagrant

[1] [H. T. Tuckerman published in 1853 *A Memorial of Horatio Greenough;* and it is portions of this book which constitute the chapter on Greenough in his *Book of the Artists.* For this colony of American sculptors in Italy, see a paper in *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xli, and chapter xvi in J. J. Jarves's *Art Idea*, whose views are much controverted. See the paper, "Sculpture in America," in *Harper's Monthly*, April, 1879, one of a series of articles by S. G. W. Benjamin, published separately as *Art in America*, N. Y., 1880. — Ed.]

[2] [It is given in G. W. Warren's *History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.* See also Frothingham's *Siege of Boston.* Some of his papers connected with this study are in the manuscript collections of Mellen Chamberlain. — Ed.]

contrast with every-day life. Greenough had a versatile and highly cultivated mind; he thought and spoke much on all subjects connected with his profession, and especially of the philosophy of art in its relations to the institutions and development of this country. Returning to America in 1851, full of high hopes of our artistic future, he impressed all who met him by the generous zeal with which he advocated many projects of taste and utility. Had he lived, his influence in the community of art might have been great; but his hopes were cut short by death within a year.

One of the earliest and best ideal statues in Boston, the "Orpheus," now at the Art Museum, and the "Beethoven" in the Music Hall, are the work of Thomas Crawford. Though he was not a native of our city, and never had a studio here, these give him the right of citizenship, so far at least as to be inscribed on our art-roll. He was born in New York, in 1813, and worked in the same marble-yard where Frazee had been employed. As soon as he could pay for his passage he went to Rome, where he lived a life of hard work and privation for some years. One evening he found he had but one paul (dime) in the world; he spent that for a ticket to the pit of the theatre, and woke the next morning not knowing where to get a breakfast. When he entered the Caffè Greco as usual, the landlord handed him a letter: it was from Charles Sumner, and contained a portion of a sum raised by subscription in Boston, — an order for the "Orpheus." It was the beginning of success. In 1851 Mr. Charles C. Perkins determined to present to the Music Hall Association a bronze statue of Beethoven, and commissioned Crawford to make it. The sculptor eagerly accepted the offer; but, moved alike by personal friendship for the donor and gratitude to the city whence had come his first commission, he declined to accept any payment for his own work. Mr. Perkins assumed all the expense of casting, founding, and transporting the statue to the spot where it is now so appropriately placed, above the stage where the great composer's works are heard, — a monument of the artist's genius and faithful memory, and of the liberality of a citizen to whom Boston owes much for his zeal in the promotion of all forms of art. It is a grand and impressive figure, draped in a cloak brought together in front in rich folds by the hands, which hold a pen and scroll. The head is bent forward on the breast. Simple in treatment and noble in sentiment, the "Beethoven" is one of the best statues we can show as the work of an American hand. Some years later Crawford received an order for the monument to Washington erected in Richmond. It involved immense labor, to which his strength proved inadequate. He lived to complete the central equestrian figure and the statues surrounding the base; but before his task was done he had felt the approach of disease, and after a painful illness he died in London in 1857.

The foundation of the Museum of Fine Arts was the most important step ever taken in Boston for the promotion of art. In 1869, when Colonel T. B. Lawrence bequeathed to the Athenæum his valuable collection of arms and

armor, it was plain that the time had come when a new building was necessary for the Art Gallery. Mrs. Lawrence at once offered to contribute $25,000 towards it; Harvard College agreed to place temporarily in it the Gray collection of engravings; and the trustees of the Public Library, the Institute of Technology, and the Lowell Institute offered assistance. An act of incorporation was procured, and trustees appointed early in 1870. A lot of land had some years before been given by the Water Power Company to the city for a Fine Arts Institute or Public Square, which the city now presented to the trustees, with the condition that the building should be open to all on four days in each month. The public responded generously to the call for funds, so that before the summer of 1871 $250,000 were promised, — Mrs. Lawrence, T. G. Appleton,[1] and Nathaniel Thayer being the largest contributors. Rich and poor joined in the work, the sums ranging from $25,000 to the modest offering of less than one dollar. A plan prepared by Sturgis & Brigham was selected by competition out of fourteen offered; the centre and one wing, being a sixth part of the proposed design, were at once erected, and the Museum was formally opened to the public on July 3, 1876.

Although the Lawrence armor had meanwhile been destroyed in the great fire, the insurance money was used to buy a collection of embroideries and carvings; Mrs. Lawrence had given a room of rare old English panelling; valuable Egyptian antiquities had been received from Mr. Lowell and Mr. Way; and other generous individuals had contributed so many works of art, that, including those belonging to the Athenæum, the whole formed a gallery such as never had been seen in Boston, and promised well for the future. In 1878 more space had become necessary. A new appeal to the public was liberally answered; $125,000, in sums from $5,000 to $1, were promptly contributed. H. P. Kidder, J. M. Sears, Q. A. Shaw, and Martin Brimmer headed the list. The front of the building was now completed. Built of brick, with ornaments of terra cotta, in Venetian Gothic style, it is a beautiful and most characteristic edifice, well described as one which no intelligent person, seeing it for the first time, could possibly take for anything but a museum.[2]

The undertaking has steadily prospered. The gallery of casts is one of the best in the world, embracing late discoveries at Olympia, and a large collection from the Technological Museum. A cast of the Pandroseum is the only full-sized reproduction of a Greek monument ever brought to the United States. It is justly claimed that the first floor of the Museum illustrates all the phases of sculpture in Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome. Donations of works of art have been numerous; and many others have been temporarily placed in the rooms, where they are available for pur-

[1] [Mr. Appleton had been a benefactor of the city, when he bought and gave (in 1869) to the Public Library the large collection of engravings which had been formed in Rome by Cardinal Tosti, — of which a catalogue has been printed by the library. It is particularly rich in portraits. — Ed.]

[2] [A heliotype of the Museum is given in the chapter on "Architecture in Boston," in the present volume. — Ed.]

poses of study. Artists are by courtesy allowed free admittance to the galleries, and copying is permitted of any work, unless the owner objects. The Japanese objects belonging to Dr. W. Sturgis Bigelow form for this country an almost unrivalled collection. Special exhibitions are frequently placed on the walls. Hunt's works were brought together in large numbers soon after his death. Over a hundred portraits by Stuart, — the largest number ever collected, — drawings and paintings by the late Dr. Rimmer, works of living American artists, drawings by Blake, a series of designs by Ruskin, a collection of etchings, and an exhibition of Allston's pictures have been in turn opened to the public.

Saturday has been a free day at the Museum from the beginning; and since 1878 the doors have been open to all on Sunday afternoons, with the happiest results. Crowds of people who have no leisure to visit such places on week-days are present on Sundays, and the good order which prevails shows the wisdom of the plan. The total number of visitors in 1880 was one hundred and seventy thousand. The good influence exerted on the community through such a number of visitors cannot be over-estimated. The Museum becomes a constant educator, supplementing by silent and necessarily unknown processes the work of its classes of instruction.

The most important of these is the School of Drawing and Painting. In July, 1876, the trustees of the Museum voted to grant the use of certain rooms for a school of drawing. A scheme to found such a school was already under way, and at once took a definite shape, funds being provided by public subscription, and a committee chosen to make all arrangements. Mr. Otto Gruntmann, of Antwerp, came over to take charge of the school, and Dr. William Rimmer was named instructor in anatomy, and continued until his death, in 1879, to fill the office for which his remarkable knowledge of anatomical art peculiarly qualified him.[1] The school has been carried on with success, under the supervision of a committee who have brought much thought and experience to their task, and obtained excellent results. The complete scheme of training for the professional student and the amateur is thus described by Mr. Crowninshield, instructor in painting. There are three divisions of the school. In the elementary the pupil learns to handle his materials, in representing the cast, drapery, and, towards the end, life; to this class the pupil is admitted on application. In the middle class he devotes himself to the life, the portrait, drapery, still-life, the antique, etc., in any materials save oils; an examination is the test for admission to this class; a series of lectures on anatomy, shades and shadows, perspective, architecture, color, history of art and costume accompanies the

[1] The Museum possesses the cast of a very remarkable statue by Dr. Rimmer, representing a Gladiator falling backward from a blow on his head. The action is indicated with great vividness; and the wonderful exactness of the modelling, while it excited the admiration of anatomists here, led the best judges in Paris to suppose it was a deception, and cast from a living figure. A striking head of St. Stephen, also by Dr. Rimmer, was cut directly from the granite block, without being first modelled in clay. [See a paper on Dr. Rimmer, by T. H. Bartlett, in the *American Art Review*, i. His "Hamilton" is given in Vol. III. of this History. — Ed.]

daily instruction in drawing. The third and highest class, reached only by examination, is for painters.

With the co-operation afforded to it by the Institute of Technology, the Society of Decorative Art, and the Lowell Institute,[1] this school offers greater advantages than any in the United States. To prove its success, it should not be held to producing any great number of professional artists who shall reach high excellence: not one such can be looked for in a generation; but it may be expected to raise the general level of art; and if it creates a body of intelligent and instructed amateurs, whose judgment, founded on principles and developed by study, is something besides an expression of individual fancy, and who are capable of guiding and influencing the public taste, the value of its work is very great. The erection of a higher and a more fixed standard of art is a thing much needed in our community, which is too self-confident and inclined to insist on being a law unto itself.

Connected with the Museum there is a school of carving and modelling; its main purpose being to make its pupils sufficiently skilful to earn their own livelihood. It has been in successful operation for four years; and though rather an industrial school in its design, it is so surrounded by artistic influences and advantages, that its teachings cannot fail to promote a knowledge and love of art among us.

The Society of Decorative Art has a double purpose. Its charitable, or rather its benevolent, object is to enable persons of culture and talent to turn their gifts to account by disposing of their work, which is examined by a committee, and, if found worthy, placed for sale in the Society's rooms. At the same time the criticisms made by the committee, when requested, and the opportunities of comparison, and the competition afforded by exhibition in the rooms, have during the three years of the Society's existence greatly improved the quality of the work offered, and thus practically raised the standard of taste in decorative as distinguished from high art. Schools of painting on porcelain and of art-needlework, connected with the Society, are doing good work in the same direction.

Instruction in drawing in the Boston public schools has taken a new departure within ten years. Under the old system the attempts were feeble and directed to a wrong end. It would be no more absurd to try to make poets out of all the pupils than to try to turn them all into picture-makers, which is what the old system did; but with so little success that the School Committee, in their report for 1870, described drawing as the feeblest of all the studies. By an act of the Legislature passed in May, 1870, drawing was included in the branches to be taught in the public schools; and special courses of industrial and mechanical drawing were imposed upon all towns of ten thousand inhabitants, while smaller towns were authorized to establish

[1] [See the account of the Lowell Institute in Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education," in this volume. — ED.]

them if they saw fit. Boston was the first to carry out this law; and the first steps were fortunately made in the right direction.

Mr. Charles C. Perkins had just returned from a long residence in Europe, during which he had given much attention to art in all its branches. The Committee on Drawing applied to him for advice. The history of England's experience was familiar to him. He had seen the mortifying testimony of her inferiority at the World's Fair, in 1852, which led to the formation of the South Kensington School; and he had observed the steady improvement in industrial art which that school had effected. The great lesson of that experience was this: that the first thing was to get some one to teach the teachers. At Mr. Perkins's request, the authorities of the Kensington School selected Mr. Walter Smith as the best man for the place. He was however at the head of several art-schools in England, giving him a larger salary than Boston could offer him; and we should have lost his valuable aid had not the State Board of Education, seeing the advantage of basing instruction throughout the State upon one plan, appointed him agent to assist the schools in carrying out the act of 1870. He accepted the joint appointment, and entered on his duties in the autumn of 1871. He had been connected with the present English plan of instruction in drawing from the beginning, and felt a strong interest in aiding a new country to profit by the experience gained by twenty years of successful work at home. The creation of an entire new system was necessarily committed to his zeal and discretion, no formal specification of his duties being possible. To him and to Mr. Perkins, who, as Chairman of the Drawing Committee, has used all his influence to sustain him in carrying out his plans, the degree of success is due which has been reached in ten years.[1]

In 1873 the State Board of Education appealed to the Legislature for aid, and the Normal Art School was established, whose primary object is to educate and train teachers of industrial drawing. The graduates instruct the teachers in the public schools, and supervise the lessons they give. The interest felt in the subject is shown by one fact. In 1880, of the teachers who had not previously earned certificates of competency, all but five had attended the classes provided for their instruction, and were teaching satisfactorily.

The Primary, Grammar, and High schools are viewed as general schools, and in them drawing should be taught, like the other branches of a common education, by the regular teachers. In the Normal Art and Evening Drawing schools it becomes a specialty, needing special instructors. Experience had convinced Mr. Smith that every one who can be taught to write can be taught to draw; and this maxim, the base of the system, has proved true here as it did in England. But to set the scheme in full opera-

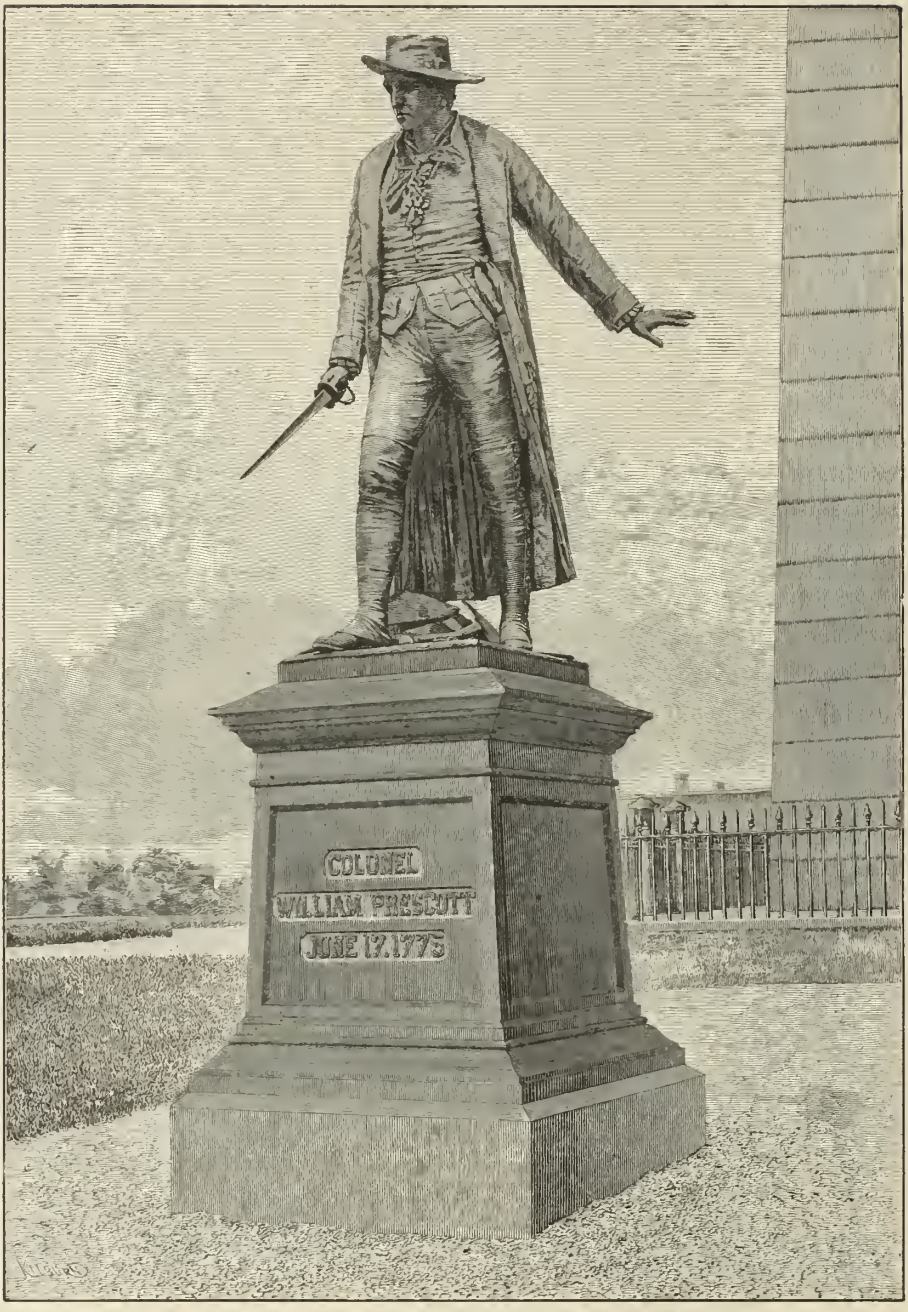
[1] For reasons which do not affect what is here said, the School Committee of Boston did not re-elect Mr. Smith in 1881. [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education" in the present volume. — ED.]

tion required a certain time; and when the system was extended to the High schools, in September, 1880, many of the committee doubted whether the time for the change had quite come.

Beginning in the Primary schools, with the simplest geometric forms drawn on a slate, the pupil goes through a course of skilfully-planned exercises; and before he has left the Grammar School he has acquired a considerable power of designing. In the High School shading and drawing from simple objects are added; designing becomes industrial art, in its application to decoration; and machine drawing is taught. If the instruction stops here, and the pupil goes into active life, it would be hard to overestimate the advantage of this art-knowledge.

Evening drawing schools are open thrice a week, from October to April, to all who will agree to attend regularly; this being the only condition of admission. The course is of two years: one of freehand and instrumental drawing; the second of either one or the other. An examination at the beginning of the second year determines the pupil's place. Professional instruction in studies like architecture or artistic subjects is not the business of these schools, which aim to teach practical branches, like building-construction, machine and ship draughting, etc. There were last year about six hundred students, with an average attendance of fifty per cent; and each pupil, besides receiving class instruction with the blackboard, produced on the average seven elaborate drawings.

Nine tenths of the art exhibition of Massachusetts at the Centennial Exhibition came from Boston. The Normal Art School, therefore, although a State institution, forms a part of our city system of instruction. The teachers of drawing in the five normal schools of the State have all been students in the Art School; teachers in the lower schools are either graduates of the normal schools, or have come more directly in contact with the Art School; so the force and direction of any impulse from this are felt through the whole structure. The full course of study comprises four years; and a thorough mastery of each year's studies, proved by the marks obtained during the year, drawings accepted and approved, and a strict examination, are required before the student receives a certificate in that class and can enter the next. Instrumental and freehand drawing and industrial designs form the first year's work. In the second, painting, theory of color, art-anatomy, ornament, and the various processes of engraving are added. The constructive arts come into the third year; and in the last sculpture, modelling, and casting. Broad as this programme seems, it is thoroughly carried out. The number of students who have completed a full course, — just half belonging to each sex, — is not large. The demand for such accomplished teachers is necessarily small; and many have accepted situations demanding only more moderate acquirements. A certificate of any class in the school is proof of thorough training in the studies embraced therein; and a holder of a graduate's diploma is perhaps as well qualified an art teacher as the world can show.



STORY'S PRESCOTT.[1]

The approval here expressed of our system of drawing-instruction is confirmed by the opinion of the French Commissioners on Education at the Centennial Exhibition. After pronouncing the Massachusetts exhibit to

[1] Mr. William W. Story, in the execution of this statue, showed that his interest was heartfelt. The required sum was raised by subscription, and the statue modelled in Rome in

be the most complete of all that were offered, they declared that if France would defend her pre-eminence in art, all teachers must be able to give first instructions in drawing to the entire school population. These words were written in 1876, only five years after the foundations of our system were laid. Considered in connection with improvement since made, they are a strong approval of the past and encouragement for the future.[1]

A great improvement has of late years been made in all our manufactures in which design plays an important part, showing the influence of trained eyes and hands. Mr. John Low, of Chelsea, is making tiles superior to any of foreign make. His dry or dust tiles, with exquisite designs in relief, are unique; and beautiful effects are produced by a process of nature-printing, impressing the clay with leaf and flower forms. The tender hues and gradation of tint in the glaze are triumphs of decorative art. The plaques in very low relief, modelled by Mr. Arthur Osborne, are wonderful in the effect of perspective and distance. The excellent designs produced at the Chelsea Pottery also deserve mention.

The difficult problem of the proper treatment of modern costume in sculpture can be studied with advantage in Boston, where there are an unusually large number of statues of men of our time. Powers's Webster, in front of the State House, is striking from one point of view.[2] Its companion, Horace Mann, by Miss Stebbins, is a mass of bad drapery. The Everett, by Story, and the Sumner, by Ball, both in the Public Garden, are bold examples of realism in costume. In Ball's statues of Governor Andrew and Quincy, — one at the State House and the other in front of the City Hall, — some advantage has been taken of the folds of a cloak to mask the unmanageable clothes. Where a military uniform or more picturesque costume is possible, the artist could be literal without fear of being prosaic. Chantrey's Washington, although lank and ungraceful, is dignified. Richard Greenough's Franklin[3] (in front of the City Hall) and Winthrop[4] (in Scollay Square) are weak figures, but the first is ornamental. A good manly figure of Sam Adams, by Miss Whitney, stands in Adams Square. Dr. Rimmer's statue of Hamilton, on Commonwealth Avenue, is of granite.[5] The Army and Navy Monument, by Martin Milmore, is a tall shaft bearing a bronze figure of America, surrounded at the base by four statues of Peace, History, the Soldier, and the Sailor. Placed on the highest spot in the Common, it is a conspicuous object.[6]

1880. It was cast at a foundry lately established there, which promises to rival the work of Müller, of Munich. It arrived in the United States just in time to be dedicated on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill in the next year. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop delivered an address.

[1] [See a paper on "The Study of Art in Boston," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, May, 1879, p. 818. Contrast "Art Schools in New York," in *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1878. — Ed.]

[2] [Its position is seen in the view of Park Street in the chapter on "The Mayors," in Vol. III.; and there is an account of it in the note to the portrait of Webster, in Mr. Morse's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

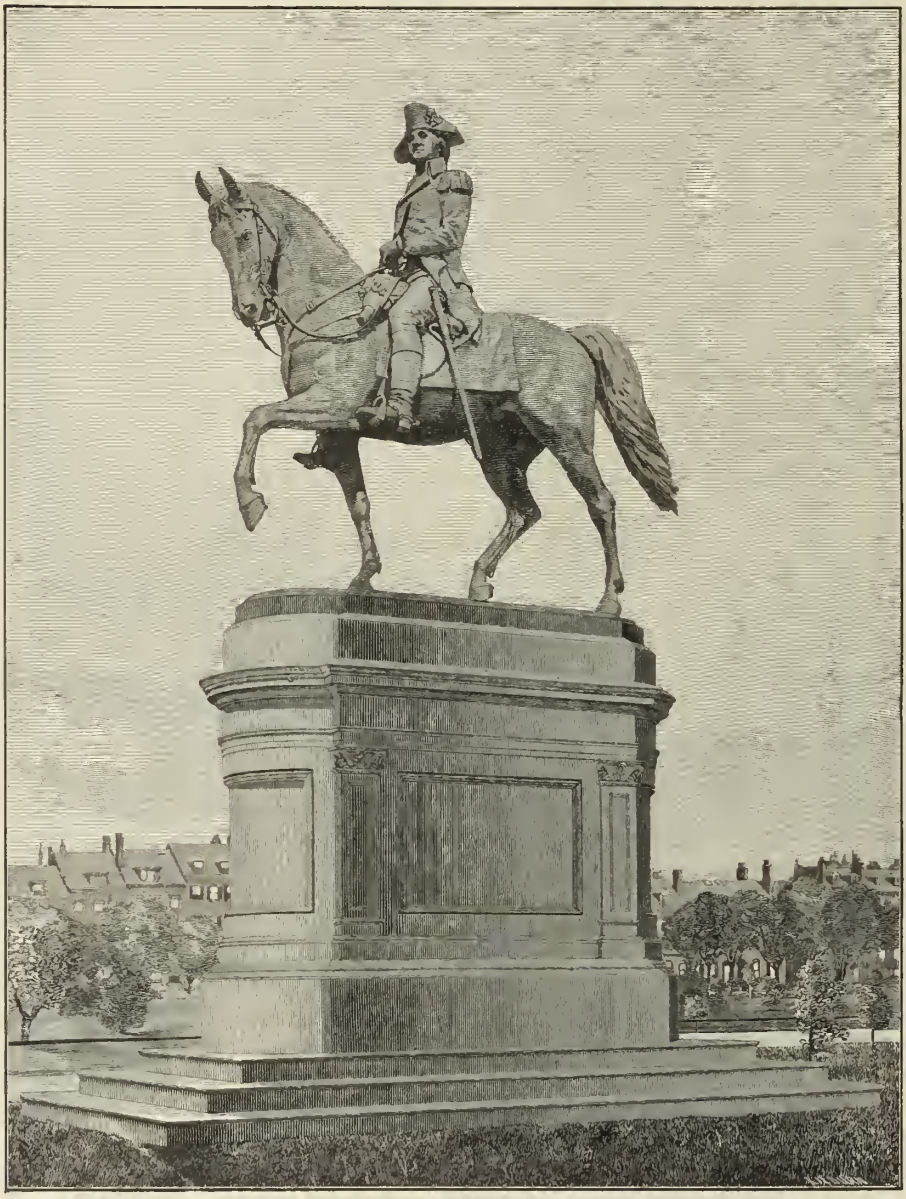
[3] [This is shown in Vol. II., p. 290. — Ed.]

[4] [This is shown in Vol. I., p. xxxii. — Ed.]

[5] [This is given in Mr. Lodge's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[6] [This is shown in Gen. Palfrey's chapter, in Vol. III., where will be found an account of this

The most important statue within the city proper is the equestrian figure of Washington, in the Public Garden. The pose and action of the rider



BALL'S WASHINGTON.[1]

are simple, but animated. Seated firmly in the saddle, the General checks his horse, lays his drawn sword across his bridle-hand, and turns his head

and other monuments commemorating the services of Boston troops in the Civil War. — ED.]

[1] [See the note to Mr. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. — ED.]

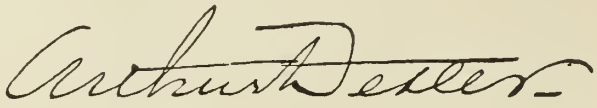
towards the left, with an air of calm and deliberate scrutiny highly characteristic of Washington. The spirited horse, unwillingly submitting to the firm hand on the rein, is in excellent contrast with the dignified and imposing figure of the rider. The accessories are carefully studied; and the whole forms as good a representation as we can have of the hero on the battlefield. The height of the monument is thirty-eight feet. The pedestal is too high; and the consequent foreshortening mars the effect of one of the finest works of art in our city. It was erected in 1869,— the work of Thomas Ball, long a resident of Florence, though born a Boston boy.

On June 17, 1881, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, a bronze statue of Colonel William Prescott, the commander of the battle, was presented to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and placed in front of the monument. It is a bronze figure, nine feet high, representing the farmer-soldier as he appeared on the day of the fight, clad in a loose banian or gown, assumed on account of the heat, in place of his coat. The moment chosen by the artist is that of the advance of the British troops, when Prescott ordered his men not to fire until he gave the word. The left arm is thrown back with a restraining gesture, as if to enforce the words, "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes!" The firmly poised figure stands in an attitude of intense expectation; and the statue is one of great dramatic power. William W. Story is the sculptor of this noble work. He was obliged to follow the family features, as no portrait exists.

Although the Boston Art Club has existed for a quarter of a century, it is only within ten years that it has become a flourishing institution, established in quarters of its own, under the presidency of Mr. Charles C. Perkins. There are more than eight hundred members; every year several exhibitions are opened to the public, and it does much to cultivate a love of art and a good feeling among the artists. Hitherto occupying part of a house in Boylston Street, to which an exhibition gallery was added, it is now erecting a club-house in Dartmouth Street. That a purely artistic club has so large a roll of members, and is in a flourishing condition, is a good sign.

No city has more genuine love of art or more earnest followers of it than Boston. The zeal of our artists is encouraged by a large and constantly increasing class of the community. All who can look back twenty-five years must see the advance which art has made here in that period. We cannot yet pretend to anything like a national school of art. The eclecticism of the American character fosters imitation rather than individuality. In painting we are of late too much influenced by the modern French school, where dexterity is cultivated at the expense of simplicity and feeling. Yet, especially in landscape painting, our country affords material for success in distinctively American paths which have been little trodden. We are a young nation; the stir and strain of material progress which

fills our daily life are not favorable to the development of art; but a love of the beautiful may bring softer influences into a prosaic age and country. If a more restful period of our career succeeds, it may see fuller fruit than has yet come of the fondness for art which is now a conspicuous and encouraging feature of our people.



CHAPTER VII.

THE HISTORY OF MUSIC IN BOSTON.

BY JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT.

TO trace the more important agencies and steps of progress which have brought Boston where it stands to-day in musical taste and culture is all that will be attempted in this brief essay. The whole movement, so to speak, is really included in the present century. Before the year 1800, all that bore the name of music in New England may be summed up in the various modifications of the one monotonous and barren type, — the Puritan Psalmody. Its history, quaint as it may be, is more interesting as one phase of the old Puritan life and manners, than as having any significant relation to the growth of music or of musical taste and knowledge here as such. It would make a readable chapter by itself; but it would not show the germs out of which the musical character, such as it is, of Boston has developed. Music, for us, had to be imported from an older and a richer soil. Let us try to sketch its progress, which, for convenience, we will consider in four periods.

FIRST PERIOD, 1810–1841. — Music, as an independent art, claiming consideration on its own account, not merely as a convenient handmaid of religion, properly began in Boston with the present century, and first took organic form in the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815. That was a small beginning, modest in its aim and its ambition. It sprang, to be sure, mainly out of the New England psalm-singing choir and village singing-school; but these elements, as we have said, did not contain the germs of musical progress; or if they did, there was still wanting the musician, the man of knowledge and artistic power, to quicken and develop them. There was none such here; he had to come from the Old World. There came, we may say, two about that time.

The first was a German, probably the pioneer of all the German musicians who have since sought our shore and done so much to make our Boston musical. Gottlieb Graupner is still remembered and respected as the first important teacher here of the piano-forte and music generally, — a leader in all musical good works, though with a meagre following. He engraved

music for his pupils, for which he kept a salesroom in his house in Franklin Street, in which he also had a little music hall. We remember in our boyhood seeing him lead the little orchestra in the old Federal-Street Theatre, with his double-bass! He was a famous "timist." But his peculiar instrument was the oboe (hautboy). This he had played in London, in Haydn's orchestra, when that great master brought out the twelve famous Symphonies in Salomon's concerts (1791–92). His family preserve the parchment certificate of his honorable discharge from service as oboist in the band of a Hanoverian regiment, dated Hameln, April 8, 1788. In 1791 he went to London; thence he came over to Prince Edward Island; then spent some time in Charleston, S. C., where he landed in 1796 or 1797; there he married, and came to Boston in 1798. Of course he did what he could to make Haydn, and perhaps Pleyel, Gyrowetz, and others, known here, too, in this musical wilderness. With a few associates he formed the nucleus of the first meagre combination which could be called in any sense an orchestra. Of professional musicians there was not half a score in the town; but Mr. Graupner and his little knot of musical friends, mostly amateurs, formed a "Philo-harmonic Society" in 1810 or 1811, which was still in existence when the Handel and Haydn Society was formed. It was simply a social meeting, held on Saturday evenings, in Mr. Graupner's hall for some time, afterward in Pythian Hall, in Pond (now Bedford) Street, where in their small way they practised Haydn's Symphonies, etc., for their own enjoyment. Graupner was president as long as it existed. Mr. Bryant P. Tilden was vice-president, and Mr. William Coffin secretary. When it finally died out we do not learn. Its last concert of which we find announcement was on Nov. 24, 1824, at the Pantheon, Boylston Square. How many members there were, or what their instruments, we cannot learn precisely. There may have been sixteen of them. Mr. Graupner led with his double-bass. For violins they had Mr. Thomas Granger and Mr. Asa Warren; and, we believe, the English Consul, Mr. Dixon, and the well known Russian Consul, Alexis Eustaphieve (whose daughter, Mme. Peruzzi, still living in Florence, was a great pianist for that day), were interested in the club, and lent their aid with violins, if they were not actually members. Mr. Granger, Sr., played the clarinet; Mr. Simon Wood, the bassoon; Mr. Rowson, the trumpet. They also had French horn and tympani, and bass viol (violoncello). The flute was played by Mr. Pollock, afterward by Mr. George Cushing, for many years cashier in the old Columbian Bank, who spent most of his later years in Hingham, his old home, in full possession of his faculties until within a short time of his death, which occurred last summer (1880), at the age of ninety-four, in Watertown. To the end of his life Mr. Cushing was an enthusiastic admirer of Haydn and Mozart, and a stanch advocate of the classical as against the "new-school" music.

These slight particulars are deemed of interest as showing the beginning of anything like orchestral music in the old town. Before there could be oratorios, there had to be some sort of an orchestra.

Another educated musician from the old world, who must have exercised considerable influence, was an English Doctor of Music, G. K. Jackson, for several years the learned organist at Trinity Church, who arrived here just before the War of 1812. He was a man of Falstaffian proportions, who seems to have lorded it among the small fry with a full sense of his own professional importance. Doubtless he, with one or two other English organists of less note, who officiated in some of the half-dozen churches which had organs, introduced here some examples of a higher class of English cathedral music, as well as extracts from Handel, Haydn, etc., in place of the prevailing dry and uninspiring psalmody. We find no mention of his name among the founders of the Handel and Haydn; nor was he the organist in their first oratorios. It seems that since he was not allowed to rule the movement, he preferred to take no part in it. He did, however, fellowship with Graupner, and lent the assistance of his "erudite talents" "at the piano-forte and carillons," in a complimentary concert given to the latter in November, 1821, when also Signor Ostinelli and his future wife, Miss Hewitt, played together a grand duo by Kalkbrenner. Thus to England and to Germany we owe the first musical awakening and most of the subsequent stimulus to progress here.

Of the musical condition of Boston at this time (1810–14), we may gather an idea from some reminiscences of that musical veteran, whose enthusiasm is still fresh at eighty, General H. K. Oliver. He writes: —

"From 1810 to 1814 the writer, a Boston lad, having a high soprano voice, was a singing-boy, with two or three others, in the choir of the Park Street Church, — a choir consisting of some fifty singers, and deservedly renowned for its admirable rendering of church music, ignoring the prevalent fugue-tunes of the day, and giving the more appropriate and correct hymn-tunes and anthems of the best English composers. Out of this choir came many of the original members of the Handel and Haydn Society. There was then no organ at Park Street, the accompaniment of their singing being given by a flute, a bassoon, and a violoncello. At that remote date very few musical instruments of any sort were to be found in private houses. In the entire population of Boston, of some six thousand families, not fifty piano-fortes could be found."

Thus, from that famous Park Street choir, from the little Philo-harmonic orchestra, and somewhat also from the few English organists and choir-directors then established in the town, our ancient Oratorio Society drew the first sources of its life. Nor was the outward impulse wanting which should crystallize these elements into a concrete form. It came in the shape of a Peace Jubilee, after the war with England.[1] The "Gilmore" thereof was, we are told, the high and mighty Dr. Jackson; and it was certainly a graceful piece of condescension in the Englishman to take the initiative.

Concerts, such as they were, were not unknown in Boston during the sixty or seventy years before this (1815). The Hon. R. C. Winthrop, in his admirable address at the opening of the first Musical Festival of the

[1] [See the opening chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

Handel and Haydn Society, in May, 1857, enumerates some of them, dwelling particularly on a miscellaneous "Oratorio given at King's Chapel on Oct. 27, 1789, in honor of President Washington's visit to Boston." After a glowing description of the Peace Jubilee (also in King's Chapel, Feb. 22, 1815,) he adds: —

"Its echoes had hardly died away, — four weeks, indeed, had scarcely elapsed since it was held, — before a notice was issued by Gottlieb Graupner, Thomas Smith Webb, and Asa Peabody, for a meeting of those interested in the subject 'of cultivating and improving a correct taste in the performance of sacred music.' In that meeting, held on the 30th of March, 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society originated. On the 20th of April their constitution was adopted. The following May-day witnessed their first private practising from the old Locke Hospital collection; and on the succeeding Christmas evening, at the same consecrated chapel where Washington attended that memorable public concert a quarter of a century before, and where that solemn Jubilee of Peace had been so recently celebrated, their first Grand Oratorio was given to a delighted audience of nine hundred and forty-five persons, with the Russian Consul, the well remembered Mr. Eustaphieve, assisting as one of the performers in the orchestra."

On this occasion, as we learn from the Programme Book of the last Triennial Festival (1880) —

"The chorus numbered about one hundred, of which perhaps ten were ladies; an orchestra, of less than a dozen, and an organ furnished the accompaniments. The programme was long and varied, and included selections from the *Creation* and the *Messiah* and other works by Handel."

It was not until the seventeenth concert, Christmas, 1818, that a complete oratorio was performed. This was the *Messiah;* liberal selections from it had been given in the previous concerts. The *Creation* came next (Feb. 16, 1819). Musical Boston of that day knew only these two oratorios: the *Messiah* (composed in 1741) and the *Creation* (1798); and to this limited acquaintance with the great composers the old society undoubtedly owes the name adopted in its "green and salad days." The fittest names to figure jointly in one title would obviously now be those of Bach and Handel, the two greatest masters and contemporaries; but probably America had not yet heard of John Sebastian Bach; nor did the founders of the Handel and Haydn Society dream of the devotion with which their successors of the past decade would be studying and performing his St. Matthew *Passion Music.*

Now, for the sake of landmarks, or tidemarks, to guide us in this brief sketch of our musical history, we shall regard the foundation of the Handel and Haydn Society, and the beginning of acquaintance with Handel's *Messiah*, as the first station on our pilgrimage, — the first musical event really pregnant with an important future. From this point we will barely catalogue the work of the society until we reach our second station, about the year 1841.

From 1818 to 1880 the *Messiah* has been given over seventy times by the society; the *Creation*, over sixty times. Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum* was taken up in 1819, and has since been given twice; in the same year the *Sixth Mass* (B-flat) of Haydn, which was sung eleven times to March 19, 1837; in 1829 a *Mass in C* by Mozart was sung; in 1830 Haydn's *Storm*, seven times to 1837; and in 1831 his *Te Deum in C;* in 1833 Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*, eight times to 1837. From 1836 to 1840 was the period in which the questionable taste for Neukomm's compositions reigned. His sensational oratorio of *David* was given fifty-seven times between 1836 and 1859.

Thus the repertoire of the society was as meagre, measured by its present standard, as was the average quality of its performances inferior. Yet it had more than kept pace with the best musical culture of our people; and our "Athens" could at least congratulate herself upon a certain fond familiarity with two of the greatest master-works of the art long before they were much in vogue in any of her sister cities.

With such materials, and with smaller selections from composers of less consequence, the society gave, either in the shape of oratorios or miscellaneous concerts, commonly on Sunday evenings, down to the year 1841, about two hundred and twenty performances, — from one to nineteen in a single year. The first seven were given in the Stone Chapel;[1] the eighth in the First Church; then one hundred and ninety-one (to November, 1839) in Boylston Hall; and numbers two hundred to three hundred and ninety-six in the Melodeon (now the Gaiety Theatre). These were small halls compared with our present spacious Music Hall, the Melodeon seating about twelve hundred people.

The membership has always been confined to the male sex. The ladies sing by invitation. The original members numbered forty-six. Before the first performance of the *Messiah* (1818) there were added one hundred and sixty-two by election; and two hundred and eighteen more down to 1841. Yet during our first period the chorus, male and female, was but small; in 1839 the average attendance at public performances was only about fifty, and the parts were poorly balanced, while some occupants of chorus seats were reckoned "dummies." The time for real chorus discipline had not arrived. The average tone of membership, for many years, was hardly one of cultured refinement; "first families" were not much represented in the ranks; mechanics, tradesmen, market-men, etc., were those who sacrificed themselves in the good cause, and greatly to their credit. No aristocratic English "Mus. Doc." could go in on equal terms in what he probably regarded as rather a plebeian movement; nor would the democratic instinct accept him for president or musical director. How good the singing was, it is hardly possible at this time to conjecture. For orchestra there could have been only an inadequate assemblage of a dozen or more available instruments. During all this period, and indeed until

[1] [King's Chapel was popularly so called for many years after the era of Independence. — Ed.]

1847, the president of the society officiated as conductor. The first president was Thomas Smith Webb, two years; then followed Benjamin Holt, two years; Amasa Winchester, seven years; Robert Rogerson; Lowell Mason (1827), five years; Samuel Richardson, two years; Chas. W. Lovett, two years; Bartholomew Brown; George J. Webb, three years (to 1841); Charles Zeuner; I. S. Withington. The organists were: for the first three concerts, Samuel Stockwell; for the four following, S. P. Taylor of New York; S. A. Cooper and S. P. Taylor, elected in 1818; Miss S. Hewitt (afterward Mrs. Ostinelli), elected 1820, and annually for nine years; Charles Zeuner, 1830–37; A. U. Hayter, 1838–49.

The leading vocalists who sang the solos in the oratorios and other concerts during this period are easily enumerated. It was home talent mainly. Mr. Oliver Shaw of Providence, R. I., who had become blind, gave here four concerts in 1816, moving audiences to tears, it is said, by the sweetness of his voice and by the beauty of his own songs, which were long popular, — such as "There's nothing true but Heaven," and "Sinful Mary's Tears." He was one of the earliest honorary members of the society. Its first president, Colonel Webb, and Mr. John Dodd were also vocal heroes in those days. The leading soprano for some years was a Miss Bennett. James Sharp, from England, joined in 1816, whose fine tenor voice and pure, artistic style of singing were marked features of the oratorios for more than fifty years. From 1825 figured Mr. Chas. W. Lovett, tenor; and the doughty "David" and the "Goliath" in Neukomm's *David*, — Mr. Marcus Coburn, robust tenor, and Mr. Samuel Richardson, a basso of large frame. Mr. George Hews, alto, or counter-tenor, sang in 1830, and for many years thereafter. Mr. B. F. Baker and Mr. Thomas Ball, the sculptor, began to appear as bass soloists in 1837–38. Of soprano and alto soloists before 1830 we find no names; but from that time to 1835 and later there were Mrs. Knight, Miss Gillingham, Mrs. Adams, and particularly Mrs. Franklin (one of the three Woodward sisters, all prominent in the music of that day), who was for many years the leading oratorio soprano. Of visiting artists from abroad, the first who truly helped the cause of good music here was Thomas Phillips, a tenor singer, who, after appearing in some slight English operas in New York and Boston, sang here in oratorio in 1818, and also gave a course of lectures on the art of singing, with illustrations from the best masters in the various styles of vocal composition. In the preceding year Incledon, near the close of his career, had made a passing visit, singing his famous Dibdin sailor-songs. But probably the most distinguished artist during all that period, a revelation to our untutored ears, was Mme. Caradori Allan, the soprano, who astonished and delighted all by her singing in the *Messiah* at Boylston Hall in 1837. Of course the list is very incomplete, nor have we room to be complete in such particulars.

Among the instrumentalities which helped to raise the musical standard in the Boston of that period were the publications of the Handel and Haydn

Society. For choral practice it soon felt the want of works of real genius, music more nourishing than the simple anthems in the Locke Hospital collection; and very soon it issued several books of anthems, masses, choruses, etc., from the best masters, English, German, and Italian. In 1821 (dated 1822) appeared the first Boston Handel and Haydn Society collection of church music, mostly psalm-tunes, selected and harmonized by Lowell Mason, afterward made Doctor of Music by the University of New York. This gentleman, who from this time becomes one of the most prominent figures in our musical activity, and whose influence was long, wide-spread, and various, on the whole for good, was born at Medfield, Mass., in 1792, and died at Orange, N. J., in 1872. At the age of twenty he became a banking clerk in Savannah, Ga. But the passion of his youth, and of all his life, was music, with which were coupled a life-long religious zeal and great business enterprise and shrewdness. He was a manager of men, an organizer of movements educational and popular, — some of them of lasting influence. In Savannah, with the aid of his first thoroughly instructed teacher, F. L. Abel, he made a manuscript collection for his own use, based on the *Sacred Melodies* of William Gardiner, the English enthusiast who wrote that fanciful book *The Music of Nature*. Gardiner had cut and arranged into psalm-tunes many exquisite melodies out of the instrumental works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and the like. These, with the best tunes then in vogue in England, — and a few American, some of them his own, — formed the basis of the collection which Dr. Mason prepared for the Handel and Haydn Society, and which ran through numerous editions, with improvements and enlargement, year by year. It was a wholly new, bold venture on the part of the society; nor was it undertaken until the learned Dr. Jackson had set his seal of approval on the contents of the book, adding a few compositions of his own. It soon passed into the New England "singing-schools," and thence into the choirs; and psalm-book making has been a prosperous branch of trade from that day to this.

In 1837 some discontented elements in the old society, unfortunately for both, withdrew and formed a new oratorio society, — the Musical Institute of Boston, — with Bartholomew Brown and the Hon. Nahum Mitchell for its first two presidents, and Ostinelli and Thomas Comer, of the Tremont Theatre, for musical directors. For several years it gave concerts in the Masonic Temple (now the United States Court House), its most important production being that of Mehul's *Joseph and his Brethren*, which is properly an opera. It also brought out a sensational and short-lived oratorio, the *Sceptic*, under the direction of the composer, Russell, a popular ballad-singer of the day.

Outside of these oratorio societies there was not much else in Boston, either in the way of schools or musical performance, which can be supposed to have exerted any very material influence on the progress of musical taste or knowledge during this whole period. Concerts were few, and far from classical; programmes very miscellaneous and of slight material. Great

artists, either vocal or instrumental, had hardly begun to find their way to this haunt of the east wind. There were no orchestral concerts; symphonies, since the days of those Philo-harmonic amateurs, were unheard; the same of chamber-music, violin quartets, etc. The Siren of Italian opera had not begun to practise here her spells. There had only been a few slender efforts in the shape of English opera at the old Tremont Theatre (now Temple). The music of polite society consisted mostly of Moore's Irish melodies and the old Scotch and English ballads, with possibly some pieces from Italian and from Mozart's operas, and the duets of that fashionable European teacher and composer Blangini, whose list of pupils has been said to "read like Leporello's catalogue, as it includes three queens, twelve princesses, twenty-five countesses," etc. Boston had, however, a few glee-clubs, thanks to the enthusiasm mainly of Mr. Wm. H. Eliot. The harp was perhaps better known in parlors then than it is now; that twilight sentimental instrument vanishing before the sunrise of high art. The piano-fortes, then comparatively few, tinkled with popular melodies, marches, variations, by Kalkbrenner and others, and show-pieces like the *Battle of Prague;* although some of the sonatas of Mozart and Beethoven had found a home in certain houses. The concert programmes corresponded. Very popular in those last years were the English ballad-singers, — Wilson with his Scotch songs; Russell with his *Maniac* and *Life on the Ocean Wave;* Dempster with his sentimental Tennyson's *May Queen;* and Mr. J. P. Knight, whose programmes were more classical and made appeal to better taste.

Much might be learned of the musical tastes of that period from a list of the publications which were in demand; but no chronological lists are possible so long as music publishers refuse to date their issues, — probably acting on the same principle on which women are maliciously accused of trying to conceal their age.

Among other incitements and sweet opportunities, the music-loving school-boy of the period (about 1825) must not refuse the debt of gratitude to the military band which, under the name of the Brigade Band, would tempt his feet to follow through the streets beyond the city's bounds, though he might find the homeward journey tiresome without the music. Many a Boston boy caught the tuneful fever from those dulcet and inspiring strains. And that was a real band; it had clarinets and flutes and oboes, bugles and French horns (some famous players too!), and was not the mere band of brass now used to penetrate the Babel of street noises. Moreover it played good music, — notably a large number of good German marches composed by one Walsch, which were arranged and adopted into the repertoire of the little Pierian Sodality of Harvard College.[1]

[1] It will surprise some to learn that musical Boston in those days of its infancy was not without its musical journals. As early as 1820–21 Mr. John Rowe Parker owned and edited the *Euterpeiad,* a fortnightly *Musical Intelligencer,* of really high tone, in every way respectable, and ably seconding the efforts of those who were trying to elevate the standard of musical art, free from all the meretricious and commercial features of so many modern periodicals devoted nominally to music. In the second year he added to each number an appendix or *Gazette* for

SECOND PERIOD, 1841–52. — As Handel's *Messiah* stands for the central figure thus far, marking the first stage in our musical development, so now we place another figure at the beginning of a second period, — say from 1841 to 1852. Beethoven, bringing the *Fifth Symphony*, stands there at the entrance of a yet richer garden of enchantment, beckoning us on the way that we should go. Beethoven's symphonies were first heard in Boston in the year 1841, and onward; and, strange to say, these were our first initiation into the glories and the mysteries of the symphonic form of art. We were introduced to its profoundest, greatest master, with no preparatory schooling in the simpler creations of his predecessors, Haydn and Mozart. As Handel came to us through the Handel and Haydn Society, Beethoven came ushered in by the long-since defunct Boston Academy of Music, which thus set the crown upon its many useful labors. And now, this second station gained, we have to look back a few years.

The Academy existed earlier, although its centre of gravity falls here. It was founded Jan. 8, 1833. Its aim was educational. It sprang from the suggestion of Mr. William C. Woodbridge. This gentleman, on a tour through Europe, had been struck by the attention paid to music as a part of early education in several of the countries which he visited, and became convinced of its good effects and of its practicability as a branch of common education here. He found ready listeners and coworkers in those practical educators Lowell Mason and George J. Webb, and in the Hon. Samuel A. Eliot; and the Academy of Music was established, with Mr. Eliot as president, and under the immediate direction of the two former gentlemen as principal professors. Other teachers were enlisted; among them, in the instrumental department, Henry Schmidt, the able violinist, and Joseph A. Keller, for years at the head of the musical instruction at the Perkins Institution for the Blind. "The experiment succeeded beautifully," said Mr. Eliot.[1] In the course of the second year juvenile and adult classes had been established, and gratuitous vocal instruction given to nearly one thousand children and to from four hundred to five hundred adults. It introduced music into the public schools, — Messrs. Mason and Webb first trying the experiment in several schools, to the entire satisfaction of the masters and the school committee. It formed classes for teachers in music. The choir of the Academy already counted one hundred members of both sexes, trained to nice performance of good music. This choir had given six oratorio concerts, in which selections from the best masters were sung with organ accompaniment, and had furnished music on several civic occasions. Lectures, with illustrations, were given in various churches, and in other

the ladies, which was called the *Minerviad*. In the last years of this period appeared two more journalistic ventures. In 1838 flourished, for one year at least, the *Boston Musical Gazette*, edited by Bartholomew Brown; and in 1839–41 the *Musical Magazine* of Theodore Hach, a work of real value, an earnest, able advocate of musical progress in the best sense. Mr. Hach, a German of intelligence and culture, in the few years which he spent here figured as the principal violoncellist in the concerts of the Academy, and his return to Europe was felt to be a real loss to Boston.

[1] *Address at the Opening of the Odéon*, Aug. 5, 1835, by Mr. S. A. Eliot, the president of the Academy.

towns and cities. The method of the professors was embodied by Mr. Mason in the *Manual* of the Boston Academy of Music, based on the Pestalozzian system, for the use of teachers. The Academy also published its own *Collection of Church Music*. Letters of inquiry from all parts of the Union showed that the new influence was felt beyond Boston and the State.

By this time the need of a suitable building for the now crowded school-rooms, exhibitions, oratorios, and concerts of the Academy was felt; and, fortunately, a lease was obtained for a term of years of the old Boston (Federal Street) Theatre, haunted with memories of the elder Kean, Cooper, Conway, and so many famous actors.[1] This was remodelled so as to afford school and lecture rooms, a spacious stage, and a comfortable auditorium, seating fifteen hundred persons in its parquet and four galleries, with standing-room for about one thousand more. It took the Greek name of the Odéon, and was dedicated, with an address by the Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, Aug. 5, 1835. Here until 1843 the work of the Academy went on, concerts coming more and more into the foreground.

In 1839 Mr. Hach, in his *Musical Magazine*, exhorts the Academy to make itself in fact, if not in name, a real Musical Conservatory, like those in Europe. In that year Mr. Schmidt formed the nucleus of an Academy orchestra with an amateur club. These amateurs played with him a Mozart-ish symphony by Romberg, and several good overtures of the light and pleasing order; and among things sung that season were a madrigal by Wilbye, a chorus from Graun's *Tod Jesu*, a duet from Rossini's *Mosé*, and Romberg's *Harmony of the Spheres*. In 1840 Hach gathers courage, and says: —

> "The establishment of the Academy of Music in Boston will do more to advance the art among us in ten years than the New York Opera could have effected in ten centuries. . . . And what are the pieces that week after week draw two thousand of our fellow-citizens at a time to the Odéon? Certainly not of a low order of music, but selected from the highest productions of the art, — the compositions of Haydn, of Mozart, of Neukomm, of Romberg, and other great masters."

Yes, O Hach! and a yet greater master stands even now at the door, presently to enter with footstep as resounding and with presence as impressive as the "l' uom di sasso" in *Don Juan*. Mr. Hach ventures to say that the *Creation* at that time was as well known and as popular in Boston as in its birthplace, Vienna. That year the Academy sang Haydn's "Spring" (*Seasons*) and first part of the *Creation*, a psalm by Fesca, a chorus by Righini, a cantata by Zumsteeg, etc. The *Freyschütz* overture began to be played. There were organ performances by Mr. F. F. Müller, violin solo by Mr. Schmidt, etc.

In 1841 Romberg's music to Schiller's "Song of the Bell" was given January 2, the translation of the poem being by S. A. Eliot. The next

[1] [See the chapter on the "Drama" in the present volume. — Ed.]

concert (January 16) was wholly instrumental, — Romberg symphony, overtures to *Anacreon* (Cherubini), *Masaniello*, Weber's *Jubilee*, and solos. We see where all this is tending. The first phase of the Academy has passed the full, and is now on the wane. The didactic, pedagogic, choir, "convention," psalm-book making mission is exhausted, the master spirits thereof tempted into larger business in richer fields and pastures new; it must turn over a new leaf now, or find its occupation wholly gone. The ninth annual *Report* speaks of the first and chief end of the Academy as now accomplished; it has secured access to elementary musical instruction for every child within its reach; and the *Report* proceeds to state that differences between its professors had arisen, resulting in their separation; and that "instead of continuing its vocal concerts, in which it cannot do more or better than its neighbors, the Academy has concluded to engage the best orchestra it can afford, and give classical instrumental concerts." The day of the Symphony in Boston has come! Beethoven enters; we have reached our second station. A new era has begun for us in music. Doubtless we owe this wise resolve, this new departure, to the sagacity, the taste, the public spirit of his Honor the Mayor of Boston at that period, Samuel A. Eliot, president of the Academy throughout its whole career.

In the eight concerts of the season ending in February, 1841, the Academy brought out two of Beethoven's symphonies (first time to Boston ears), namely, the *First* and *Fifth*, besides one by Romberg. The precise date of the first performance of the immortal number *Five* (C-minor) we do not find.

For seven winters these symphonic feasts were continued regularly at the rate of six or eight each season, for the most part in the Odéon (though finally they were compelled to take refuge in the Melodeon), until the public patronage fell off, and they came to an end, ever regretted by "the appreciative few," in the spring of 1847. The programmes, from an educational point of view, were most judicious: always a noble symphony, commonly by Beethoven, occasionally by Mozart, Haydn, Mendelssohn; while for relief and recreation after the close attention these required, there were always two or three light, captivating overtures by genial composers like Rossini, Auber, Reissiger, Lindpaintner, and Carafa. Nor was there wanting "milk for babes" in the shape of instrumental solos, songs, duets, and choruses, — the last especially in the later seasons, when the Musical Education Society, a well balanced choir of one hundred voices, organized within the Academy and trained by Mr. Webb, took part. This society outlived its parent, and grew up to greater work, as we shall see. Six of the nine Beethoven symphonies became more or less familiar in these concerts; the *Fifth* was the great favorite, and was given more than a dozen times; number *Seven*, at least nine times; the *Pastoral* and number *Four*, some four times each. Mendelssohn's *Scotch* symphony figured twice; a prize symphony by V. Lachner, twice; and one by Romberg. In one of the earlier concerts there were two symphonies, — the *Militaire* of Haydn,

and the "Jupiter" of Mozart. In one programme only we find no symphony, but instead thereof six (!) overtures. These overtures, especially Auber's, were played over and over, year after year, — more wholesome food than much of the light, or of the heavy, "effect" music more recently and even now in vogue. But overtures of higher character were not neglected; for instance, Beethoven's to *Egmont*, *Fidelio*, and *Prometheus;* Weber's *Freyschütz;* Mozart's *Titus;* Mendelssohn's *Hebrides* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The instrumental solos were for violin or 'cello, reeds or flute, and were commonly of a respectable order. The age of brass had not arrived. The virtuoso of the cornet (always going out of its own sphere to ape flute variations, or to parody some love-lorn tenor's swan-song) had not begun to haunt the concert room. For solo singers the Academy could not afford famous prima donnas, but it was thoughtful in the employment of acceptable domestic talent.

Here then was a foundation laid for musical culture in a good direction. Here was development. These opportunities, for those who improved them, had been for seven years implanting seeds and principles of higher, purer taste, and had raised the standard in what was demanded of concert givers, singers, teachers, and musicians. What though a "popular" reaction against entertainments of so intellectual and "classical" a standard might spring up occasionally? The best must always meet resistance, now as well as then; the victory never rests entirely undisputed; the struggle has to be renewed. Nevertheless the seeds are sown; they will spring up anew, however often trampled down. Such a reaction did, before these concerts were abandoned, raise its head under the misnomer of a "Philharmonic" Society (about 1844), which devoted itself for several seasons to a more showy, "popular," and miscellaneous class of concerts.

The orchestra of the Academy must have been a small one, — from twenty-five, perhaps, to forty instruments, — and made up in part of but indifferent materials. For two or three years it was conducted by tall Henry Schmidt, violin in hand. The annual *Report* of 1843 congratulates the society on having for the first time a conductor with *batôn*, not playing in the orchestra himself. This was Professor Webb, supported by Mr. William Keyzer, from Holland, an old conservative, intelligent musician, at the head of the violins, and sometimes officiating as conductor. Under their reign things went on in a respectable and quiet way, with few concessions to bad taste; though there can be little doubt that the decline and dying out of this most admirable movement was hastened by the want of vigorous young life in the conductorship. But it will readily be seen that that early experience of seven years' exposure to Beethoven programmes must, in spite of all shortcomings in performance, have set Boston well upon the way to an appreciation of the best in music. Many can remember how eagerly these concerts were sought, how frequently the audience was large, and what a theme of enthusiastic comment and congratulation these first fresh hearings of the great masters was. And what willing ears were those that

listened? What souls were most susceptible to the new, quickening influence? To what ideas, what sympathetic phase of thought and aspiration did those harmonies appeal? Partly, of course, to those most musically taught already; partly to those trusting in authority; but largely also to a peculiar element then stirring in the intellectual and social life of this community, to minds in sympathy with what was idly called the "transcendental" movement, — that class of young enthusiasts for culture, in the freest, highest sense, with whom Emerson (although not musical) and Beethoven came in, it may be said, together.[1]

Regarding those orchestral concerts as the Academy's most fruitful contribution to the musical development of Boston, we must, before taking leave of it, sum up in a few words the various activities of its earlier and purely educational period (1833–40), during which those noted teachers, Lowell Mason and George J. Webb, were its master spirits. It taught the elements of vocal music to the people, — children and adults. It carried music into the public schools. It taught how to teach, both in its classes and through that peculiarly New England institution the "musical conventions," which drew together choristers and teachers from the country for whole weeks at a time, giving a new stimulus, and diffusing through them many practical ideas, as well as every year the new *Collection* of psalmody, for which the convention was the annual fair and market, until the multiplication of that sort of ware threatened to bury real music out of sight. It formed choral clubs and classes. It published glee and chorus books, as well as psalms and chants and anthems, a *Common School Songster*, a

[1] For fuller explanation of this hint the writer would refer to certain reminiscences of his own in the *Atlantic Monthly* of September, 1870, of which an extract follows: —

"For, be it remembered, the first great awakening of the musical instinct here was when the *C-minor Symphony* of Beethoven was played, thirty years ago or more, in that old theatre, long since vanished from the heart of the dry-goods part of Boston, which had been converted into an Odéon, where an Academy of Music gave us some first glimpses of the glories of great orchestral music. Some may yet remember how young men and women of the most cultured circles, whom the new intellectual day-spring had made thoughtful and at the same time open and impressible to all appeals of art and beauty, used to sit there through the concert in that far-off upper gallery, or sky-parlor, secluded in the shade, and give themselves up completely to the influence of the sublime harmonies that sank into their souls, enlarging and coloring thenceforth the whole horizon of their life. Then came the Brook Farm experiment; and it is equally a curious fact, that music, and of the best kind — the Beethoven Sonatas, the Masses of Mozart and Haydn — got at, indeed, in a very humble, home-made, and imperfect way, was one of the chief interests and refreshments of those halcyon days. Nay, it was among the singing portion of those plain farmers, teachers, and (but for such cheer) domestic drudges, that the first example sprang up of the so-called Mass Clubs, once so much in vogue among small knots of amateurs. They met to practise music which to them seemed heavenly, after the old hackneyed glees and psalm-tunes, — though little many of them thought or cared about the creed embodied in the Latin words that formed the convenient vehicle for tones so thrilling. The music was quite innocent of creed, except that of the heart and of the common deepest wants and aspirations of all souls, darkly locked up in formulas till set free by the subtile solvent of the delicious harmonies. And our genial friend who sits in *Harper's* 'Easy Chair' has lately told the world what parties from 'the Farm' (and he was 'one of them') would come to town to drink in the symphonies, and then walk back the whole way (seven miles) at night, elated and unconscious of fatigue, carrying home with them a new good genius, beautiful and strong, to help them through the next day's labors. Then, too, and among the same class of minds (the same 'Transcendental set'), began the writing and the lecturing on music and its great masters, treating it from a high spiritual point of view, and seeking (too imaginatively, no doubt) the key and meaning to the symphony, but anyhow establishing a vital, true affinity between the great tone-poems and all great ideals of the human mind. In the *Harbinger* (really in music the embryo of *Dwight's Journal*), for years printed at Brook Farm; in the *Dial*, which told the time of day so far ahead; in the writings of Margaret Fuller and others,—these became favorite and glowing topics of discourse; and such discussion did, at least, contribute much to make music more respected, to lift it in the esteem of thoughtful persons to a level with the rest of the 'humanities' of culture, and especially to turn attention to the nobler compositions, and away from that which is but idle, sensual, and vulgar."

[See the chapter on "Philosophic Thought in Boston," in the present volume. — Ed.]

teacher's *Manual*, and a translation of Fétis's useful treatise, *Music Explained to the World*. It probably created an inducement for other good publications, like that long series of *Gems of German Song*, carried on for years by G. P. Reed. It gave lectures on music. It created a higher kind of interest in music, and prompted a number of young men (one or two of them graduates of Harvard) to seek an artistic education in the schools of Europe. It multiplied concerts until our city became a point of attraction to travelling artists from abroad, like the violinists Nagel and Herwig, the violoncellists Knoop and Bohrer, and those pioneers to us of the best classical and modern piano-forte music, the Brothers Rackemann, who were the first to give us Thalberg, Henselt, Chopin, Liszt, Stephen Heller, as well as the sonatas of Beethoven. It was harder for pretenders to gain ground here after that. Then in 1844 came two of the most famous virtuosos of the violin, — Ole Bull, who charmed the multitude, and Vieuxtemps, who won the cultivated ear and taste; followed in 1846–47 by Sivori, one of the most genial interpreters of classical composers. Henri Herz, about the same time, played for us in person those ornate and flowery piano-forte fantasias and variations which were already much in vogue in parlors.

The Academy Concerts came to an end in the spring of 1847 (the very year when the Siren of Italian Opera began to work her countercharm!), and were succeeded in the fall by those of the Musical Fund Society. This was an organization of the musicians themselves, for mutual encouragement and for the establishment of a relief fund. They formed an orchestra more numerous than select, and gave concerts every season to the end of our present period (1852), and for some years later in the new Boston Music Hall, under the direction for some years of Mr. C. H. Müller and Mr. Thomas Comer. It was a league of interest. Managed by musicians who looked to music for their daily bread, it did not, at the outset, trust itself to follow in the classical and unrewarding path of the Academy, but made large concessions to that popular taste already fed by miscellaneous "Philharmonic" programmes, and now exposed to the more irresistible temptation of the Italian Siren. For a time singers were of more consequence than symphonies, and virtuosity more honored and admired than art.

A glance at the Fund's old programmes is suggestive. Symphony seems to have been voted a bugbear. There was none at all in the first concert (November, 1847), but four overtures, with songs, duets, etc. The second and third concerts offered, for a startling novelty, the one piece of mere sensational "effect" music which Beethoven ever condescended to write, and that to oblige his friend Maelzel, — the *Battle of Vittoria* symphony, so called, but not one ever mentioned with the nine! With it, however, were coupled two of the overtures which never lose their interest, — Rossini's to *William Tell*, and Sterndale Bennett's *Naiades*. One other symphony was ventured upon that season, chiefly for its curious history, — the *Farewell*, by Haydn. There were plenty of overtures; solos and quartet for flutes;

piano solos; once, a piano quartet with violins, etc., in which the then noted singer and composer Charles E. Horn took the principal part; and there was a Mozart aria, sung by Miss Anna Stone, already for some years famous in the oratorios.

In the following years, that refined and classical musician Mr. George J. Webb being the conductor, the great symphonies recovered their place. The *Eroica* and the *Fourth* were added to the six already familiar ones of Beethoven; the *Italian* to the *Scotch* of Mendelssohn; also Mozart's model *Symphony in G-minor*, and the *Surprise* of Haydn. Other additions to the repertoire were Beethoven's great *Leonore Overture;* Hummel's *Septet*, with Mr. H. Perabeau for pianist; Mendelssohn's *Violin Concerto*, played by August Fries; a *Concerto* by Hummel, and Mendelssohn's *Capriccio in A-minor*, played by William Scharfenberg; Beethoven's *C-minor Piano Concerto* (Mr. G. F. Hayter); a *Concert Overture* by Gade; and the overture to *Waverly*, by Berlioz. On two occasions organ fugues of Bach were played by Mr. J. E. Goodson, from England. Among the singers who appeared were Mme. Biscaccianti, Signor Corelli, Mr. J. L. Hatton, Signor Novelli, Signora Truffi, Mme. Stephani, Signor Perelli, Mr. Arthurson (a fine English tenor and a model in pure recitative), Mme. Anna Thillon, and Mrs. Bostwick. The Musical Fund Concerts were commonly given in the old Tremont Temple, then the largest hall in Boston. Public afternoon rehearsals, too, were given at a low price of admission, placing such music within the reach of all who cared for it; so that, although they had swerved for a season from the classical traditions of the Academy, these Fund Concerts must have contributed essentially to the creation of a taste among our people for the music of the masters. They were continued through eight seasons; the last of which we find mention was in April, 1855, and in the new Boston Music Hall.

The weakness of the orchestra of that day was the want of finished technical performance, and of an infusion of young life and spirit into the conductorship, respectable and high-toned as it was. Already there had come to us a quickening example, from which something could be learned. That miniature but model orchestra from Germany, the Germania Musical Society, began to visit Boston in the spring of 1849. It soon supplanted its forerunners, which made flying visits here, — the Steyermarkers (under F. Rziha) in 1846; the Saxonians (Kotzschmar) in 1848; and Gungl's Waltz Band in 1847–48. There was a romantic flavor in the mutual devotion of the Germanians. They were young men, friends, who had been drawn together in a little social orchestra in Berlin. This was in 1848, the year of social revolution. By much playing together they had grown expert in the interpretation, or at least the expressive outlining, of the master compositions; they were at home in Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Gade, and even Liszt, Berlioz, and Wagner. They organized for an extended concert tour in America, — the land of freedom, their ideal! Their union had a communistic character, in a pure sense;

the individual merged his private interests in the whole; their motto was, "One for all, and all for one." They arrived in New York in September, 1848, and at once excited great enthusiasm by their fine and delicate performance, particularly of the fairy Shakespeare overture of Mendelssohn. After giving eighteen concerts there, and some in Philadelphia, they made their first appearance in Boston April 14, 1849, where they gave twenty-two concerts in the Melodeon in six weeks. The effect was magical. The *Midsummer Night's Dream Overture* had to be repeated thirty-nine times, such was the exquisite precision, delicacy, and poetic beauty of the rendering. Yet they only numbered twenty-three musicians; they had but pairs of violins, violas, basses, as of reeds and flutes, and but a single violoncello. They had excellent conductors, first in Carl Lenschow, afterward in Carl Bergmann. It was the fraternal spirit of their union, with their self-sacrificing zeal for art, each member feeling bound to merge himself in the *ensemble* of performance, — it was this "art religion," so to speak, that gave them an immense advantage over all the larger orchestras in every city where they let themselves be heard. In three winter seasons they performed here nearly all the great orchestral compositions. In one season they gave more than twenty concerts, besides filling the Music Hall, mostly with young ladies, by their public afternoon rehearsals. With the Handel and Haydn Society they gave to Boston its first two hearings of the *Ninth* (Choral) *Symphony* of Beethoven. Every concert offered a whole symphony, a classical overture, and frequently a concerto, and solos vocal and instrumental. Distinguished artists were employed; many piano-forte concertos were played by Alfred Jaell, Otto Dresel, Robert Heller, and Karl Müller; violin solos by Camilla Urso; and in the list of vocalists we find Adelaide Phillipps, Elise Hensler, Caroline Lehmann, Mme. Devries, Signora Tedesco, August Kreissmann, J. F. Rudolphsen, and others. In the eighty or ninety concerts which they gave here, the little orchestra was sometimes doubled by the addition of the best resident musicians. In the United States the Germania gave over seven hundred orchestral concerts, besides about one hundred concerts of chamber-music, — sonatas, trios, quartets, etc.

The disbanding of the Germania in 1854 (some of its members wishing to exchange their bachelor *Wanderjahre* for a more fixed domestic life) was seriously regretted by all lovers of good music. It had done good missionary work throughout the Union, spreading the gospel of pure, noble music. Nowhere more than in Boston did it find the soil (already loosened by the efforts of the Academy and Fund) receptive to the good seed of its sowing; nowhere did it produce a greater list of master compositions, or find them hailed with more enthusiasm. It came at the right moment, and has left a lasting influence. Its departure threw us once more on our own resources, only to find that we were all the stronger for the momentary perturbation which this bright little wanderer had caused in our own waning stellar group.

The Musical Fund Orchestra plucked up new courage and persevered through several seasons more of useful concerts, not resting until it had accumulated a library and a fund, which is still a source of benefit to families of members in distress.

Let us glance now at a kindred, though a smaller, field of choicest influence, — that of Chamber Concerts; of quartets, quintets, trios, etc., in classical sonata form, for the violin family of instruments. These appeal to select circles in small halls or parlors, and wherever established they become living springs of pure, sincere, refined, and thoughtful love of music. Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and their followers have bequeathed much of their most imaginative conception and consummate art in these forms; indeed, often anticipating their own riper periods in their earlier creations of this kind: the very freedom and seclusion, from all outward ends, of such pure music-making seems to have tempted them above themselves, beyond the limits of routine. Boston owes its foretastes of such art to the three short series of Chamber Concerts given by the Harvard Musical Association (of which hereafter) at Chickering's warerooms, between 1844 and 1850; though a few concerts in the same direction had been enjoyed at Cambridge two years earlier. The first series of eight was led by the violinist Herwig, much regretted in the second series of six. Mr. Lange was the excellent pianist; sometimes also the young William Mason and Mr. William Scharfenberg of New York. The last series of four concerts was given at Cochituate Hall, with Carl Hohnstock as leading violinist, and his sister Adele as the charming singer.

This appetite once awakened, there was soon call for a more permanent organization, devoted to this special field; and in the winter of 1849–50 the Mendelssohn Quintette Club, still alive and active, first came into notice. It sprang, like many other clubs, from social practice in a private house, and drew the enthusiastic nucleus of an audience with it. For a number of years it was composed of August Fries, first violin; Rziha, second; Lehmann and Thomas Ryan, violas; and Wulf Fries, 'cello. Theirs were the most classical of programmes, — quintets, quartets, octets, etc., for strings, varied by piano sonatas, trios, and the like; with such pianists as J. L. Hatton, Scharfenberg, Jaell, Dresel; and such singers as Miss Adele Hohnstock, Fanny Frazer, Anna Stone, August Kreissmann, and many others of the best available. No winter passed for many years without from six to ten such concerts at Cochituate Hall, at the Masonic Temple, at Chickering's tasteful little hall, at the Meionaon, and other convenient places. In nine years (to anticipate) this club went far toward exhausting the standard library of classical chamber-music.[1] All this between 1849 and 1858, and

[1] It gave: of Bach, one of the triple concertos, the *Violin Chaconne*, etc.; of Haydn, thirteen string quartets, — from two to eight times each; Mozart, seven quintets, ten quartets, two sextets, and several trios with piano, — most of them over and over; Beethoven, three quintets, sextet, ten quartets, six piano trios, two concertos, several sonata duos, — all repeatedly; Hummel, three piano trios, two concertos; Cherubini, *Quartet in E-flat*, — four times; Schubert, two quartets, two piano trios; Spohr, three quintets, and clarinet concerto; Onslow, eight quintets and a four-hand

all the best of it repeatedly! Admitting that it was mostly the exclusive privilege of the few, an audience seldom exceeding two hundred persons, and sometimes not half that number, yet was not the good influence sure to make itself felt in ever widening circles? And, indeed, through frequent excursions of the club the seeds found lodgement in various local soils throughout New England.

Meanwhile the vocal societies kept on their way. The Handel and Haydn, a slender stream where we left it in 1840, was widening and deepening; enlarging its chorus,—that poor average of fifty singers having perhaps quadrupled itself; enlarging its orchestra, — a natural consequence of all those Academy, Musical Fund, and Germania concerts, — in fact at one time employing the Germania, to the chagrin of "resident musicians;" availing itself of European vocalists of note; and learning many new works, now standard oratorios, now "sops to Cerberus" from operas with Bible subjects. To Handel's *Messiah* and *Dettingen Te Deum* it added, in 1845, *Samson*, which it has since given nearly forty times; in 1847, *Judas Maccabæus* (at least twenty times). Spohr's *Last Judgment* was sung in 1842, and eight times in two years. But an era in its history was the taking up of Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* in 1843 (it had first been sung in Trinity Church), followed by the *Elijah* in 1848. The former received ten representations, the latter forty-four, before 1879; it proving here, as in England, the most popular, after the *Messiah*, of all oratorios. Rossini's *Stabat Mater* was added to the list in 1843, and has been sung many times since then; and *Moses in Egypt*, adapted from the opera, in 1845. This figured forty-five times down to 1868. Donizetti's *Martyrs*, another adapted opera, was sung seven times in 1849 and 1850. The first conductor by election was the well known English singer and composer Charles E. Horn (1847–49). Mr. Charles C. Perkins (who now again for several years has been the president) assumed the bâton in 1850. Mr. J. E. Goodson, the English organist, was chosen conductor for one year in 1851. The organists through nearly all this period were the Messrs. Hayter, father and son. The principal solos were commonly entrusted to the best resident singers, some of whom won more than a local reputation, — notably Miss Anna Stone (now Mrs. Dr. Eliot, in New York), whose clarion soprano voice, and free, brilliant execution in "Let the bright Seraphim," as well as in *Moses in Egypt*, and the like, are still quoted with enthusiasm. There was also Mrs. Franklin and, among other young sopranos, the Misses Taylor, Frost, Doane, and Webb, and the contralto Miss Humphrey. The veteran artistic tenor James Sharpe still held out. Among the basses figured Mr. Thomas Ball the sculptor (notably in *Elijah*), and Mr. Aiken. Of foreign celebrities the

sonata; Mendelssohn, quintets in *A* and in *B-flat* (the latter the club's corner-stone), both a dozen times, seven string quartets, and three with piano, two piano trios, the *Octet*, four sonata duos, etc.; Schumann, two quartets, the piano quintet, *Romanzas* with clarinet; Rubinstein, three quartets; besides many works of Moscheles, Ries, Weber, Chopin, Gade, Kalliwoda, V. Lachner, Veit, F. David, Gouvy, Brahms, and several quartets and quintets composed by members and friends of the club.

first was the great English tenor Braham, in 1841, the richness, power, and volume of whose voice, though past its prime, and whose grand style, especially in musical declamation, made the liveliest impression. Then there was the English tenor Jones, in *Samson*, and Henry Phillipps (1844), and our own Eliza Biscaccianti, and Miss Frazer, and the clever J. L. Hatton, Signor Perelli, Signor Rosi, and many more. The oratorios were still given in the Melodeon; the chorus, in numbers, balance, discipline, effectiveness, was far below the present standard, yet its course was upward.

Other choral societies were still active, especially the Musical Education Society, which, under the direction of Mr. Webb, in the spring of 1849, gave probably the first performance in America of Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, with the aid of the Musical Fund Orchestra and of five young soprano singers, two of them, Miss Frost and Miss Doane, pupils of that sterling artist and sweet tenor singer August Kreissmann, who took part himself. The same society, in the two following years, was the first to give us Handel's *Jephthah* and the sublime *Israel in Egypt*. In January, 1848, Mr. A. U. Hayter announced the performance on successive Saturday evenings of those genial secular creations of Handel, *L'Allegro ed il Pensieroso*, *Acis and Galatea*, and *Alexander's Feast*, but was discouraged by the small attendance at the first.

The tendency of all these movements thus far had been mainly toward the German music. We have now to recognize a counter-current. In the spring of 1847 (the very year, as we have said, in which the symphonies of the Academy shrank into silence) the Italian Opera came with potent charm, and conquered. Then arose conflict of opinions and tastes, — endless discussion, often heated, often idle, of the rival merits of the Italian and the German music. Boston, before this time, had witnessed only some occasional slight skirmishes of wandering lyric troupes, — sporadic cases of the opera fever, but no epidemic; small companies of English singers sang translated German, French, and Italian operas, or thin and threadbare sketches of them, as well as works of English manufacture.

We pass them all and come to the advent of Signor Marti's Havana troupe of Italian singers, who made that little Howard Athenæum[1] a classical temple of the Muse for two successive seasons. They opened, April 23, 1847, with the first strong blast of Verdi's music, which was like a northwest wind after the tropical and languid melodies of Donizetti and Bellini. The piece was *Ernani;* the singers, Signorina Tedesco, Signors Perelli, Vita, and Novelli. Other leading artists of the company were Mme. Caranti-Vita, Mme. Rainieri, Signors Severi, F. Badiali (tenor), etc. Among the pieces given were Verdi's *I Lombardi*, Pacini's *Saffo*, Bellini's *Montecchi e Capuletti*, Rossini's *Mosé, etc.;* and, of more consequence than all, if

[1] In 1845, the world having failed to come to an end according to prediction, the "Millerite Tabernacle" was converted into Boston's operatic cradle, under the name of Howard Athenæum, which it still holds as a popular "Variety" theatre, so to speak.

not widely popular at once, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, with funny Sanquirico as Leporello. Undoubtedly Italian Opera was uppermost for the time being; and the enthusiasm about it was something for which youth may be envied. With many it was the first musical awakening. Sensibilities thus roused became alive to even nobler music in the course of time. Many might have lived and died insensible to Beethoven, had not gentle Bellini first seduced them from the prose and commonplace of life into the wonder-world of song.

In the following year the queenly Truffi, with the manly tenor Benedetti, the stentorian Beneventano, Rosi, Rossi-Corsi, and others, wrought an equal charm in Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*, in *Lucrezia Borgia*, and *Lucia;* and Mme. Biscaccianti joined them in *Sonnambula*, *Lucia*, and *Ernani*. In 1849 Mr. Fry of Philadelphia brought us the French singers M. and Mme. Laborde, M. Dubreuil, etc., giving *Lucia*, *L'Elisir d'Amore*, Verdi's *Nabucco* and *Lombardi*, etc. The summer of 1851 is memorable for the first appearance of Max Maretzek's troupe, — Truffi, Bettini, Marini, Beneventano, Lorini, and Mme. Parodi, who had been imported in the vain hope of eclipsing Jenny Lind. Their spirited performance of *La Favorita* created a *furore* out of all proportion to the intrinsic value of the music. Let us not forget, too, the rare combination in 1850 of that "bright particular star" (by many esteemed only next in glory to the Lind) Mme. Angiolina Bosio, with the noble tenors Salvi and Bettini, and the superb baritone and basso, Badiali and Marini.

So much for those visitations of the Siren. The record is but fragmentary and somewhat confused. For more exact details there is no room, — in fact, no need; for these wandering constellations did not favor Boston more than other cities, and constitute no portion of her musical *peculium*. Opera, not yet established here, can count but incidentally in the direct line of influences which have placed this city where it stands to-day in music, and it is with these influences mainly that this sketch is concerned.

THIRD PERIOD, 1852–66. — At the entrance to this third period stands the figure of the great singer and great artist Jenny Lind. The want of a hall large enough and fit for her to sing in led to the erection of the Boston Music Hall, which opened a new chance for great music in our city. In the same year (1852) was begun the publication of Boston's only long-lived musical periodical, *Dwight's Journal of Music*. Both of these sprang from the little society of musical graduates of Harvard College which called itself the Harvard Musical Association. The great Swedish singer's career in this country was in the years 1850–52. We need not recall the wonderful impression which her song produced, and the new interest and faith in music as an art divine which she inspired. Boston only shared this fine experience with other cities, although it is something pleasant to remember that her marriage to Otto Goldschmidt took place in a Boston family.

The Music Hall project had first been agitated in the council of the Musical Fund Society, at the earnest suggestion of Dr. J. Baxter Upham, whose name has always been identified with its whole history. Failing there, the idea was revived at the annual meeting of the Harvard Musical Association (Jan. 31, 1851), in the course of some informal conversation at the supper-table, resulting in the appointment of a committee (Messrs. C. C. Perkins, R. E. Apthorp, J. B. Upham, George Derby, and J. S. Dwight) to consider the subject practically. A subsequent committee determined the site and general plan of the proposed edifice, selected Mr. George Snell as architect, and canvassed for subscriptions to its stock, raising funds to the amount of $100,000 in sixty days. Among the largest subscribers stand the names of Perkins, Curtis, Upham, Chickering, and Apthorp. The Hon. C. P. Curtis was the first president of the board of seven directors, but soon resigned the place to Dr. Upham, who has held it ever since. The main hall is sixty feet in height, one hundred and twenty feet in length, and eighty feet in width, and comfortably seats two thousand seven hundred persons. It is grand in its proportions, chaste and noble in its style; and with the imposing front of its great organ, with Crawford's statue of Beethoven in rich Munich bronze, with the admirable bas-reliefs on the opposite wall, the gift of Charlotte Cushman, and with the beauty of its general aspect, it is a place where all suggestions to the eye are in æsthetic keeping with, and predisposing to, the full enjoyment of fine music. Experience from the first has proved it admirably good for sound, the only objection being that, unless the musical forces are upon a scale commensurate with so large a space, some of the finer effects are lost, or not sufficiently intense. The new hall was inaugurated on Saturday evening, Nov. 20, 1852, with a grand musical festival, before two thousand five hundred people, fitly opening with Mozart's *Zauberflöte Overture*, by the Fund Orchestra, who also played the overture to *Oberon*, and the andante to the *C-minor Symphony* of Beethoven. The Handel and Haydn Society sang the Hallelujah Chorus and "The Heavens are Telling;" the Musical Education Society contributed the lovely chorus "Happy and Blest," from *St. Paul;* the German Liederkranz, under Mr. Kreissmann, some beautiful part-songs. Mme. Alboni's large and luscious tones told upon every ear with roundness and distinctness in music of her countrymen; and the Germania Serenade Band played *A Greeting to the Fatherland.* On the next (Sunday) evening a sacred concert was given there by another of the world's great singers, Mme. Sontag, with the Handel and Haydn Society; and it was remarked that her softest pianissimo tones, her finest fioriture, were heard with perfect distinctness in the remotest corners of the hall beneath the balcony. From that time the new hall became the scene of countless musical performances, many of them of the noblest character, such as would otherwise have been denied to Boston. From that time she could offer a more tempting hospitality to famous artists from abroad. On Feb. 5, 1853, its walls resounded for the first time with the sublime *Choral Symphony* of Beethoven, given by the Germania,

with Handel and Haydn chorus. On March 1, 1856, there was a Beethoven Festival, for the inauguration of Crawford's noble statue, — the gift of our townsman Charles C. Perkins. There was an inspiring ode, written and recited by another townsman living for many years in Rome, — the sculptor William W. Story. The music consisted of the three instrumental movements of the *Ninth Symphony*, the great soprano scena and aria from *Fidelio*, sung by Mrs. J. H. Long; the "Quartet in Canon," from the same (Mrs. Wentworth, Mrs. Harwood, Mr. Low, and Mr. Wetherbee); the *Violin Concerto* (Mr. August Fries); the hallelujah chorus, from the *Mount of Olives;* and the choral fantasia, in *Praise of Harmony*, in which the donor of the statue himself played the piano-forte part. On New Year's Day, 1863, at noon, that hall was the scene of the memorable jubilee concert in honor of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, when Emerson first read his famous *Boston Hymn* for prologue; and the music consisted of the *Egmont Overture;* the solo and chorus from the *Hymn of Praise*, — "Watchman, will the Night soon Pass?" (Mr. Kreissmann) and the response, "The Night is Departing," in which the clear clarion tones of Miss Houston (Mrs. West) made a thrilling impression; Beethoven's *E-flat Concerto*, played by Otto Dresel; Dr. Holmes's *Army Hymn*, composed for solo and chorus by Dresel; the *Fifth Symphony;* the chorus "He, Watching over Israel," from *Elijah;* Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus*, and the overture to *William Tell*, — all music up to the true pitch and sense of the occasion.

There was still wanting, to complete the Music Hall, especially for oratorios, that "temple within temple," the Great Organ. For this, too, we are indebted to the indefatigable energy and zeal of Dr. Upham. It was years in process of construction, and then kept back by the dangers of transportation during the war. It was from the celebrated manufactory of Walcker & Son, at Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart. Its four manuals and pedal command eighty-nine registers and five thousand four hundred and seventy-four pipes, including three thirty-two foot stops. It was at that time by far the largest organ on this continent, and one of the three or four largest in the world. It was dedicated Nov. 2, 1863, when an ode by Mrs. James T. Fields was recited by Miss Charlotte Cushman, followed by some of the noblest organ works of Bach, Handel, Palestrina, Mendelssohn, and Lefebure Wely, played by Messrs. J. K. Paine, G. W. Morgan, B. J. Lang, S. P. Tuckerman, Eugene Thayer, and J. H. Wilcox. Fortunately the return, shortly before this time, of Mr. Paine from his studies in Germany, full of the music and traditions of Sebastian Bach, brought that greatest of all organ music into frequent hearing through the medium of this new gigantic instrument, and his efforts found emulous and able seconding in several of the organists just named. It must be confessed, with some shame now, that those organ concerts for a year or two gave far more of the highest class of organ compositions than we have had a chance to hear more recently.

Of the *Journal of Music*, above named, it is not for the present writer to say more than this, that it has had a longer career than any other journal of the kind in this country (from April, 1852, until September, 1881); that it has been recognized at home and abroad as generally faithful to the highest standard in art, and has the credit of having contributed something to the musical culture, taste, and character of Boston; its forty volumes contain a much completer record of the musical events and growth of Boston for the past thirty years than it is possible to condense into a chapter like this.

Here seems to be the place to speak of the Harvard Musical Association, which gave the first start and godspeed to the Music Hall and *Journal;* which, as we have seen, set the first public example of Chamber Concerts in this city; and the influence of which, although it is for the most part but a private, social union, has been felt in many ways, directly or indirectly, as a promoter of musical progress and refinement. It is a child of Harvard University, and was organized, in the autumn of 1837, among the alumni who had been members of the little college club called the Pierian Sodality, which used to make the music at the college exhibitions, besides serenading and playing together for mutual pleasure and improvement. Music at that period did not stand high in favor with the teachers or the parents of most students. To have a weakness for a flute or viol, or to sing aught but "sacred" music, was a thing "suspect" and leading to temptation. The idea that music is an art of intellectual and spiritual consequence, that it should be respected and placed upon an equal footing with the recognized "humanities" of a liberal education, would have been dismissed as one of the wildest and most dangerous of dreams. But not so thought the more earnest of the musical young men, and some of the older graduates who knew about it from their own experience. Several of these were present on one of those exhibition days, and partook of a sociable collation as the guests of the immediate members of the Sodality, some of them just then upon the point of graduation; and the idea occurred that it would be a pleasant and perhaps a useful thing to form a permanent society of old and young Pierians. There would be at least the pleasure of from time to time reviving the musical memories of college life; while a league, in the name and interest of music, of so many college-educated men, would in itself tend to raise the art in general respect, particularly among the authorities of the College. The immediate end was social and sentimental, but it was foreseen that in these reunions opportunities and motives would arise for helping the cause of music in more ways than one. For one thing, a united force of opinion would be brought to bear in favor of some practical recognition of music as a branch of college education, and the way prepared for the establishment of a musical professorship, — all which has come about. Lectures were given upon music, mostly in its æsthetic aspects, by several members, in the college chapel during the Commencement week, for half-a-dozen years; and on the com-

pletion of the year 1850 an elaborate and interesting address was delivered before the association, at Cochituate Hall, by Mr. Samuel Jennison, Jr., on the "Music of the past Half-century." Social glee-clubs were formed, with instrumental music for variety. A musical library was begun, which has now grown to several thousand volumes, including the complete works of many of the masters, besides a large representation of the musical literature, both books and periodicals, in English, German, French, Italian, etc., and a large collection of vocal and orchestral "parts." It is probably one of the three or four fullest and most valuable musical libraries in America; and its example has led to liberal provision for the musical department in the Boston Public Library, the library at Harvard, and some others.[1] The respect for music among educated men has unconsciously obeyed the concentration of still magnetic force in this association. Before entering the field of public concert-giving, it has helped to raise the tone of musical activity around us, and has lent encouragement, if not the first vital impulse, to not a few good works and movements in furtherance of the art which is its bond of union. Even when it has found nothing visible to put its hand to, it has not been without its silent influence. Its most important public work belongs to the period after the War of the Rebellion, when it began those annual series of Symphony Concerts which have continued to this day. Of these hereafter. It now numbers about one hundred and forty members, including some of the most honored alumni of Harvard and other universities, besides many of the most refined and gifted of the musical profession.

Foremost and most constant among the societies which availed themselves of the new Music Hall was the Handel and Haydn Society, whose progress we have briefly sketched thus far. In such a hall for oratorio upon a grander scale, with conveniences for rehearsal in the Bumstead Hall beneath, it soon took a new start. The chorus gradually increased in numbers, although it was some years yet before it averaged two hundred in performance. In 1858–59 from three hundred to three hundred and twenty-five singers were reported in the seats, including, however, many who had not attended rehearsals. What first raised the standard in numbers and efficiency was the first bold venture of a three-days' Musical Festival, after the model of those at Birmingham and other towns in England. This was in May, 1857. For this the chorus was increased to over five hundred voices, with an orchestra of seventy-eight. Out of the recruits for this and later festivals many of course became interested in the work and spirit of the society, and from year to year were added to its list of members. That Festival, though not remunerative, gave new life and energy and larger purpose to the old society. There was an opening address by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, from which we have already quoted. Three oratorios — the three most popular, the *Creation*, *Elijah*, and the *Messiah* — were given, Carl Zerrahn conducting. The principal singers were: *soprano*, Mrs. Eliot

[1] [See the chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

(Anna Stone) of New York, Mrs. J. H. Long, Mrs. Mozart and Mrs. Hill; *alto*, Miss Adelaide Phillipps and Miss J. Twichell; *tenor*, Mr. Simpson of New York and Mr. C. R. Adams; *bass*, Mr. Leach and Dr. Guilmette. There were, besides, three miscellaneous orchestral and vocal concerts, with programmes of high character, including symphonies, etc., never before heard in Boston with so large and fine an orchestra. This was during the presidency of Mr. C. F. Chickering, with Mr. L. B. Barnes for the efficient adjutant and secretary. Another Festival was given, on a yet larger scale, on the fiftieth anniversary of the society, in May, 1865. It lasted a whole week, and there were nearly seven hundred singers in the chorus, and one hundred and twelve musicians in the orchestra. The choral works were: Nicolai's *Festival Overture*, with chorus, on Luther's Chorale, "Ein' feste Burg;" Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* (first time); the *Creation; Israel in Egypt;* and *Elijah*. The afternoon concerts presented Beethoven's *Eroica* and *Seventh Symphony;* the great *Symphony in C* by Schubert; the *Scotch* by Mendelssohn; the overtures to *Leonore*, *Coriolan*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Bennett's *Naiads*, Rossini's *William Tell*, etc.; and Liszt's "symphonic poem," *Les Preludes;* with vocal selections by the various solo singers in the oratorios, — Miss Houston, Mrs. Van Zandt, Miss Brainerd, Mme. Frederici Himmer, Mrs. Kempton, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Cary, Herren Himmer, Hermanns, and others. The society had proved the feasibility of musical festivals in this country; but festivals did not become a periodical feature in its plan until our fourth and last period.

In 1861 Dr. J. B. Upham became president of the Handel and Haydn, inspiring it with the same sort of zeal and energy with which he had carried through the project of the Music Hall and Organ, and the Public School Festivals (which came to a too early end). He held the office for ten years, during all which period his efforts were ably seconded by the same secretary, Mr. Barnes, who became his successor. In 1852 Mr. Carl Bergmann, of the Germania, had succeeded Mr. Webb as conductor; and in 1854 Mr. Carl Zerrahn (of the same society) assumed the bâton, which he has since wielded with so much discretion, power, and honor to this day.

The principal additions to the repertoire in these years were: Handel's *Solomon*, *Israel in Egypt*, and *St. Cecilia's Day* (for the choral inauguration of the Great Organ); Costa's *Eli;* Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*, and Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*. A patriotic concert was given in April, 1861, in aid of the Government, at the outbreak of the Rebellion; and another on March 1, 1862, when the *Dettingen Te Deum* and the *Hymn of Praise* were sung in joy and gratitude for Union victories.

The Musical Education Society gave Christmas performances of the *Messiah* in 1852 and 1853; also selections from Handel's *Joshua* and *Jephthah*, and from Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* in the spring of the latter year. In October, 1853, was formed the Mendelssohn Choral Society, under the presidency of that vigorous organizer in choral as in military matters, the late General B. F. Edmands. It gave the *Messiah* on the following Christ-

mas, with Bergmann for conductor, the Germania Orchestra, and Miss Stone, Mrs. Wentworth, Miss Humphrey, Mr. S. B. Ball, and Mr. F. Meyer for the solo singers. In November, 1854, it gave the *Widow of Nain* by Lindpaintner; and during the remainder of its existence (through 1857) several more performances of the *Messiah*, and several good programmes of selections.

The orchestral concerts during this whole period were tentative and wavering, changing form and method of attack repeatedly, although they never altogether ceased. Those of the Musical Fund were continued until 1855. In November, 1854, a small occasional orchestra was made up by some of the musicians ("the cream of the Musical Fund," several of the disbanded Germania, and the Mendelssohn Quintette Club), which gave cheap afternoon concerts, combining symphony and lighter things in fair proportions. These concerts, easily given, inexpensive, very moderately remunerative to the musicians, were kept alive through periods when all else failed. Indeed, a series of them was given every year down to the spring of 1868. In 1855 a course of six subscription concerts was arranged by a committee of gentlemen, — Messrs. Perkins, Upham, Edward Grattan (British Consul), Dwight, and C. F. Chickering, — with Carl Zerrahn conducting fifty-four musicians. The programmes were as choice as the taste and means at the disposal of the committee could make them. In 1856 M. Jullien, with his famous travelling orchestra, gave brilliant and sensational performances in the Boston Music Hall, exciting wonder and applause. We have already mentioned the Beethoven Statue Festival of that year. An earnest attempt was made to establish a Beethoven Concert Society with a very large orchestra, but it failed for lack of the one thousand five hundred subscribers it required. The problem of a complete and permanent orchestra for Boston was agitated even then; but its day had not arrived. In 1857 Mr. Zerrahn began his annual seasons of Philharmonic Concerts, keeping alive the interest in classical symphony-music, relieved by lighter or more brilliant works, and introducing not a little that was new. To him we were indebted for our best privileges in this kind, almost steadily until the spring of 1863. Then the nation was in the middle of the great war, and subscriptions naturally fell off. Shining bait for the more general public was held up in programmes, but with only this result, that the stanch supporters of the classical — the sole sure nucleus of any audience for the highest kind of music — lost their confidence; and the supply ceased altogether, with the exception of the little Orchestral Union afternoon concerts, or "rehearsals," and the occasional nice entertainments to which friends were invited by a little amateur orchestra, the Mozart Club, during 1860–64 and later. This club had been long in existence under other names, keeping wholly in the shade, — possibly the same Alpheus-Arethusa stream of the old Graupner "Philo-harmonic" finding its way underground to reappear in a new form at this time. None of these acorns grew to a great oak. There was renewed call for the "Grand Boston Or-

chestra" which should make summer of "the winter of our discontent." Conductor Zerrahn was inexhaustible in conjuring up new schemes and programmes; but the time was not yet: we must wait until the war is over! Then perhaps — ?

Meanwhile in smaller circles much was done for music. Choice spirits were the centres of such circles. That year of promise with which this period opened, with a rainbow on the cloud from the departing Swedish singer, — the year 1852, which gave us the Music Hall, and in which appeared an organ for the frank and honest utterance and interchange of opinion, for the expression of the best earnest thought and aspiration of the true friends of music, — was also happy in the abiding presence here of several artist teachers of the true stamp. One particularly, a German who had been under the immediate influence of Mendelssohn and Schumann; one of the finest instances of Leipsic culture, embodying the best traditions of that school; at home in Bach and Beethoven, in Schumann and Chopin; an eminently poetic, genial interpreter of their piano-forte compositions, — Otto Dresel, took up his abode here in the autumn of that year. By taste and temperament he shrank from publicity. He preferred to work in private and congenial circles, where alike by his performance and by his remarkable critical intelligence, seconded by rare powers of conversation, he soon began to exercise an influence which can hardly be overrated. He became unprofessedly, by silent and unconscious magnetism, a teacher of teachers. All the best younger artists drew inspiration from his thought and his example. He entered with self-sacrificing earnestness, and with a vividness of insight, an intensity of will and work, into every musical movement here which he could see was really for good. In his own little concerts and recitals, which were frequent nearly every season through this period and later, he set the model of pure, interesting programmes, often calling in the aid of brother artists — violinists, 'cellists, the Quintette Club, etc. — to bring out trios and quartets; or other pianists, as once Jaell and Scharfenberg in the production for the first time here of the *Triple Concertos* of Sebastian Bach. Probably no other person has ever introduced among us so large and choice a repertoire of the finest works of the master composers from Bach to Chopin, and even later. He often contributed a fine rendering of a Beethoven or a Mendelssohn concerto in the orchestral concerts. He formed private vocal clubs, which met in houses, and under his severe, inspiring discipline, studied cantatas, choruses, etc. of Bach, Gluck, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann, Robert Franz, and others quite unknown in America before; and these gave quickening suggestion to other singing-clubs which have sprung up from time to time. But one of his greatest services, a work peculiarly his own, was his introduction of the poetic songs of Robert Franz, of whom he has been the confidential friend and fellow-laborer, in the secret of the first conception and elaboration of these songs from the beginning, as well as of the admirable work which Franz has done in the completion of the Bach and Handel

scores. Nowhere, even in Germany, have the songs of Franz become so widely known, so keenly appreciated, and so much in vogue in parlor and in concert room, as here, through Mr. Dresel's influence, in Boston. Very many, perhaps one half of these two or three hundred songs, have been republished here with English and German words. If this seems like *post obit* eulogy, it may be excused on the ground that the subject of it has for some years past, it may be feared for an indefinite period, withdrawn himself from Boston, and is now living and teaching in Leipsic, as well as working and studying with his old friend Franz, now totally deaf, in Handel's birthplace, Halle; also on the ground that the object of this paper is to trace the influences which have brought Boston where it stands to-day in music, and that such an influence as we have just described, so quickening and far-reaching although individual, cannot be ignored.

Fortunate was it for us also that we had, already settled here for several years, one of the best interpreters of the Franz songs in the musician-like, expressive, genial singer, August Kreissmann, whose long painful illness and recent death in Germany has been so seriously deplored. He was a master also in the songs and arias of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Schumann; the leader for many years of the Orpheus singing-club of Germans, and the teacher of some of our best public singers during the time of which we speak.

There was another gentle, modest artist at the same time, strong in artistic faith and character, — the young pianist Joseph Trenkle, whose example was all in the right direction, but whose health compelled him after a few years to emigrate to San Francisco, where he was held in great esteem, and died Nov. 19, 1878. A little later, in 1856, came another young pianist, also from the Leipsic school, — Hugo Leonhard, who has done much here to inspire an interest in the works of Beethoven and the other great ones, but especially of Schumann; but, alas! as it was with Schumann, so it was finally with this enthusiastic follower; his reason was beclouded, and his too short career was closed in the autumn of 1879. In 1858 came, from New York, Julius Eichberg, an artistic violinist and a thorough musician of the Belgian School, who has been identified in many useful ways in the whole musical progress here from that time to this. Of his work, more hereafter.

These all came from Germany. In 1854 two of our own Boston aspirants brought home fruits of study from the Conservatorium of Leipsic. Mr. J. C. D. Parker was the first son of Harvard to forsake a dry profession (the Law) and follow the ruling passion of his life, devoting it professionally to the "higher law" of music. He at once became quietly but steadily active as pianist, organist, composer, teacher, and director of a vocal club. His taste and influence have been wholly classical and most uncompromising. He has given trio concerts, played in the best symphony and chamber courses, and has been and is a valued though a quiet member in the councils of the most important movements. His vocal club (the Parker

Club) of amateurs, mixed voices, formed in 1862, for many years gave interesting concerts to invited audiences in the old Chickering Hall, and was the means of introducing numerous important works (though only with piano-forte accompaniment), among others the *Comala* of Gade, the *Walpurgis Night* of Mendelssohn, the *Flight into Egypt* of Berlioz, Schumann's *Paradise and the Peri* and *Pilgrimage of the Rose*, etc., besides many choice part-songs, some of the favorites being of Mr. Parker's own composition. The other young Bostonian who came back that year was the pianist William Mason (son of Dr. Lowell Mason), who after a few seasons settled in New York, where he ranks among the foremost teachers and pianists. Another young pianist and organist, who had removed here from Salem shortly before this, Mr. B. J. Lang, was beginning to make his mark in concert rooms, and giving promise of the prominent position he has since attained. In 1861 the young organist John K. Paine, now the honored Musical Professor at Harvard, returned from his severe and patient studies in Berlin, equipped at all points in the armor of complete musicianship, as he has since proved by his numerous compositions in the least and largest forms. At that time he was our chief exponent, practically, of the great organ music of Bach, and of Thiele, Ritter, and the other more important recent German writers for the organ, not neglecting Mendelssohn. Of native singers it is enough to name Miss Adelaide Phillipps and Mr. Charles R. Adams, both of whom have had careers abroad, the latter having held the position of principal tenor in the Imperial Opera at Vienna for nine years.

All these have been more or less important factors in the movement which has tended to make Boston musical. Among the transient stars that shed light upon us in this period were the pianists Alfred Jaell (1851–54), Scharfenberg of New York, Gottschalk (1853), Robert Heller (1854), Satter (1855 and later), and Thalberg (1857); the organist G. W. Morgan of New York (1856); the violinists, Ole Bull (second visit, 1853), the young Paul Julien and Camilla Urso (about 1852); and of singers, Mme. Alboni and Mme. Sontag (1852), Mme. Lagrange (1855), Mme. Johannsen (1857), and Carl Formes (1858). More names will occur in connection with the opera.

Chamber-concerts, in various forms, kept up a certain interest through all this period; those given by the pianists being sometimes of the highest interest. The Mendelssohn Quintette Club persevered in its good work, adding, among other things, to the rich repertoire already summarized several of the latest (*posthumous*) quartets of Beethoven. Its season of 1864–65, however, its sixteenth venture, was doubtfully and tardily determined on. In 1856 and 1857 the German Trio (Messrs. Gärtner, Hause, and Jungnickel) gave programmes, mostly classical, for piano, violin, and 'cello. In 1857 Thalberg was delighting refined audiences at Chickering's. In 1859 Messrs. Eichberg and Leonhard gave choice concerts of violin and piano music at the Meionaon; and in 1861 the same artists associated with them

the singer Mr. Kreissmann. Mr. Dresel's masterly and subtile illustrations of the true piano-forte poets were a continual attraction. In the season of 1864–65 he gave two series, one of five and one of eight concerts, playing the two triple concertos of Bach with his confrères Parker, Lang, and Leonhard, Mr. Kreissmann contributing fresh flowers of song by Schubert, Schumann, Franz, and others.

Flying visits of the opera, Italian and even German, were seldom long to wait for. Even the war created here, as war has elsewhere done in other anxious, gloomy crises, a thirst for this intoxicating innocent diversion in "the times that tried men's souls." We were never for a whole year without the opera in some shape. In the spring of 1853 we had both the Alboni and the Sontag party at the Howard Athenæum. The "year of promise" brought these also. In September, 1854, the large and sumptuous new Boston Theatre, one of the noblest in the world, was opened, — a second waif from the same tidal wave of musical enthusiasm which gave us the great Music Hall two years before. Then came Louisa Pyne, with Harrison, the younger Reeves, and others, bringing operas in English, — *Crown Diamonds*, *Fra Diavolo*, the old *Beggar's Opera*, etc. The early weeks of 1855 are memorable for the eagerly thronged performances of that famous lyric couple, Grisi and Mario, with Badiali and Susini; who, besides the usual run of well worn Italian pieces, gave us *Don Giovanni* (with our own Lorini-Whiting for Zerlina), and such a *con amore*, thoroughly delightful rendering of the immortal *Barber*, before a mere handful of an afternoon audience, as one may hardly hope to see and hear again. In May of that year came Maretzek, with Mme. Steffanone, Mme. Bertucca-Maretzek, Mlle. Vestvali, and Signors Badiali, Brignoli, etc., bringing us Rossini's *Tell* for once, — also the first inoculation of the *Rigoletto-Trovatore-Traviata* epidemic. In June, Mme. Lagrange appeared in *Norma;* and again in January, 1856, with Nantier-Didiée, Elise Hensler, Salviani, Morelli, etc., she brought out *Don Giovanni*, *Semiramide*, and, for the first time, Meyerbeer's *Prophéte*. The same parties came once or twice more that year. From this point troupes and singers multiply so fast as to crowd each other out of the brief hasty record. The most important works first introduced here by one or the other of these parties were the *Huguenots*, *Marriage of Figaro*, *Magic Flute*, *Der Freyschütz*, *Martha*, and Gounod's *Faust*.

More significant, more suggestive of a future, because tending in the same direction with all our elevating experiences of great choral and orchestral music, was our beginning of acquaintance with the one opera of Beethoven, *Fidelio*. Rude and inadequate as was its first presentation (April, 1857) through the artistic but impatient zeal of Carl Bergmann, who had little to rely upon for its success besides the nobly dramatic, thrilling impersonation of the heroic wife by Mme. Johannsen, yet it was an event in the musical life of Boston. The intrinsic depth and beauty of the music made itself felt by those, at least, who meet the intention of a composer half-way when it is only half brought out; and when it came again in

May and in October, 1864, in the German Opera seasons of Anschütz and of Grover, each with a company much more complete, although composed essentially of the same singers (Johannsen, Frederici, Canissa, Himmer, Habelmann, Hermanns, Formes, etc.), it got a lasting hold upon the sympathies of all true music lovers. These companies, besides *Fidelio*, gave *Don Juan*, *Zauberflöte*, *Freyschütz*, *The Huguenots*, *Robert le Diable*, *Die Weisse Dame*, *Faust*, *Die Jüdinn*, Nicolai's *Lustige Weiber*, Flotow's *Stradella*, and parts of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and Gounod's *Mireille*. But the promise ended there, the happy combination was soon scattered to the winds. Even so it has been with all experiences of opera, exotic charmer, here and in all this country, with the exception of the French Opera in New Orleans. Nowhere has it taken root and grown into a self-supporting institution; and therefore even the few words here spent upon it might have been spared in view of the little it has contributed to real progress here in musical taste and culture, to say nothing of original production. Yet it has not been without its influence, as we have said before. It has introduced a great variety of more or less beautiful and genial arias, scenas, and concerted vocal pieces into the common currency of concert room and parlor, and made glad the (re)publishers. It has given us shining models of good singing, and sharpened the critical perception of the listeners. It has kept alive a certain musical enthusiasm at times when most ears and souls were dull to any other music; and it has kept from dying out the dream, the hope of a "good time coming," when we shall have opera, *true* opera, as an established national and local institution, even should it have to be indigenous and native to the soil. Then it will mean something here, and will fulfil its meaning, building up its rightful, glorious side of the complete living temple of an undying art-religion here and in other centres of this great Republic.

Fourth Period, 1865–81. — The war is over! There is now time to think again of music. And the first problem which presents itself is that of the Orchestra. Are we to have any symphonies? The little Orchestral Union was all that we had left, and that did not furnish what the old Academy, the Fund, the Germania, and Mr. Zerrahn's Philharmonics had accustomed us to look to as the best part of our musical birthright. A new hope dawned, and in a quarter not professional. At one of the annual dinners of the Harvard Musical Association (January, 1865) the matter was discussed, and it was agreed to give six symphony concerts in the winter of 1866–67, to be entirely under the control of a committee of its members, who should select the conductor and the orchestra, procure a guarantee subscription, and arrange the programmes. The orchestral means of Boston, to be sure, were limited. To make the most of such means as there were, and to employ them in the gratification and improvement of the taste for what is best, — the master-works in symphony, concerto, overture, etc, — this was the design and only motive; this would delight and educate

good music lovers, and at the same time give our drudging, multifariously preoccupied musicians some chance and encouragement to work together now and then as artists in the nobler spirit of their art. The first step in the working-plan was to bespeak for them the best kind of audience, its nucleus to be members of the Association and their friends, who were supposed to have social influence enough, besides the musical attraction, to insure a well-filled hall. The strength of the enterprise lay in these guarantees: 1. Disinterestedness: it was not a money-making speculation; it had no motive but good music and the hope of doing a good thing for art in Boston; — in that, it took up the tradition of the old Academy. 2. The guarantee of the nucleus of fit audience, — persons of taste and culture, subscribing beforehand to make the concerts financially safe, and likely to increase the number by the attraction of their own example. 3. Pure programmes, above all need of catering to low tastes; here should be at least one set of concerts in which we might hear only composers of unquestioned excellence, and into which should enter nothing vulgar, coarse, "sensational," but only such as outlives fashion. 4. The guarantee to the musicians both of a better kind of work and somewhat better pay than they were wont to find. It was hoped that the experiment would "pave the way to a permanent organization of orchestral concerts, whose periodical recurrence and high, uncompromising character might be always counted on in Boston." It was in fact a plan whereby the real lovers of good music should take the initiative in such concerts and control them, keeping the programmes up to a higher standard than they are likely to conform to in the hands of those who give concerts only to make money.

There was an orchestra of fifty musicians, and Mr. Carl Zerrahn was appointed to the conductorship, which he has honorably held to this day. The first season was a marked success; a new interest was awakened, — so much so that the number of concerts was increased to eight the second year, and afterward to ten. For six or eight years the audience steadily increased, — more than one season yielding a surplus of several thousand dollars. This was set aside, partly for the purchase of music, but mainly as a concert fund, which has made good all losses since the public patronage began to fall off; so that in fact for sixteen years these concerts have been self-supporting, and will still go on. In ten seasons (1865–75) the Association had given just one hundred concerts, including several benefits.[1] In the tenth

[1] These hundred programmes contained: —

Symphonies. — All the nine of Beethoven, repeatedly; twelve by Haydn; six by Mozart; the *Weihe der Töne*, by Spohr; Schubert's, *in C* (six times), and the *Unfinished;* Mendelssohn's *Scotch*, *Italian*, and *Reformation;* the four of Schumann, three or four times round, besides the *Overture*, *Scherzo*, and *Finale:* Gade, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Nearly all of these repeatedly, and many of them for the first time in Boston.

Overtures. — Gluck: *Iphigenia.* Mozart: *Idomeneo, Figaro, Zauberflöte, Tito.* Beethoven: *Prometheus, Coriolan, Egmont, Leonore* (Nos. 1, 2, and 3), *Fidelio, Namensfeier*, and *Weihe des Hauses.* Cherubini: *Anacreon, Wasserträger, Les Abencerrages, Medea, Faniska, Lodoiska.* Spohr: *Jessonda, Faust.* Schubert: *Fierabras, Alfonso and Estrella.* Weber: *Ruler of the Spirits, Preciosa, Freyschütz, Oberon, Euryanthe, Jubilee.* Spontini: *La Vestale.* Rossini: *Tell.* Mendelssohn: *Midsummer Night's Dream, Hebrides,*

season (1874) an effort was made to increase the interest of the concerts by incorporating a new feature, — a large chorus of mixed voices (which was called the Cecilia, with Mr. Lang for its conductor), to relieve the instrumental uniformity by the occasional performance of cantatas, and other larger and smaller works for solo voices, orchestra, and chorus. This lasted for two seasons, during which were sung (with more satisfaction to the hearers than the singers, who could not feel themselves at home, surrounded as they were, and "covered up" by the strange "overpowering" element, the orchestra) Mendelssohn's *Walpurgis Night* (twice), *Lorelei* fragments, motet, *Laudate Pueri*, for female voices; Schumann's *Paradise and the Peri;* the *Magnificat* by Durante; finale to the first act of Weber's *Euryanthe;* Gade's *Spring's Greeting* and *Comala;* Schubert's *Twenty-third Psalm*, for female voices; three-part canons by Hauptmann; Bach's great

Melusina, *Ruy Blas*, *Meeresstille*, *etc.*, *Athalie*, *Trumpet Overture*. Schumann: *Genoveva*, *Manfred*. Gade: *Ossian*, *Im Hochland*, *Concert Overture*, *opus* 14. Sterndale Bennett: *Naiads*, *Wood Nymph*, *Paradise and Peri*. Taubert: *Tausend und eine Nacht*. Rietz: *Concert Overture*. Wagner: *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*. Reinecke: *Dame Kobold*. Bargiel: *Medea*. Goldmark: *Sakuntala*. Dudley Buck: *Don Munio*. Most of these repeatedly, and at least half of them for the first time here.

Miscellaneous for Orchestra. — J. S. Bach: *Suite in D*; *Organ Toccata in F*, and *Passacaglia*, arranged by Esser. Handel: *Pastoral Symphony*. Gluck: Chaconne, from *Orfeo*. Beethoven: Adagio and Andante, from *Prometheus*; *Turkish March*; March from *Fidelio*. Cherubini: Introduction to fourth act of *Medea*. Mendelssohn: Priest's March from *Athalie*. Schumann: Entr'acte and Incantation from *Manfred*. F. Lachner: *First Orchestral Suite*, *D-minor*. Liszt: *Les Preludes*, *Tasso*. Raff: *Suite in C*.

Concertos. — Handel: *For Oboe*, *G-minor*. Mozart: *For two Pianos* (Lang and Parker); No. 20, *in D* (H. Daum); No. 8, *D-minor* (Miss Mehlig, Richard Hoffman); *in C-minor* (Leonhard); *in B-flat* (J. C. D. Parker); *Sinfonie Concertante for Violin and Viola* (C. N. Allen and H. Heindl); *Violin in D* (Camilla Urso). Beethoven: *Violin* (Carl Rosa, Mme. Urso, B. Listemann); *For Piano*; No. 1 *in C* (B. J. Lang); No. 2, *B-flat* (B. J. Lang); No. 3, *C-minor* (Lang, Alice Dutton, Parker); No. 4, *in G* (H. Leonhard, five times); No. 5, *E-flat* (Dresel, Perabo, Miss Mehlig, Miss Krebs, Mme. Schiller); *Triple Concerto* (Lang, Perabo); *Choral Fantasia* (Perabo). Hummel: *Piano*, *A-minor* (Parker); *Septet* (Perabo). Schubert-Liszt: *Fantasia*, *opus* 15 (Lang). Weber: *Concertstück* (Miss Dutton, Miss Mehlig); *For Clarinet A-flat* (G. Weber). Moscheles: *G-minor* (Parker). Mendelssohn; *Piano in G-minor* (Lang, Parker); *D-minor* (Dresel, Parker, Mehlig); *Serenade and Allegro-Giojoso* (Parker, Leonhard); *Rondo*, *opus* 29 (Perabo); *Capriccio* (Miss Finkenstädt); *Violin* (Rosa, Urso, Miss Teresa Liebe). Schumann: *A-minor* (Dresel, Leonhard, Marie Krebs); *Concertstück* (Lang, twice). Chopin: *E-minor* (Leonhard, Miss Alide Topp, Miss Mehlig, Mme. Schiller); *F-minor* (Mehlig, Leonhard, G. W. Sumner); *Andante Spianato* and *Polonaise* (Leonhard); *Krakowiak* (Leonhard, twice). Henselt: *F-minor* (C. Petersilea). Norbert Burgmüller: *Piano* (Perabo). Bennett: No. 4, *F-minor* (Perabo); *Capriccio in E* (Lang). Rietz: *For Oboe*, *F-minor* (A. Kutzleb). Lipinski: *Military*, Violin (B. Listemann). Vieuxtemps: *Ballade and Polonaise*, Violin (Urso). F. David: *Andante* and *Scherzo* (Miss Liebe). Joachim: *Hungarian Concerto*, first movement (Listemann). Rubinstein: *Piano*, No. 3, *in G* (Lang). Goltermann: *For 'cello*, *A-minor* (A. Hartdegen). Gernsheim: *C-minor* (Perabo). Svendsen: *Violin in A* (August Fries).

Singers like Mme. Rudersdorff, Miss Clara Doria (Mrs. H. M. Rogers), Mme. Johannsen, Mrs. Houston-West, the lamented Miss A. S. Whitten, Miss Whinnery, Mrs. Flora E. Barry, Miss Alice Fairman, Mrs. Kempton, Miss Ryan, Messrs. Kreissmann, George L. Osgood, Nelson Varley, C. Gloggner-Castelli, M. W. Whitney, P. H. Powers, and F. Rudolphsen furnished a rare collection, mostly new to our concert-rooms, of arias from Bach's cantatas, *Christmas Oratorio* and *Passion;* many from Handel's Italian operas, his *L'Allegro*, etc.; many of Mozart's concert arias, as well as from his operas; and songs by Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Robert Franz, etc., with unsurpassed piano-forte accompanists. In the earlier seasons there were sometimes choruses for male voices from Mendelssohn's *Antigone* and *Œdipus*, from the *Magic Flute*, the *Ruins of Athens*, etc.

cantata, *Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniss;* besides some madrigals and part-songs. After this the Cecilia withdrew, and became a concert-giving society upon its own account.

From the year 1872, and onward, the Harvard Concerts began to lose somewhat of their prestige; and very naturally, since until then they had occupied the field alone. This advantage could not last forever. Their success invited competition both in their own and other fields, and in other kinds of musical attraction. Their triumphant tide was checked in several ways; as (1) By the necessity of afternoon instead of evening concerts, owing to the engagements of musicians in the theatres; (2) Jealousy caused by the privilege of the "nucleus," or guarantee subscribers, in the choice of seats; (3) A diversion of the tide of sympathy for a time toward the new vocal clubs (Apollo, etc.), in which so many young men could take active part themselves, while their invited or "associate member" friends preferred to hear glees and part-songs rehearsed to the utmost *finesse* of expression, to the greatest symphonies by a half disciplined, imperfect orchestra; and (4) An orchestra too small and of inadequate intensity of tone for the great spaces of the Music Hall. But more than all, there had already come repeated visitations of a better orchestra, one trained to sensitive and absolute obedience to a masterly and most energetic leader, Theodore Thomas; an orchestra whose performance, in unity, precision, all the technical refinements, light and shade, and unmistakable expression, contrasted greatly to the disadvantage of our local band, made up as it had to be of musicians who worked in the theatre, street, and ball room, or perhaps in teaching, for their daily bread, and who could only give a few jaded hours now and then for the rehearsal of programmes full of difficulty. If the brilliant example turned attention somewhat from the programme to the nicety of execution, making the manner more regarded than the matter, yet there was no denying that it was just the example which Boston needed. It was Germania *versus* Musical Fund again, upon a larger scale. It was a needed lesson. Here was the kind of orchestra for which Boston concert-goers had so often sighed. Here was an orchestra always, the whole year round an orchestra, with this for the one business of its members' lives. Such had we longed for, but almost without hope, for our own. Never was the want so keenly felt; for Boston, to become in truth a musical city, must be self-dependent in this great matter of orchestral music, and not have to take its symphonies as it takes its operas, by the chance favor, not always timely, of travelling impresarios and artists.

The Thomas Concerts have contributed to musical development in Boston. They have sharpened musical perception. They have created a new audience and a new interest for orchestral music in hundreds dead to it before. They have greatly raised the standard of excellence in execution. They have made the public demand more, and our own conductors and musicians try more. The effect is seen in the improvement, year by year, of our home orchestra. Moreover, the Thomas Concerts have to a great

extent chosen a field so distinctive in respect to programmes as almost to render competition idle. While they have not slighted tastes conservative and classical, they have ministered largely to the curiosity to know more about the famous new composers, introducing many strange and brilliant novelties of the most modern school. We may or may not come home again with a new relish to our old favorites; it is well to have the opportunity of choice, to see and judge each for himself, — "try all things, and hold fast to that which is good."

The Harvard Musical Association has, as we have seen, chosen for itself the conservative ground in its concerts. Whatever else of good or evil may come up, there can be no doubt that somebody should hold that ground. We have only here to complete the record of its work. With all the new quickening influences, and under all discouragements of fluctuating and inadequate support, it has continued to seek the approbation of the few, if it could not attract the many. Not only has it kept the immortal master-works within thought and hearing, but also in the concerts of the last six years, since conservatism can so well afford to be generous, it has presented what it conceived to be a judicious, on the whole a large, allowance of the modern works.[1]

[1] In the list of symphonies have figured two by Raff, the two by Brahms, the *Ocean* by Rubinstein, the *Symphonie Fantastique* by Berlioz, the *Second, in A-minor*, by Saint-Saëns, the *Posthumous Symphony in F* by Goetz; also the two by our own Harvard professor, J. K. Paine, and the *Second* (*Sardanapalus*) *Symphony* by Dr. F. L. Ritter, the learned and genial musical professor at Vassar College; also several by older masters, here given for the first time, — as Schubert's *Grand Duo, opus* 140, arranged as symphony by Joachim; Spohr's *Irdisches und Göttliches*, for double orchestra; three of the less known by Haydn, including that written for his degree at Oxford. Of overtures, for the first time here, may be named that by Rietz, called *Hero and Leander;* Paine's to *As You Like It;* J. C. D. Parker's to *Hiawatha;* Schubert's to *Rosamunde;* Schumann's to *Julius Cæsar;* Gluck's to *Alceste;* Goldmark's to *Penthesilea;* G. W. Chadwick's *Rip Van Winkle;* and a *Concert Overture* (1870) by Henschel. Of miscellaneous orchestral works, — Bach, Pastorale, from the *Christmas Oratorio*, and *Violin Chaconne in D-minor*, adapted by Raff; Weber, ballet music from *Preciosa;* Schubert, orchestral arrangements of the *Heroic March in A-minor*, and of the *Reiter Marsch* (the latter by Liszt); Mendelssohn's *Octet* (by all the strings); the *Phaëton* of Saint-Saëns; Wagner's *Siegfried Idyl; Marche Nocturne*, by Berlioz, etc. The piano concertos added in these years have included: Hummel, *Concerto in B-minor* (played by Mme. Schiller); Saint-Saëns, No. 2, *G-minor* (Mr. Lang, Mme. Rivé-King), No. 4, *C-minor* (J. A. Preston); Schumann, *Concert Allegro* (H. G. Tucker); Rubinstein, No. 4, *D-minor* (C. Petersilea); Grieg, *A-minor* (William H. Sherwood); Mozart, *Concerto in A* (Tucker); Liszt, *Hungarian Fantaisie* (F. Rummel); L. Brassin, *Concerto in F* (Miss Cochran); H. von Bronsart, *Concerto in F-sharp minor* (Lang); Liszt, No. 2, *in A* (Max Pinner); L. Maas, *Concerto in C-minor*, played by himself. Also the Bach *Concerto for three pianos, in C*, has been played by Messrs. Lang, Parker, and Foote, and that in *D-minor* by Messrs. Sumner, Foote, and Preston. The *First Violin Concerto* of Max Bruch has been played by Mr. T. Adamowski, and a *Concerto for violoncello* of Saint-Saëns, by Mr. Wulf Fries. Many important opera and concert arias by Handel, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Schubert, and others, owe their first hearing in Boston to the Symphony Concerts of these six years, and to such singers as Miss Thursby, Miss Fannie Kellogg, Mme. Emma Dexter, Miss Lillian Bailey, Miss Lizzie Cronyn, Miss Ita Welsh, Miss Emily Winant, Miss Louie Homer, Miss Fannie L. Barnes, Miss May Bryant, Mr. Georg Henschel, Dr. Langmaid, Mr. Alfred Wilkie, and others; also fresh bouquets of song from Schubert, Schumann, Franz, Grieg, Jensen, and many more. We are summing up the account of what Boston has been doing for herself in this way, through her own Symphony Society. It would be easy to show a very rich list also of the works which we have heard performed by the fine orchestra of Mr Thomas.

The "orchestral problem" has become here one of *urgency*, so much so that its practical solution cannot be far off. New organizations are already in the field, pursuing the same end with the Harvard, but by different business plans. Another Philharmonic Society, begun on a small scale by Mr. Bernhard Listemann, has been taken up by a large committee of amateurs and musicians, and placed upon the footing of associate-membership subscriptions, whereby concerts, at a low price, and by a large and well trained orchestra, are made to fill the largest hall. Its first year has proved successful. More important is the generous movement of a public-spirited and wealthy friend of music, Mr. Henry Lee Higginson, who, self-inspired and at his sole risk, undertakes the whole burden, for the next year at least, of a course of *twenty* classical orchestral concerts, with twenty public rehearsals, for which Mr. Georg Henschel is to be the conductor of an orchestra of over sixty musicians kept in constant practice, and with the prices of admission on so low a scale as to place this rare resource within the reach of the most slender purses. This looks like the beginning of a permanent first-class orchestra for Boston. The three orchestras will be essentially identical, though under different names and leaders, inasmuch as the sixty men whom Mr. Henschel has to train will also constitute the working force of both the Philharmonic and the Harvard concerts. Together the three bodies offer about sixty concerts (with a symphony in every one) for the next season; so that the musicians will be kept busier than ever before in work worthy of their best artistic skill and effort. Thus Boston will be self-dependent in this important sphere of musical activity, which naturally holds the primacy among all the rest.

With our old Oratorio Society this has been a period of triennial festivals. The successful experiments of 1857 and 1865 led to their regular recurrence, *as an institution*, at intervals of three years, after the manner of those at Birmingham. Five have been given in the Music Hall, and all with gratifying success, resulting in a well-invested trust fund, now amounting to about $22,000, which guarantees their future. The first was in May, 1868, which occupied six days, and consisted of five oratorios, four miscellaneous, and one organ concert. There was a chorus of seven hundred voices, an orchestra of over one hundred instruments, with Mr. Lang at the Great Organ, and Carl Zerrahn, conductor. The leading singers were Mme. Parepa-Rosa and Miss Houston; Miss Adelaide Phillipps and Miss Cary; Messrs. George Simpson and James Whitney; Messrs. M. W. Whitney, J. F. Winch, J. F. Rudolphsen, and H. Wilde. There were pianoforte solos by Miss Alide Topp, and for the violin by Carl Rosa. The programmes included Nicolai's *Choral Fest Overture*; Mendelssohn's *St. Paul*, *Hymn of Praise*, and *Ninety-fifth Psalm*; Handel's *Samson*, and *Messiah*; Haydn's *Creation*; Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*; Mendelssohn's *Reformation Symphony*; and a great variety of vocal, orchestral, and organ music.

In the four succeeding festivals the chorus has varied from seven hundred to five hundred voices; the instrumentalists from one hundred to about

seventy; and the number of day and evening concerts from nine to five, — the riper judgment tending to the shorter term and number. Experience teaches the society that quality is of more consequence than quantity; that three days may be more inspiring than a whole week of the exceptional; and that five hundred, or even four hundred, true, effective, well-trained voices may do better work in chorus than one thousand. The real and enduring good residing in these stated festivals is that they stand before the singers as high-water marks for their ambition to surpass themselves in better and better work. They keep up the standard of thoroughness in study and excellence in performance. Best of all, they incite to study and performance of great works, before unattempted, both by old and new composers. The additions to the repertoire during these fifteen years have been mainly owing to the festivals. Far above all these attempts, in intrinsic value and unfailing inspiration, has been that most courageous venture in the history of this or any choral body in America, — its resolute grappling with the difficulties and the doubtful popularity of the *St. Matthew Passion Music* of Sebastian Bach. After many intermittent hours of practice and rehearsal, selections from this great work (less than half of it) were first brought out in the second triennial, May 13, 1871. More generous selections were given in 1874; and finally, in April, 1881, by far the larger part of the whole work was interpreted more admirably than before, Mr. Georg Henschel lending his artistic and expressive talent in the recitatives of "Jesus," with the co-operation of other excellent singers, — notably Miss Annie Louise Cary. But it was not in a festival, — it was on Good Friday, 1879, that this *Passion Music* was given here with a completeness such as we do not read of even in Germany or England. In two performances on that one day the entire Part I., and the entire Part II. without omission or abridgment of a single number, were performed before two audiences which filled the Music Hall to overflowing. The spiritual depth and tenderness, the wonderful sublimity and beauty, the dramatic vividness and truth of the Bach music has at length made it felt and loved among us. His exquisite Christmas Oratorio likewise was introduced (Parts I. and II.) in the Festival of 1877, and has been repeated in several concerts of the society.[1]

Perhaps the best lesson and best influence of these Triennial, regularly instituted Oratorio Festivals is that they show the true limits of great fes-

[1] Among other choral novelties which have come up in these festivals are Handel's *Utrecht Jubilate;* Marcello's *Eighteenth Psalm;* Mendelssohn's *Christus*, and several Psalms; Berlioz's *Flight into Egypt;* Costa's *Naäman;* Bennett's *Woman of Samaria;* Hiller's *Song of Victory;* the *Noël*, by Saint-Saëns; Sullivan's *Prodigal Son;* Verdi's *Manzoni Requiem:* while of the works of our own native composers, first hearings have been accorded to Professor Paine's oratorio, *St. Peter*, to Dudley Buck's *Forty-sixth Psalm*, and to J. C. D. Parker's *Redemption Hymn.* These have not prevented frequent reproduction of the well known grandest oratorios, besides great symphonies, etc. Besides the leading singers already named, the following distinguished artists have lent lustre to the festivals and concerts: Mme. Rudersdorff, Mme. Christine Nilsson, Miss Edith Wynne, Miss Clara Louise Kellogg, Miss Emma C. Thursby, Mme. Patey, Miss Antoinette Sterling, Miss Emily Winant, Mr. W. H. Cummings, Signor Campanini, Mr. William Courtney, and Mr. Santley.

tivals, and what a proper musical festival should be. They form at once the safety-valve and steady-going balance-wheel for the protection of musical art against the wildfire enthusiasm and extravagance of "monster" festivals like the Peace Jubilees of 1869 and 1872, which try to do things on a larger scale than the conditions of true art permit. Such world-challenging exceptions prove the rule, — the wholesome, common, modest rule, — which *institutions* like the Handel and Haydn Society, at once progressive and conservative, have wisely chosen to observe.

A prominent feature of this fourth period has been the springing up and prosperous continuance of so many vocal clubs, composed mainly but not entirely of amateurs. The three most important — the Apollo, the Boylston, and the Cecilia — have done not a little to improve the style of chorus singing, to create a love for this refining, wholesome, social practice, and to introduce to general acquaintance many beautiful creations of musical genius, of which the interest will not soon wear out. Originally part-song clubs, for male voices, they have soon found out the limitations and monotony of that small form, and have by preference devoted themselves to the more rewarding study of larger compositions, like cantatas; and not content with the mere outline accompaniment of the piano-forte, they have sought to produce such works in their full character with orchestra. The business organization of these clubs, beginning with the Apollo, has been original and fruitful. These enthusiastic amateurs knew well the interest their friends would take in their endeavors and achievements, and to them they made appeal for the material support and guarantee, upon the system of "associate membership," — the associates paying an annual fee for the privilege of a certain number of admissions to all concerts and rehearsals. The plan has uniformly insured full audiences and sympathy unfailing.

In former days we had the numerous glee-clubs in Boston, Cambridge, but especially in Salem, whose glee-club, under the quickening lead of General H. K. Oliver, then a distinguished classical teacher and fitter of boys for college, had a long and genial career, with an almost exhaustive library of all the famous English madrigal and glee composers. But the immediate forerunner of the present Boston clubs was the first Liedertafel club of our German fellow-citizens, founded many years ago, now called the Orpheus Musical Society. It was purely a part-song club, true to the traditional associations of the male part-song with beer and smoke and unconventional good-fellowship. For some years it has ceased to be a concert-giving society; but in the older days, under the inspiring leadership of Kreissmann, it often sang choice programmes to delighted listeners, sometimes including choral works of magnitude.[1]

[1] We are tempted here, in view of the recent notable achievement in the Sanders Theatre at Cambridge, to introduce a sentence we have chanced to light upon in turning over an old volume of *Dwight's Journal of Music* (April 28, 1860), where, in noticing a concert given in Cambridge a few evenings before by Otto Dresel, in which the Orpheus sang choruses from *Antigone* and *Œdipus*, the editor remarks: "The three Greek choruses were certainly in place; they were greatly relished by the audience, and especially by the genial president, late Greek professor

The Apollo Club (male voices) was formed in July, 1871. Some fifty gentlemen, of the youthful and the middle period of life,—the best of the singers in oratorios, choirs, and glee-clubs,—were drawn together by the desire to practise vocal harmony with an aim to the highest technical perfection and expression, and to realize, if possible, an exquisite refinement in the sphere of song to which they were attracted. And their success has been acknowledged first and last. The number of active members is now seventy-one. The number of associate members reached at once the prescribed limit of five hundred, which it has always kept. To the careful training and conductorship of Mr. B. J. Lang the club has always owed a great part of its success. It has given sixty-eight concerts to its associates and friends, besides singing on several patriotic and memorial occasions.[1]

In the selection of its active members the Apollo has been most exacting as to quality of voices, facility in reading music, musical temperament and feeling, and *esprit du corps*. In its recent public efforts a striking feature has been a certain Anacreontic freshness, alike of voice and enthusiasm, well preserved among its oldest members.

The Boylston Club (formed May, 1873) was purely a male part-song club of younger men, who rehearsed for a long time privately under Mr. J. B. Sharland. It kept within the modest sphere of the part-song and chorale until it reached rare excellence in execution. It took a fresh start and entered on a wider field in 1875, when that accomplished singer and musician Mr. George L. Osgood took the helm as teacher and conductor. The choir then numbered about a hundred male voices, and, besides the choice part-songs with which it was continually replenishing its store, it attacked some larger works,—as the "Dies Iræ," from Cherubini's *Second Requiem*, an *Adoramus Te* by Palestrina, Schumann's *Gipsy Life*, etc. In 1877 the club mated itself with an equally large and select choir of female voices so that it could present works either for male, or female, or mixed chorus.[2] The

[C. C. Felton], whose administration might well signalize itself by the production, some day, of an entire tragedy of Sophocles, with Mendelssohn's noble music, by the students under his charge. His enjoyment would have been still more perfect, no doubt, had the choruses been sung in Greek instead of German."

[1] To show how its scope has become enlarged from mere unaccompanied part-songs, we take the following summary from the programme-book of its tenth anniversary concert (April, 1881): "The club has brought out the following works, some of them for the first time in this country: the *Antigone*, by Mendelssohn; *Œdipus at Colonus*, by Mendelssohn; *The Luck of Edenhall*, by Schumann; *The Flower Net*, by Goldmark; *Chorus of Dervishes*, by Beethoven; *A Vintage Song*, by Mendelssohn; *Scenes from the Frithjof-Saga*, by Max Bruch; selections from *A Night at Sea*, by Tschirch; *The Warder Song*, by Raff; *Foresters' Chorus*, by Schumann; *To the Sons of Art*, by Mendelssohn; *Morning*, by Rubinstein; *A Roman Song of Triumph*, by Max Bruch; *The Nun of Nidaros*, by Dudley Buck; *Night on the Ocean*, by Brambach; *The Almighty*, by Schubert; *Chorus of Pilgrims*, by Wagner; *La Marseillaise*, with instrumentation by Berlioz; and the *Song of the Spirits over the Waters*, by Schubert; also, with piano-forte accompaniment instead of an orchestra, the Prisoners' Chorus, from *Fidelio*, by Beethoven; *Easter Morning*, by Hiller; *Salamis*, by Gernsheim; a part of Cherubini's *Requiem*; *Evening*, by Lachner; *Hope*, by Hiller; and *Alcestis*, by Brambach."

[2] Among the more important works which, through Mr. Osgood's zeal, it has produced are Palestrina's *Mass for the Dead* (*a capella*), twice; an *Eight-part motet* by Bach; Astorga's *Stabat Mater*; the *Choral Hymn*, by Brahms; Schubert's *Night Song in the Forest*, with four horns; and the posthumous psalm, *By the Waters of Babylon*, by Goetz,—this last alone with orchestra,

club in both its branches has reached a degree of excellence in singing which compares well with any of its rivals. Mr. Osgood's tenor solos, sometimes in part-songs of his own composing, have often added interest.

The Cecilia, as an independent body, with Mr. Lang as musical director, gave its first concert in January, 1877, singing *The Crusaders*, by Gade.[1] The Cecilia has employed an orchestra rather as the rule than the exception. The printed annual reports of its president, Mr. S. L. Thorndike, full of thoughtful comment on its work and progress, may be counted among its valuable contributions to the musical movement of our city.

Each of these clubs has done much to raise the standard of good chorus-singing; to introduce larger works, in the form of secular cantata, etc. (in their integrity, with orchestra), which lie out of the range of oratorio societies; and to bring forward promising young solo talent, which there is no room to enumerate, and which need not yet pass into history. They have called into existence a great crop of similar clubs, both here and elsewhere, — witness the Loring Club in San Francisco, whose founder and leader, Mr. David W. Loring, was one of the zealous members of our own Apollo, and carried the good seed with him when he emigrated thither.

This period has been the heyday (high day) of pianists. Of Dresel, Parker, Leonhard, we need not speak again. Ernst Perabo, just out of boyhood, returned from study in Leipsic in 1866, and made a brilliant impression in the closing concert of the first symphony season; since which day he has always held his own among the ablest interpreters of great piano music, drawn, evidently with peculiar love, to the sonatas of Beethoven and of Schubert, and the fugues, partitas, suites, etc., of Bach. Of visiting artists, Miss Alide Topp (1869), Miss Anna Mehlig (1870–72), Miss Marie Krebs (1871), and Mme. Arabella Goddard (in the Jubilee of 1872), were the fair harbingers of those two giants, Rubinstein and Hans von Bülow, who came in 1872 and 1875, — great suns who set the piano-playing and adoring world revolving round them, and aroused the passionate ambition of many a sleepless young Themistocles of either sex. Meanwhile, in December, 1873, that attractive lady and pianist of the most finished Leipsic school, Mme. Madeline Schiller, made her début in the Symphony Concerts, and remained here, much sought as a teacher and always a sure attraction as performing artist, until the early summer of 1878. Boston could claim her as its own through all those years. Later (1877) came the

but no doubt the Boylston will soon come to that. Numerous cantatas, etc., of Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, etc., have been sung by this as by the other clubs. The accompaniments (piano-forte) have commonly been played by Mr. Carlyle Petersilea, and the programmes have been varied with choice instrumental music and with solo airs.

[1] It has since produced, — of Bach, two cantatas, with orchestra, and several chorals; Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, and selections (with orchestra) from *L'Allegro*, etc.; Mendelssohn's *Athalie*, the *Forty-third* and *Ninety-fifth Psalms*, and the whole *Midsummer Night's Dream* music, with orchestra, and with the admirable reading of Mr. George Riddle; Schumann's *Manfred*, with Mr. Howard Ticknor's reading, and scenes from Goethe's *Faust*, — both for the first time here, the latter twice, and with the aid of Mr. Henschel, Mr. C. R. Adams, Miss Gertrude Franklin, and other acceptable solo singers; Max Bruch's *Odysseus* and *Fair Ellen;* H. Hoffmann's *Fair Melusina;* and many fresh and well selected smaller works.

charming and most graceful Russian lady, Mme. Essipoff, — by some mischance not sought here with so much enthusiasm as her rare artistic qualities deserved. In 1878–79 Franz Rummel paid us a few flying visits. In 1879 Rafael Joseffy gave us most plentifully out of his rich stores, and seemed to many to surpass all before. The last were Constantin Sternberg (Russian) and Oliver King, the young composer and pianist to the Princess Louise of Canada. Occasionally, too, came S. B. Mills and Richard Hoffman of New York, Mme. Rivé-King, Mr. F. Boscovitz, and more.

In the mean time Boston has been rich in pianists of its own, among them three or four who are pre-eminent. Of Perabo we have already spoken. At about the same time with him, Carlyle Petersilea returned from Leipsic studies, who seems to have all the most difficult music at his fingers' ends, is equal to any task, whether in performance or accompaniment, has many pupils, and indeed a flourishing Academy of Music, and would command many votes in any competition for the first rank. B. J. Lang, whom we have met all along the road in various useful functions, has grown year by year, by force of talent, unremitting industry, temperate self-control, practical wisdom, and high aim, to a position of the widest influence, perhaps, among all our resident musicians. He has probably taught more pupils than any other teacher. His days would hardly seem long enough for all these hours (*Stunden*), as the Germans call such lessons; yet he has found time for a continual round of concerts and recitals, for the training and conducting of choral clubs, church choir, sometimes a symphony, for presiding at the organ in the oratorios, as well as at the piano in rehearsals, and for the bringing out of many new works of the larger kind. He, too, has been a teacher of teachers. It has been truly said of him that his pupils have become his disciples; they all espouse his cause, and he can always count upon their loyalty. Quite a group of these are among the most available and useful members of the active musical force of Boston, always ready in emergencies, where an able pianist, or three or four together (as in a Bach concerto), are required. The group includes Messrs. G. W. Sumner, G. A. Adams, H. G. Tucker, Arthur Foote, and J. A. Preston, all of whom give concerts and recitals of their own with programmes of great interest, and rank as excellent pianists; and we must add (more on the ground of general musicianship and critical intelligence than of piano-playing as such) the name of William F. Apthorp. The youngest of these leading spirits, Mr. William H. Sherwood, came later (1876), and has had less time to carve out his quarter of the empire. His accomplished wife (Mrs. Mary Fay Sherwood, a gifted pupil of Dresel twenty years ago) shares his work and triumphs with him Mr. Sherwood, a native of Western New York, is of the school of Kullak in Berlin, and won admiration there. His strong, vital touch and accent, the precision, fluency, and brilliancy of his execution, and his almost boundless repertoire of masters old and new, have placed him among the foremost concert artists. He has an eager host of pupils, and he gets a deep hold on them if they have any

talent. Some of them have won distinction in their turn. Mr. Sherwood is always in demand for concerts, festivals, and Summer Normal Schools in other cities South and West. When we add to these the names of S. Liebling, Otto Bendix, John Orth, H. P. Chelius, Edward B. Perry (a real artist, although robbed of sight), Miss S. Winslow (earnest pupil of the Stuttgart school), Miss Amy Fay (now in Chicago), Miss Josephine E. Ware, Mr. Warren Locke of Cambridge, Mr. T. P. Currier, and more too numerous to mention (for history must leave off unfinished in order to leave off at all), we find Boston amply provided with pianists, if with no other musical resources.

But while we count up all these hands and brains that have been weaving out before our hearing eyes so vividly and palpably the marvellous tone-poems of the piano-forte composers, let us not forget the instrument itself which has made this possible, and of whose manufacture and enormous multiplication Boston, from the first days of Jonas Chickering, has been one of the world's chief seats. If only to do honor to that name, which might have figured fitly and prominently in any one of the preceding periods, we should dwell a moment here. Boston abounds in piano manufacturers, many of them prosperous and widely known, engaged in an extensive business; but all will heartily admit him, and the great house he has built up, to be the first and foremost of their craft. He did not live to enjoy our "heyday" of pianists (he died in December, 1853); but none the less has most of the music made here by the greater part of them been through the medium of the Chickering pianos. He "builded better than he knew." His superior intelligence, his inventive genius, and great moral force of character and purpose almost suffered in the general first impression that he made, from the remarkable development of all the kindly, generous, and gentle traits in him. He was a most simple, unassuming, plain, and quiet person in his manner and appearance. His father was a farmer and blacksmith in the village of New Ipswich, N. H., where he was born in April, 1797, and brought up with a good common-school education. At the age of seventeen he was apprenticed for three years to a cabinet-maker in his native town. There was one solitary piano in the village, and one maiden that could play; and we have heard how the bashful lad, eager to drink in the dulcet sounds, would go and linger by her gate. Was she not a sort of St. Cecilia to him? And was not that piano, discoursing simple and old-fashioned music, a rarer revelation and delight to that boy's wondering soul, than many a most artistic concert to the satiated ears of amateurs in cities? In course of time the piano got out of tune, and "out of *kilter*," and the ingenious Jonas must be called upon to try his hand at putting it in order. He succeeded, after much experimenting, in restoring the wondrous machine to usefulness. He was then nineteen, and this was the germ of the great piano-making business which now bears his name. He came to Boston on the 15th of February, 1818, and sought and found employment from that very day.

Do we not see the simple country lad, after he came to town, drawn to that Park Street choir, as the moth to the candle, and not quite happy until his voice could mingle in the harmony? Later we may see him, president-conductor, beating time for the Handel and Haydn chorus (1843–49); and again, in the days of his prosperity, extending hospitalities to musical artists, assisting young beginners, active in the councils of the Mechanics' Association, and a generous patron of all good charities and public enterprises. Well and wittily was his health once given: "Jonas Chickering! like his own pianos: Upright, Grand, and Square." [1]

Of Chamber Music in the stricter sense of violin quartets, etc., during this period, there have been but flickering, though frequent, manifestations. The old Mendelssohn Quintette Club has grown more and more peripatetic, carrying the gospel of good music into distant parts, even to the Pacific coast; yet Boston has remained its home and starting-point, and all its "missionary work" has not prevented it from giving us, at the beginning or the end of every season, several rare feasts of the older and the new creations in this form of art. Its membership has changed repeatedly, Mr. Thomas Ryan alone maintaining the identity throughout. It was never, probably, in a more excellent condition than at present, — if its movement only were not so centrifugal!

In 1869 and in 1871 Mr. Bernhard Listemann undertook quartet matinées, which were too good to yield to first discouragements. Again in 1874–75 he formed a Philharmonic Quintette Club, which in its turn has disappeared. Several such Pleiad groups have sparkled for a while, and set too early. In 1873 Messrs. C. N. Allen, J. Mullaly, Wulf Fries, and others formed the Beethoven Quintette Club, which made good headway for a time; now, as a quartet club, with Mr. Gustav Dannreuther in the second place (sometimes alternating with the leader) it is doing excellent service, both in public and in "musicales" in private houses.

Most of the chamber-concerts of these years have been in the mixed form of trios or quartets in which the piano-forte holds the central place. Mr. J. C. D. Parker gave a course of trio-soirées in 1869; Mr. Arthur Foote another, every Saturday evening in February and March of the present year, assisted by Messrs. Allen, Dannreuther, Fries, etc., and with choice song-selections; and the faithful teacher Mr. Junius Hill has for several years had trio practice carried on among his advanced pupils with the aid of professional artists. In all of these the programmes have been mainly

[1] The magnitude and the importance of the piano-forte business in Boston has a signal illustration (since we have room for only one) in the note subjoined: —

DEAR SIR, — In reply to your request for statistics we will say, that Mr. Jonas Chickering began to manufacture Pianos in Boston, April 15, 1823. The first year he finished fifteen pianos. There were finished —

From 1823 to 1833	684	Pianos
„ 1833 to 1843	4,170	„
From 1843 to 1853	7,546	Pianos.
„ 1853 to 1863	11,393	„
„ 1863 to 1873	17,166	„

Should the same number be finished in 1881 and 1882 that were produced last year, it will be safe to call the product from 1873 to 1883, 21,928. We anticipate an increase in this number.

Truly yours,

CHICKERING & SONS.

[See also Mr. Atkinson's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

classical and most instructive. Other leading pianists — Perabo, Lang, Leonhard, etc. — have often introduced such trios, quartets, and quintets into their concerts and recitals; and the two Conservatories for years have kept up a continual round of chamber-matinées (mostly with piano and with singing) for the improvement of their throngs of pupils.

In 1879 was formed the Euterpe, a society having more of the elements of permanence. It holds itself free to choose its field in any form of music, but thus far it has devoted itself to the one form for which some institution was most needed, — to the violin, quartet, quintet, octet, and the like. Regarding such music as best suited to a comparatively small and select audience in a small hall, it has held a somewhat private and exclusive character, disposing of its tickets personally, upon the "associate-membership" principle, and limiting the membership to one hundred and fifty subscribers, each entitled to two season tickets. It began Jan. 15, 1879, with a series of four concerts, and has since given two more series of five. Its policy has been to employ the best quartet parties of Boston and New York, alternately, in the interpretation of its strictly classical programmes, limited each time to two string compositions in sonata form.

Opera has still remained the beautiful exotic and capricious visitor it always was; the fever of a week or two, refusing any wholesome, permanent organic form. It has brought us in these fifteen years some famous singers, and given us first hearings of a few more or less important works. In 1867–68 there was the Strakosch Italian troupe, — Mme. Parepa-Rosa, Miss Phillipps, Signors Brignoli, Susini, etc.; afterward Mme. Lagrange; and there was a Maretzek troupe, including Mme. Rosa, Minnie Hauck, Ronconi, etc. In 1870 and in 1872 Mme. Rosa gave us good opera in English, with such singers as Mrs. Seguin, Miss Rose Hersée, Miss Clara Doria, Mlle. Vanzini, and Messrs. Castle, Lawrence, Tom Carl, Campbell, Cook, and others; and to her we owe the *Oberon* of Weber, the *Water-Carrier* of Cherubini, and Rossini's *La Gazza Ladra*, besides good familiar pieces. Then the Siren took the form of Christine Nilsson, in three several visits (1871–74), supported by Miss Cary, Messrs. Capoul, Maurel, Jamet, etc., who for a novelty brought us *Mignon* by Ambroise Thomas; and we had Verdi's *Aïda*, sung by Mme. Torriani and Miss Cary, Signor Campanini, etc.; and at the new Globe Theatre three weeks of Mlle. Albani, who with Miss Cary, Signors Carpi, Del Puente, etc., gave us the first hearing of Wagner's *Lohengrin* (1875). In 1873 came Pauline Lucca, with Miss Kellogg and Mme. Di Murska; in 1876, for a few nights, the queenly Tietjens; and in the spring of 1877 there was vouchsafed to us the fresh sensation of a "Wagner Festival" of a whole week at the Boston Theatre, with Mmes. Pappenheim and Clara Perl, Herren Werrenrath, Bischoff, Blum, etc., who gave four specimens of the Wagnerian drama, — *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, the earlier *Fliegende Holländer*, and *Die Walkyrie;* and, as an acceptable offset, Beethoven's *Fidelio* in a better style than we had had before. Finally there have been three short seasons of "Her Majesty's Opera," under the direction of Colonel

Mapleson, in which Italian opera has been given on a more complete scale than by any visiting company before; and the fascinating high soprano, Etelka Gerster, with Miss Hauck, Mme. Frapolli, the brilliant tenor Campanini, etc., in a long list of standard operas, have drawn enormous houses, — the principal novelty being Bizet's *Carmen*.

French opera bouffe has had its brief demoralizing day among us, and has found a speedy antidote in something full as light and popular, while innocent, and musically more original and fresh. But first we must not forget to speak of several genial and charming comic operettas, composed by our own Julius Eichberg and popular before and since the French invasion; namely, the *Doctor of Alcantara*, the *Two Cadis*, etc. The effective substitute and cure for the opera bouffe contagion appeared in the extraordinary popularity of Sullivan's *Pinafore*, which ran through all the theatres, and which, being easy music and within the musical and vocal means of many of our clever native singers, has resulted in numerous domestic companies for its performance, as well as in not a few imitative or half-original attempts at composition in a similar vein. Whether these bubbles, rising on all sides and glittering each for a brief spell in the gaslight of so many theatres, are any indication of an original creative principle below the surface, which may yet assert itself in really musical, imaginative, and noble lyric works both light and serious, and give us finally the native opera, the institution so long speculatively and vainly dreamed of, — time alone will show. Some of these playthings certainly are clever; some, on the other hand, show but the slightest symptoms of musicianship, being ingeniously made up for a present purpose, not composed; yet the practice they involve begets a certain empirical routine-familiarity with knacks and processes, without which genius, even if it should abound, could not be operative. Perhaps it is the nursery for greater things in store.

Almost simultaneously the two Conservatories, so called, started on the race, — the Boston Conservatory on Feb. 11, 1867, and the New England Conservatory one week later at the Music Hall. The former was and is the enterprise of the accomplished artist and musician Julius Eichberg, who as director was assisted by Messrs. Kreissmann, Leonhard, and numerous able teachers since their time. It has always had a goodly number of pupils, to whom it has sought to impart a sound musical education, while it has not catered for the largest number. It has followed the economical system of teaching by classes, dividing the lesson among four pupils at a time; it has furnished good instruction in all the practical and theoretic branches; it enables its pupils in the course of every season to hear a great deal of good music, by providing chamber-concerts for their benefit. In one department, the Violin School, it is unique. Here Mr. Eichberg has accomplished wonders. Little girls and boys of six or eight, who look almost overweighted by the instrument, play music of considerable difficulty, with facile, finished execution and with good expression The more advanced among them do not shrink before the concertos of Spohr, the con-

cert-pieces of Ernst, Vieuxtemps, Wieniawski, or even the great *Chaconne* by Bach. This last-named masterwork has often been played together, in well-nigh perfect unison, by half-a-dozen of these pupils of both sexes. They also practise quartet playing, and know many of the string quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven by taking actual part in them. Indeed, a quartet club of four young lady-pupils (complete with 'cello and viola) is in continual demand for concerts; and several of the graduates from these classes have since been favorite pupils of great European masters like Joachim. Here is material for our future orchestras.

The New England Conservatory, founded by Dr. Eben Tourjee, after one or two similar experiments in his native Rhode Island, gathered from the first into its fold the greatest number of pupils. It has counted nearly fifteen hundred at once. It has taught by classes of six together. Its roll of teachers has included, from time to time, the name of nearly every leading Boston member of the musical profession. There is hardly a well-known pianist, organist, singer, contrapuntist, or orchestral player who has not, at one time or another, spent some hours of his busy day in the class-rooms of this populous Conservatory. Of course not all among these throngs of pupils expect to become musicians: many avail themselves of such facilities to learn, at small expense of time or money, to play or sing a little, to listen well, and talk intelligently of music. Among them also must be many who have talent, which they have earnestly and diligently cultivated with these aids; and have thus become fitted to go forth as teachers in their turn, — perhaps as artists. The Saturday concerts, in which leading artists often take part, — concerts which now count up to over six hundred in number, — have helped to familiarize the pupils with the best works of the best composers. The very atmosphere of such a thronged and busy musical beehive cannot be without some influence. This Conservatory has for several years been supplemented by a musical department in the Boston University, in which advanced pupils, — under the same director and essentially the same corps of teachers, — study with a view to practical musicianship. The piano-forte class, under the care of Mr. J. C. D. Parker, has shown sometimes remarkable proficiency.

Among the music schools of Boston, the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind has from the first stood high.[1] In age it ranks them all. From its very infancy, in 1832, its far-seeing, philanthropic founder, Dr. S. G. Howe, felt the importance of compensation for the want of sight through finer cultivation of the sense of hearing, and knew the peculiar aptness of the blind for music. Here again we meet at the threshold, as first music teacher, Dr. Lowell Mason (1833). He was succeeded, about 1840, by that able and earnest musical educationist and journalist of the Academy days, Mr. Theodore Hach. Then came the lamented Joseph Keller; then for nine years Mr. Anton Werner, followed by Carl Ansorge, — all faithful, excellent instructors. But the department received a new

[1] [See the chapter on "Education," in the present volume. — Ed.]

impulse and expansion, and its standard was greatly raised, during the War of the Rebellion, under the administration of Mr. F. J. Campbell, himself blind from the age of three, an accomplished and intelligent musician having a genius for organization. He made himself acquainted with all the musical activities and principal musicians of the city; and every opportunity was given to the pupils of hearing the oratorio, symphony, and other high-class concerts. Their own proficiency as organists, pianists, and chorus singers was strikingly exhibited in their occasional concerts, or before chance visitors. Some of them were equal to the rendering of great fugues of Bach, sonatas of Beethoven, etc. Their programmes, indeed, were and have ever since been of a high and classical character. Their band of brass and reeds has won favor wherever it has been heard. Mr. Campbell's ambition, seconded by Dr. Howe, was to build up a complete national college of music for the blind in America; but meanwhile, travelling in Europe, he fell in with the blind physician, Dr. T. R. Armitage, in London, who had conceived a similar idea. They joined forces, and from their eloquent appeals and energetic labors sprang the Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind at Upper Norwood, Surrey, near the Crystal Palace, under the patronage of Queen Victoria, the Prince and Princess of Wales, etc., and very liberally endowed. Mr. Campbell was placed at its head in 1872, and it is still carried on with signal success under his direction, with a corps of teachers nearly all recruited from our Perkins Institution here. Music is pursued there in the highest sense of art, as is shown by its programmes, in which such artists as Von Bülow, W. H. Cummings, etc., have sometimes participated.

Mr. Campbell's place here has been well filled by Mr. Thomas Reeves, also blind, under whom the musical department has not only held its own, but gained important ground. For a number of years the tuning of pianos has been a special study with not a few of these pupils, to whom it opens a means of livelihood. Under a highly intelligent blind instructor, Mr. J. W. Smith, they become not only expert tuners, but can take apart and put together the mechanism of the instrument, and keep it in repair. For several years all the pianos in the public schools of Boston have been intrusted to these blind tuners.

Meanwhile, music in the University has overtaken and outrun the dream of those early founders of the Harvard Musical Association. Harvard has her chair of music, on an equal footing with the rest, worthily filled and fruitful in results. Mr. John Knowles Paine of Portland, Me., after long and earnest studies in Berlin, returned to this country in the autumn of 1861; gave admirable evidences of his mastery of the organ, especially in the great school of Bach; was shortly afterward employed at Harvard to succeed the lamented Levi P. Homer as college organist and musical instructor; was appointed "Adjunct" Professor of Music in 1873, and was raised to the full professorship in 1875. His earlier functions at the University were limited by the want of funds for such a branch; and the idea

itself of the true functions of a musical professor had to be gradually wrought out and defined experimentally as he went on. Yet he contrived, by his own zeal and example, to awaken an earnest interest for music in many of the students, and to increase the general faith in music by good concerts and by the new dignity and worth which he imparted to the musical side of academic anniversaries, inaugurations, and memorial services. With the professorship came formal recognition of music as a branch in the curriculum, as one of the "elective" studies. Professor Paine's classes are carried through four several courses, which occupy from three to four years according to the progress of the student. These are (1) Harmony; (2) Counterpoint; (3) History of Music; and (4) Musical Form and Analysis, with exercises in Canon, Fugue, Sonatas, etc. The number of students in these four "electives" for some years has averaged thirty. It is now about twice that number. Each year has elicited several highly creditable original compositions in some of the higher forms, by pupils of these classes. In two instances has a baccalaureate received "honors" (*summos honores*) on account of musical proficiency. Several young men have pursued their musical studies with the professor after graduation, and have, on the ground of a satisfactory examination in the same, received the degree of Master of Arts. These have stepped at once into the practice of the musical profession.

The completion of her grand Memorial Hall, by the addition of the Sanders Theatre, gave to Harvard a well-nigh perfect room for musical performances, attractive to the eye, convenient to an audience of nearly fifteen hundred persons, and excellent acoustically. The musical professor of course was not slow to avail himself of these advantages; and for several winters the Theatre has been the scene of noble concerts, both of orchestral and chamber music, in the course of which Professor Paine's two symphonies have been produced, setting the seal upon his inventive genius and learning as a true composer. His crowning achievement, however, has been in the orchestral and choral music which he has composed for the performance in the Greek, by students, of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, — a triumph of artistic zeal, skill, and thoroughness without example in this country, and too fresh in the minds of all who witnessed it or read of it to require more here than a mere word of mention.

And now that our old University has its musical professor, its noble theatre for music, its earnest students of the art and science, its fledgling composers even, — shall not the evolution go on until there shall be a full faculty of music, as there is of medicine, of theology, of science? Thus would be practically solved the problem of the true Conservatory, or complete school of music, with that guarantee of disinterestedness and of permanence which only an established university can give.

We should now do well, if there were time, to step down for a moment from these heights of art and watch beginnings in the very nursery. We

should look into the public schools, where singing has been taught on a progressive system, from the youngest primaries upward, both by rote and note, for at least forty years. This movement started rather vaguely, to be sure, contenting itself at first with demonstrating that all children, with a very few exceptions, only enough to "prove the rule," can be taught to sing. It was the assertion of a faith, rejected by our Puritan forefathers, in the musical nature of man. Starting in the early days of the Academy of Music, it has grown up into something which can properly be called a Boston institution; and if its principle is sound, the germ of a musical future is contained in it. But we are compelled to omit our brief sketch of its history.

Music in the schools has gone so far that it cannot go back. Generations are growing up sensitive to musical tones, knowing concord from discord, attentive to music when they hear it, interested in it, able to sing somewhat with pleasure to themselves and others, and to read simple music. What a contrast to the dearth of opportunity in those old Puritanic days when a child, had he the genius of a Beethoven in him, found not the slightest sympathy to call it out! Look on that picture and on this! There pleasantness was sin, and the undying musical nature of man (as real as the religious, the intellectual, the social nature) was only part of the original depravity. Here you have stepped into a public school,—say in one of the poorer quarters of the city,—during the lesson by Mr. Holt or Mr. Sharland; you hear the singing and catch the quick, intelligent replies of class after class of girls of eight, nine, ten years old, whose pale complexions tell of homes of poverty in crowded lanes. This is the bright hour of their week,—the hour of higher life and consciousness, of innocent delight and sense of a new power and freedom; and they gain more and more of this inspiring and uplifting resource as they pass through the older Grammar and the High School classes, until they are prepared to be absorbed into the vocal clubs, and renovate the oratorio chorus with fresh voices and more skill in music than their fathers had. Surely we have made progress; and so long as we are faithful to our public schools, music, and music's benign influence, will not die out among us.

Here we must make an end. The story is by no means complete; it is full of omissions of worthy names which have escaped us, and of some topics, important in the eyes of many, which have had to pass unmentioned, since it would be impossible to treat them all in less than a whole volume. But if we have in any degree succeeded in making clear the unity of movement from the beginning to the present in the musical development of Boston, then the history itself, imperfectly as here set forth, should furnish motive for still higher effort in the same direction. The musical past of Boston, if she will truly read it in the light of the idea which can be traced through all the stages of its progress, is to be cherished as the warrant of a providential mission, a pledge to higher duty, and the promise of a fairer future.

RESULTS. — And now from the height that we have reached let us survey the actual position. Among many good signs it is enough to note these few: —

1. Boston is self-dependent now for oratorio festivals, for symphony performances, cantatas, pianists, violin school, chamber-music, — all save opera.

2. For two years the whole musical community has been engrossed in "the orchestral problem," — how to have a permanent orchestra, — now in a fair way of immediate solution through the noble enterprise of Mr. Higginson, in addition to the earlier societies.

3. It is matter of common remark, that, during the past social season musical parties and reunions — often of a high and classical character, employing a Beethoven Quartet Club, etc. — have been on the whole the most frequent form of "society."

4. The vocal clubs (Apollo, Boylston, Cecilia), which began with part-song singing, find more delight in giving larger works — cantatas and the like — in their integrity, with orchestra.

5. Boston has outgrown apparently the childish ambition for "monster" musical festivals on an unprecedented scale of magnitude, and has settled down upon the more musical, artistic, satisfying plan of periodical oratorio festivals as an institution, within the limits of true art and common-sense.

6. We have now our own composers, in whom we can take pride; the chief of whom, as musical professor, represents music at last accepted among the branches of higher culture in our ancient University, and one chief aspiration of the Harvard Musical Association realized.

7. The very marked improvement in the tone of musical literature and criticism, particularly in the daily and the weekly press, rendering the struggling musical journals, as such, almost superfluous, unless on some more comprehensive plan of means and men.

8. And meanwhile the nursery, down in our youngest schools and upward, where instruction in the rudiments of vocal music has become a nearly uniform, progressive institution which there is every motive to develop and perfect, — this, should all else fail, contains for us the seed of "music of the future."

John S. Dwight

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHITECTURE IN BOSTON.

BY CHARLES A. CUMMINGS.

THE interest which attaches to the early houses and other buildings of the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay comes, it must be confessed, rather from association than from any intrinsic quality as of beauty or picturesqueness in the buildings themselves. The Puritan was no lover of beauty in any form; and in his sombre memories the greater or lesser glories of that English architecture with which his eyes had been familiar in his earlier home were but the blazonry of "low ambition and the pride of kings." He was, however, a lover of good and comfortable living; and as soon as the immediate pressure of poverty was lifted, he began to provide himself, in place of the log-houses with which for a time he had been fain to content himself, with dwellings in which as much as possible of the old English comfort might be had, and which wore both within and without an air of characteristic neatness, order, and substantial thrift.

Of these early dwellings the materials for illustration are extremely scanty. In the towns, they were promptly destroyed one after another by the frequently recurring conflagrations which the great house-fires, burning in chimneys of logs rudely plastered with mud or clay, invited, and which the thatched roofs rendered nearly impossible to arrest. In the account of Dankers and Sluyter, who travelled through the colony as late as 1680, we read: "All the houses are made of small, thin, cedar shingles, nailed against frames, and then filled in with brick and other stuff; and so are their churches. For this reason these towns are so liable to fires, as have already happened several times; and the wonder to me is that the whole city has not been burnt down, so light and dry are the materials." This danger was not unappreciated at the outset, as may be seen by a passage in a letter of Governor Dudley written as early as 1631, shortly after the burning of Mr. Sharp's house in Boston.[1] Having spoken of the liability to quick

[1] "About noon the chimney of Mr. Sharpe's house in Boston took fire (the splinters not being clayed at the top), and taking the thatch, burnt it down; and the wind being northwest drove the fire to Colburn's house, being —— rods off, and burnt that down also; yet they saved most of their goods." — Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. i.

and disastrous fires, he continues thus: "For the prevention whereof in our new town, intended this Summer to be builded, we have ordered that no man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented to."[1] The order had, however, little more than the force of a recommendation, and, though "assented to," was not generally obeyed. We do not, indeed, after a little time hear further of wooden chimneys; but the roofs of the commoner houses continued for many years to be covered with thatch.[2]

The earliest houses were naturally of a single story, and of the simplest plan, construction, and design. When the dignity of an additional story was attained, the backward slope of the roof was carried down to a height of eight or ten feet from the ground, generally covering the kitchen; and this feature afforded the one touch of unconscious picturesqueness which redeems the prosaic ugliness of the Puritan houses. The view of the Curtis homestead in Roxbury, given in Vol. I. p. 406, will serve to remind the reader of the effect of this familiar form of roof. Now and then the backward slope was broken at the level of the front eaves, and carried down at a lower pitch, as in the Aspinwall house in Brookline (Vol I. p. 221), or the Pierce and Tolman houses in Dorchester (Vol. I. pp. 431–434).

When greater accommodation was required without enlargement of the area within the walls, the roof, hitherto of low pitch, changed its form radically, starting from the walls at a pitch of sixty degrees or more, and changing at mid-height to a slope of half that angle. This is the gambrel-roof, so called, identical in profile with the mansard roof which prevailed in the French architecture of the seventeenth century, but differing from the mansard in that the ends were always gabled. Occasionally the lower slope of the gambrel was carried down a story lower on the back,—as in the Yeaman house in Revere (Vol. I. p. 448), or the house in Willow Court, Dorchester (Vol. II. p. 361). In rare instances the slope of the roof is broken up by gables, as in the Aspinwall house (Vol. I. p. 221).

Whatever variety is discoverable among the houses of this neighborhood during the first fifty years after the establishment of the colony, arises from the adoption of one or another of these forms of roof. The material was the same in all,—a heavy timber frame, generally of oak, smoothly boarded over and covered with clapboards, so that although there was frequently in fact great massiveness and solidity of construction, there was none in appearance.[3] Below the eaves there was no variation from the simple rectangular

[1] Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. i.

[2] The great fire of 1679, which destroyed one hundred and fifty buildings, convinced the citizens of the dangerous character of the prevailing construction, and the General Court then passed the first Building Act in the history of the town. See Mr. Smith's chapter in Vol. I. p. 231.

[3] A letter from Samuel Symonds to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1637, gives particular directions concerning the plan and construction of a house he was about building at Ipswich: "I would have wood chimnyes at each end, the frames of the chimnyes to be stronger than ordinary, to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimnyes be all the breadth of the howse, if you think good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the howse, one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dorewaies in every place be soe high that any man may goe vpright vnder. It makes noe great matter

mass. There were no accessory features, — no spacious porches, verandas, balconies, to give individuality to the dwelling. In the closely built streets of the towns occasional variations from this rigid simplicity are to be observed, — as the multiplication of gables, the overhang of the second story,[1] and the occasional use of rough-cast on the exterior wall, — features which were all combined in the quaint old building in Dock Square, built in 1680, of which a view is given in Vol. I. p. 547. The internal plan was nearly invariable, — a narrow entry, opening from the middle of the front, giving access to square rooms on either hand. In the smaller houses this entry was just deep enough to allow space for the doors to the front rooms between the outside door and the square-framed staircase leading to the bed-rooms above. Behind the stairs a great chimney, with cavernous fireplaces back to back, opened to each room, and rose in square and simple dignity from the middle of the roof. In houses of greater pretension the entry was broader and ran through the house from front to rear, the stairs having a straight run on one side, and the great central chimney being replaced by two smaller ones between the front and back rooms on either side, or by single stacks on the side walls. The stateliest mansions of the colonial period did not get beyond this simple plan.[2]

But as wealth increased and the grimness of Puritan life relaxed, and the social life of Boston took on the aspect of a little court around the royal governors, the pride of the wealthy found expression in a class of houses of which some few examples still remain, though the best of them have long since fallen before the march of trade, or, with less reason, through the indifference of their owners. The work for the most part of English artificers, these houses followed, so far as the ornamental features were concerned, the fashion of the day in England.[3] The English renaissance, which had received the impress of such men as Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren, was therefore the source from which sprang the modest architecture of New England. Its richness and stateliness were beyond the reach of the

though there be noe particion vpon the first flore; if there be, make one biger than the other. For windows, let them not be overlarge in any room, and as few as conveniently may be; let all have current shutting draw-windows, having respect both to present and future use. . . . In the garett noe particion, but let there be one or two lucome windows, — if two, both on one side. . . . I would have the howse stronge in timber, though plaine and well brased. I would have it covered with very good oak-hart, inch board *for the present*, to be tacked on only for the present, as you tould me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the sellar and soe in the ordinary way vpright, for I can hereafter, to save the timber within ground, run vp a thin brick-work without . . ." — 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll*, vii. [For other notes on early buildings see Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, ch. xlviii. — Ed.]

[1] [See picture of the old house in Vol. I. p. 551. — Ed.]

[2] [Other samples of early colonial houses may be noted in the Cradock house in Medford, built in 1639, delineated in Brooks's *History of Medford*, 1855; in Bryant and Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, ii. 382; in S. A. Drake's *History of Middlesex County*, ii. 162; and in Whitefield's *Homes of our Forefathers*, 1879. Also Governor Bradstreet's house, in *New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, i. 75; houses in Palfrey's *History of New England*, ii. 59–62; and still others in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, i. 522; ii. 31, 37, 46; iii. 122, and in various local histories. — Ed.]

[3] John Dunton, in his *Letters from New England*, in 1686, says: . . . "And when any new houses are built they are made conformable to our new buildings in London since the fire."

colonists, but its characteristic elegance and grace of ornament were not unworthily represented in many of the details, both exterior and interior, of the dwellings, the churches, and the public buildings of the principal New England towns. The illustrations given in previous volumes of this work of the Province house, built as early as 1679, the Clark, or Frankland house, built about 1735, the Hancock house, in 1737, and the mansion of Governor Shirley in Roxbury, in 1748 (all illustrated in earlier chapters of this work,), will serve as well as more numerous examples to express the outward character of these old mansions.[1] There was really not much architecture about them, but what there was was unobtrusive and simple, and worn with a certain dignity which is perhaps more charming to us from its contrast to the ambitious and fidgety performances of later and more learned generations. Their interior decoration was commonly confined to one or two of the principal rooms and to the main staircase. A low wainscoting with square panels and with due cap and base, a light classic cornice of plaster or wood, often with dentils or modillions, a broad and high mantel of wood enclosing the ample fireplace, the chimney-breast above faced with a large panel, very simple dressings to doors and windows, — this was generally the extent of the elaboration bestowed on the finish of the best rooms. Now and then, as in the Frankland and Hancock houses, the panelled wainscoting was carried to the ceiling. More rarely the panelling on the chimney-breast was enriched by an attenuated order of pilasters. However much or little decoration was afforded, the details were almost invariably delicate and refined; the errors were all on the side of smallness and reserve, never on the side of coarseness. The great staircase was sure to be the object of as much elaborateness of ornament as could be afforded. The carved and panelled ends of the steps, the panelled soffits, the ingeniously twisted newels and balusters of many of these old staircases are favorite subjects for the sketch-books of architectural draughtsmen, and are copied with scrupulous exactness in the most carefully studied work of the present day.[2]

In the first churches of the Puritan settlers in Boston it is impossible to feel any other interest than that of an antiquarian or a descendant.[3] If the earliest dwellings were bare, prosaic, and ugly, these were more so in proportion to their greater size and conspicuousness. Less attractive buildings, perhaps, never cumbered the ground. They recall the saying of Thoreau concerning the houses of Cape Cod: "They are little removed from lumber; only Eastern stuff disguised with white paint, — the least interesting kind of drift-wood." It is then not a matter of poignant regret that no representations exist of the two wooden meeting-houses which stood, the one

[1] [Views of the houses referred to are given in Vol. II. pp. 89, 527, Vol. III. p. 202, and frontispiece to Vol. II., respectively; and other examples may be found in Vol II., the Faneuil house, p. 523, the Bromfield house, p 521; and in Vol. III., the Wadsworth house, p. 107, Craigie house, p. 112, Elmwood, p. 114. — ED.]

[2] [There is a view of the Hutchinson house in the *American Magazine*, ii. 237 (1834). See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1881. — ED.]

[3] [The oldest meeting-house in this part of the country is that still standing at Hingham, of which a view is given in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, ii. 58. — ED.]

in King Street, the other hard by in Marlboro' Street; and the latter of which, burned in 1711, was replaced by a brick building on the same site, of which a view is given in Vol. II. p. 219 of this work. The new structure expressed the growing resources of the community, but did not give evidence of an increase of architectural enlightenment. It was not until a more genial spirit began to pervade the life of the colony, exhibited in the increased elegance of the dwelling-houses, that the desire was felt for some amelioration in the aspect of the house of worship. The first evidences of this feeling are to be seen in Christ Church in Salem Street, built in 1723, and the Old South, which followed seven years later.[1] In the former of these a visible attempt was for the first time made to give to the small interior something of the ecclesiastical aspect which belonged to an English church. The pilasters which supported the side galleries were carried up to the roof, making a division into nave and side aisles, of which the former was ceiled in the form of a segmental vault, while the latter were covered with transverse vaults of similar form between the pilasters. A modest chancel brought the church into essential conformity with the ancient models. In the Old South Meeting-house, on the other hand, the Puritan form was rigidly maintained. The pulpit, with its ponderous sounding-board, was raised high on the side wall to command the two galleries; the interior was undivided, the flat ceiling unbroken. Within the walls of the two houses the distinction between the Episcopal and the Congregational worship was thus plainly marked. On the exterior, however, the distinction disappeared. The Puritan contempt for architectural splendor had, in a hundred years of prosperity, at length given way. Christ Church had adorned its simple front with a lofty wooden steeple of the style invented by Wren after the great fire of London. The Old South followed the example and reared a more imposing steeple in the same style, which remains to this day substantially unchanged. The steeple of Christ Church was blown down in a gale in 1805, and replaced by another of somewhat lesser height. In both these instances, as in all the churches for a hundred years later, the architectural ambition of the builders was satisfied by the steeple. The body of the church remained as plain and clumsy as the Old Brick itself. No attempt was made, beyond the occasional elaboration of the eaves into a classic cornice, to soften the square and barren outline or to adorn the parts.

In 1749 the King's Chapel was built from the designs of Peter Harrison, an English architect, pupil of Sir John Vanbrugh, and in his youth employed with that master on the works at Blenheim. Harrison after coming to America had found some opportunity at Newport to exercise his talents, and had built there, among other buildings, the Redwood Library. His design for the King's Chapel included a lofty steeple, which had to be omitted for lack of funds. The peristyle which surrounds the base of the tower was also omitted for the same reason, but was added in 1790. The

[1] See illustrations of these in Vol. II. pp. 509–515.

interior was the first in the colony to exhibit real architectural merit. Its only conspicuous defect is lack of height, compelling an awkward treatment of the ceiling, which, however, is not enough to destroy the general impression of dignity and repose.[1]

Brattle Square was the last of the colonial churches.[2] It was built in 1772, with a squat and ugly exterior, unredeemed by any steeple, but with an interior not very unlike that of King's Chapel. The London churches of Wren, Gibbs, and Hawksmoor were the models from which these interiors were studied, and they were by no means unworthy examples of the style of those masters.

Of the early public buildings, properly so called, the list is limited to two, — the Old State House, and Faneuil Hall. Of both these edifices sufficient accounts are given in a previous chapter of this work.[3] Neither of them presents to our eyes the aspect it wore to those who saw it built; yet in both enough of the original character remains to entitle them to a careful and scrupulous protection from further change. The first town-house dates from about 1657. It occupied the same site still covered by its successor. It was of wood, "built upon pillars in the middle of the town," says Dunton, "where their merchants meet and confer every day." This building, of which no representation exists so far as is known, was burned in 1711. A new one of brick was at once erected, and was in its turn partially destroyed by fire in 1747. The walls, however, did not fall, and the house was rebuilt without delay, in the form with which every one who knows Boston is familiar; changed, indeed, radically as to the interior, and outwardly in many important respects, but still retaining the most picturesque and characteristic features of its early days, — its broken gables at either end, its tower rising in three diminishing stages from the middle of the long roof, — features of which its admirable position greatly enhances the effect. A sundial formerly occupied the place of the clock in the east gable, the lion and the unicorn ramped in place of the unmeaning scrolls on either side. The simple pitched roof, rising to a ridge, has given way to a clumsy mansard, in obedience to the sordid demand for rentable offices, in addition to those which had before been carved out of the historic chambers below. Worse than all, an intermittent pressure has been now for some years maintained for the removal of the building, which stands in the way of the impatient traffic of State Street. More than once it has seemed clear that this vulgar clamor, which discredits the commercial intelligence not less than the patriotic sentiment of the city, would prevail, and that the venerable monument was doomed; but a truer feeling has of late been growing strong in the community, and it now seems probable that the Old State House will be carefully preserved for many generations to come.

[1] [A view is given in Vol. II. p. 498. Harrison had come over with Smibert, and after returning to England, he came back to Boston, and married and died here. — ED.]

[2] A model of this house is in the gallery of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

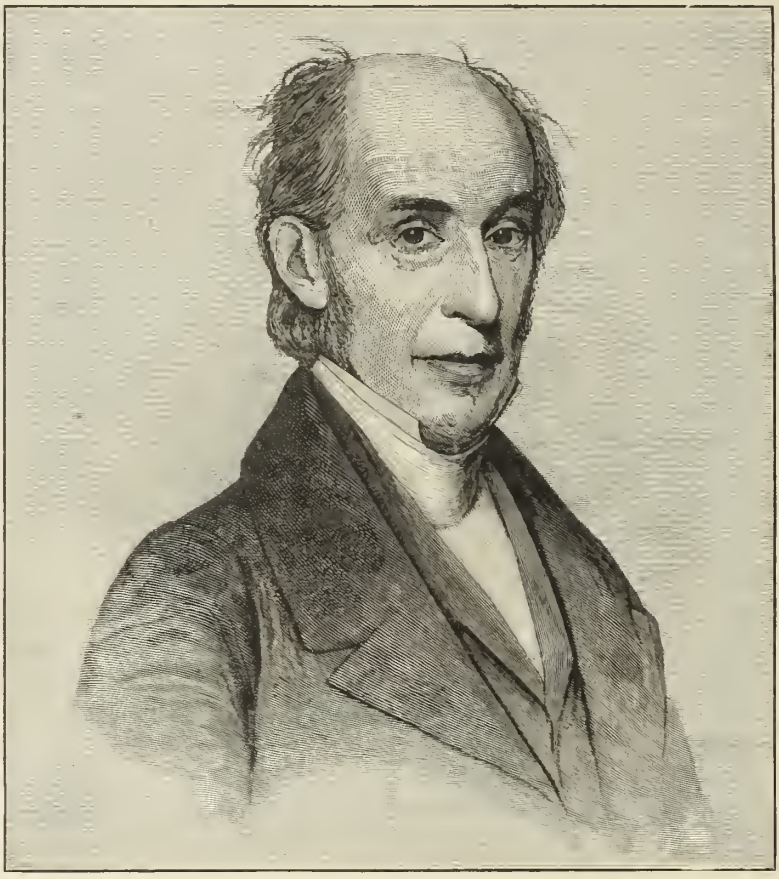
[3] See Vol. II. p. 507; also, Vol. IV. p. 12.

The small building, measuring forty feet in width and a hundred in length, which Peter Faneuil gave to the town of Boston in 1742, and of which John Smibert, the painter of portraits, was the architect, has grown in breadth and height into a much more imposing edifice, though its character has not been otherwise materially changed. This was, perhaps, the first building in the town in which the architecture was, so to speak, spread over the whole surface instead of being confined to one or two prominent parts.[1] In the dwelling-houses a little decoration of the front door-way, a main cornice, and in exceptional cases pilasters at the corners satisfied the architectural requirements. In the churches the external treatment was always confined to the steeple. Even in the Old State House, the end-walls and the central tower were the only portions of the exterior which received much attention, the architecture of the long sides being limited to the dressings of the central door-ways; but in Faneuil Hall, all portions of the exterior received substantially the same treatment, — round arched windows and door-ways, with engaged pilasters between, carrying entablatures at the height of the various stories. As originally built, the ground story was a market, with open arches, and the hall in the second story was somewhat low. The alterations of 1806 doubled the width of the building and the height of the hall, the present galleries being then added at the height of the old ceiling. On the exterior a third order of pilasters and arches was thus added to the two of the original edifice; and the increase of size being unaccompanied by any variation either in outline or in detail, and the arches of the ground-floor being closed by doors and windows, a certain blankness and monotony of effect was the result, which did not belong to the old hall, and which has not been ameliorated by painting the walls of a dusty brown color.

The troubled times which preceded the Revolution put a stop to building, and checked the steady growth of taste and luxury. For a full generation scarcely any addition of importance or interest was made to the architectural worthies of the town or its suburbs. The return of peace found a people impoverished and fatigued, and with quite other things to do than to indulge a pleasant taste in building. It was near the end of the century before the burden of poverty and depression was measurably lightened. With the gradual increase of the population of the town and the return of prosperity, building was resumed with vigor. Architecturally speaking, this was a critical period in the town's history. A difference is to be observed in the tone and manners of the community; the repose and *naïveté* of the provincial times has given place to a more or less conscious ambition as of metropolitan style. It was then by a singular good fortune that the unrecognized profession of architecture should have been at precisely this moment seriously adopted for the first time in New England by a young man of education and taste, whose love for his calling was genuine

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 267. — Ed.]

and steadfast enough to maintain him for forty years in a career which was more fruitful in honor to himself and to the town in which he lived than in pecuniary profit.



— from your affectionate Father
Charles Bulfinch —

Charles Bulfinch, born in Boston in 1763, was graduated at Cambridge in 1781, and entered a counting-room; where, the business of the town being paralyzed by the war, then but just beginning to promise a successful issue, he employed his abundant leisure in reading such works on archi-

[1] [This cut follows a likeness drawn in ink, taken late in life, and owned by Mrs. Stephen G. Bulfinch of Cambridge, who also possesses a portrait in oils painted in London in 1786, and a miniature by Malbone, made about 1788. — ED.]

tecture as were then accessible. From time to time he found modest opportunity for exercising his taste for building, in repairing his father's and his neighbors' houses, which during the dark days had been suffered to fall out of condition. At the age of twenty-one he went abroad and travelled for a year or two in England and on the Continent, where, as was natural, his taste for architecture was greatly stimulated. The great monuments excited him; it is even related that in St. Peter's he was moved to tears. He bought himself many architectural books, and in due time came home with, as may be supposed, his career quite clearly determined in his own mind. His first work was the monumental column on the summit of Beacon Hill, which owed its existence to his patriotic enthusiasm and energy, and of which the tablets with their inscriptions, preserved in the State House, are all which now remain. Its brief immortality was not proof against the enterprise which cut away the hill on which it stood.[1] When in 1793 the first theatre in Boston was projected, Mr. Bulfinch furnished the design, which appears from the accounts in the newspapers of the day to have been carried out with much completeness and even elegance. Of the exterior we can form some judgment from the medal[2] which was struck at the completion of the enterprise in recognition of the services rendered by the architect, and which bore on one face an elevation of the front on Federal Street, evidently reduced from the architect's drawing, and on the obverse the following inscription: —

THE BULFINCH MEDAL.[3]

"Presented by the Proprietors of the Boston Theatre to Charles Bulfinch, Esq., for his unremitted and liberal attention in the plan and execution of that building, the Elegance of which is the best evidence of his Taste and Talents."

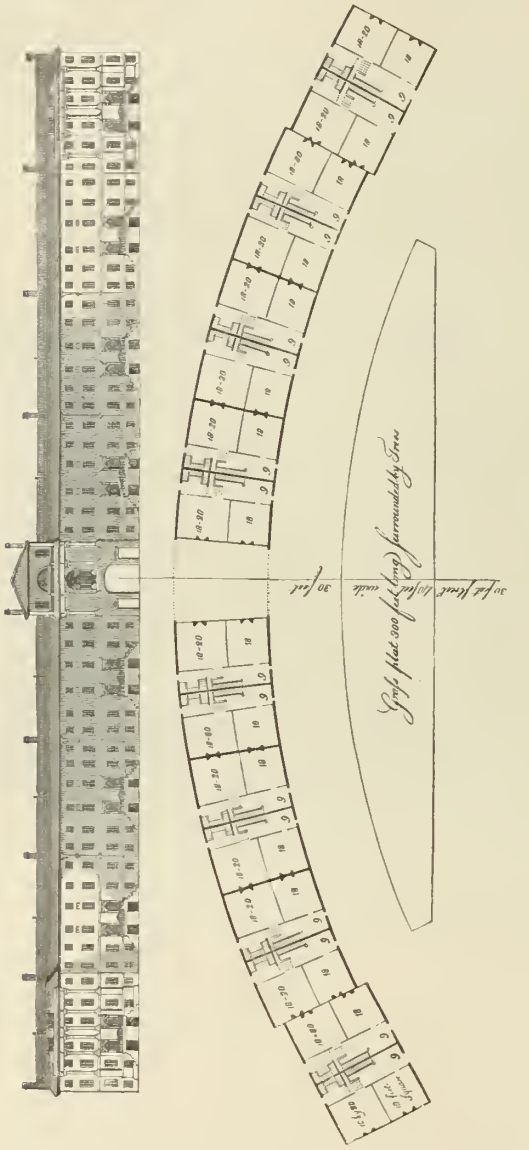
Nearly at the same time with the building of the theatre, Mr. Bulfinch joined with several other gentlemen in a speculation which resulted in the creation of Franklin Place, one of the most interesting features of the city during the earlier half of the century. The original plan embraced two similar crescents, enclosing a small grass-plat with a classic vase in the centre. Some difficulties in the way of obtaining the necessary land made it

[1] [See Vol. IV. pp, 64, 65. — ED.]

[2] [Also from the cut in the present volume, p. 363. — ED.]

[3] [This cut follows the original, kindly lent by Mrs. Stephen G. Bulfinch, of Cambridge. — ED.]

necessary to substitute for the northerly crescent a straight line; but the plan was in other respects successfully carried out. This was the first attempt in Boston at building residences in blocks. Until then the pleasant fashion of setting every house by itself, enclosed by its more or less ample grounds, had been consistently followed. The new buildings were, however, arranged with much skill and good taste, the long line of the crescent being broken in the centre by an archway thrown over an entering street, and the sky-line being judiciously varied by the superior elevation of the centre and the end wings. The houses were of ample size, with a generous and convenient disposition of rooms, and were for half a century among the most desirable dwellings in the city. But the immediate result of the enterprise was disastrous. The growth of the town, though marked and gratifying, was not yet sufficient to warrant the erection of so large a number of expensive dwellings. Heavy mortgages were followed by forced sales at ruinous prices, and Mr. Bulfinch saw himself reduced to bankruptcy. His professional standing was, however, not affected by this misfortune, and his practice rapidly increased. The Masaschusetts



THE TONTINE BUILDINGS.[1]

[1] [For some account of the Tontine Crescent, as Franklin Place was originally called, see Quincy's *Municipal History of Boston*, p. 26; and *Boston Almanac*, 1859. A view of the Tontine Buildings is given in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, February, 1794; and is reproduced in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 66, as well as in the present cut. A perspective view is given on p. 363. It was the first brick block built in Boston. The first block of stone buildings was that in Brattle Street. The urn, erected to Franklin's memory in the little Green in the middle of the street.

State House was his next work. The government of the State had outgrown the little building at the head of State Street, and on July 4, 1795, the corner-stone of the new edifice on Beacon Hill, drawn to the spot by fifteen white horses, was laid by the Governor and the Grand Master with great pomp and ceremony. The original design suffered in some degree from the shortening of the wings; but in spite of this injury, and of the too slight elevation of the dome above the roof, the building has a simplicity and dignity which disarm criticism, and which, combined with its admirable site, give it in a remarkable degree the character of a public monument.[1]

Mr. Bulfinch's practice now included public and private buildings of almost every description. The Roman Catholic Cathedral[2] in Franklin Street, the New North Church in Hanover Street, and the New South on Church Green at the intersection of Summer and Bedford Streets were built from his designs. The last named was a peculiarly attractive church, octagonal in plan, built of white granite, with a classic portico of four Doric columns, surmounted by a graceful steeple one hundred and ninety feet high. The last of his churches was that in Federal Street, in which for the first and only time he tried the experiment of a Gothic spire, with an unfortunate result. All these churches have long since disappeared. The new steeple of Christ Church in Salem Street was also by Mr. Bulfinch.[3]

The Massachusetts General Hospital; the County Court House, afterward used as the City Hall, which occupied the site of the present City Hall in School Street; the Boylston Market; University Hall at Cambridge; most of the granite buildings on the north side of State Street; the long range of dwelling-houses which occupied that portion of Tremont Street from West Street to Mason Street, known as Colonnade Row, — these are some of his most important buildings Before building the Massachusetts Hospital, and the Insane Asylum at South Boston which was undertaken at about the same time, Mr. Bulfinch made a visit to several other cities to inspect similar institutions. At Washington he had some pleasant intercourse with President Monroe, then just elected to office. The next year the President on his Northern tour made some stay in Boston, where Mr. Bulfinch, chairman of the selectmen of the town, received him officially and showed him his various works. Of all this reciprocal civility the result was, in no long time, the appointment of Mr. Bulfinch as architect of the Capitol at Washington, which had been half burned by the British in the late war. In this honorable position he remained a resident of the capital for a dozen years, returning to Boston in 1830. He was now growing an old man. The only conspicuous building from his hand after his return from Washington was the State House at Augusta, Maine, which was similar in its general design

was, upon its removal, placed upon Bulfinch's grave at Mount Auburn. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 383. — Ed.]

[1] [See representations of it, before it received the modern extensions, in a cut and heliotype given in the supplementary notes to Mr. Stanwood's chapters in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See view of it in Vol. III. p. 516. — Ed.]

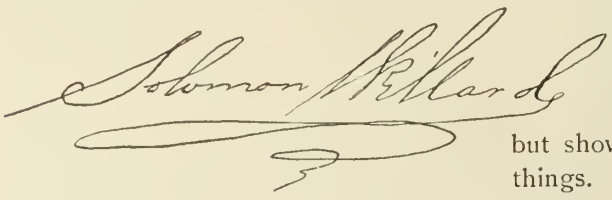
[3] [It is shown in the view of the church in Vol. II. p. 509. — Ed.]

to that of Boston, but smaller. Mr. Bulfinch died in 1844, at the age of eighty. The first professional architect of Boston, holding his modest way through a long life without the stimulus of competition or the encouragement of good-fellowship; without the resources of technical training or the equipment of illustrated examples of every style now ready to the hand of every beginner, — his name is in the highest degree worthy of remembrance and honor by the profession which has followed him and by the community in which he lived so long.

During the first fifteen years of Mr. Bulfinch's practice in Boston he had the field to himself. But the growth of the town was steady and rapid, and the number of prominent buildings erected from year to year was soon too great to be embraced within the care of a single architect. Of some of the most important of these it is now impossible to discover the designer. This is the case with the Exchange Coffee House in Congress Street, near to State Street, built in 1808, and an object of great local pride as the finest hotel in the country. It was seven stories high, and covered an area of more than twelve thousand feet. Its front was one hundred and thirty-two feet long, and was adorned with six lank marble pilasters on a rustic basement, supporting an entablature with a central pediment. The plan showed a great central area, or court, forty by seventy feet, extending eighty-three feet high to the roof, lighted by a dome and surrounded by porticos of twenty columns on each floor, from which opened the rooms of the hotel, — evidently a very grand establishment. Its splendor was short-lived, the building being burned to the ground in 1818.[1]

The meeting-houses of Park Street and Hollis Street were built in 1810 and 1811. Like the others of their class their only pretension to be ranked as architectural works lies in their steeples, both of which are of unusual height and of remarkable grace of composition. Park Street was built from the designs of Peter Bonner, an English architect, of whom little is remembered. He built the fine mansion of Eben Crafts, still standing on the northerly slope of Parker Hill in Roxbury. The architect of Hollis Street is, I believe, not known.

One of the earliest of the architects who came in time to share the field with Bulfinch was Solomon Willard, who — born in Petersham, Massachusetts, in 1783, the son of the village carpenter — learned in his father's shop the use of the tools, but showed a capacity for higher things. Before he was of age, we are told he had "mastered Euclid, and shown considerable expertness in mechanical inventions." At the age of twenty-one he came to Boston, working first at his trade of carpenter, but obtaining gradually a reputation as a carver in wood and stone, in which art he had apparently been his



[1] [See this volume, p. 55, and the view of the building, p. 58. — Ed.]

own instructor. He carved the Ionic capitals of St. Paul's, the wooden capitals of Park Street steeple, and the marble panels in the front of Mr. David Sears's house on Beacon Street (now occupied by the Somerset Club); he made a model in wood of the Capitol at Washington for Mr. Bulfinch, and models in plaster of the Parthenon at Athens and the Pantheon at Rome; he gave lessons in architecture and drawing; finally he appeared as an architect. In conjunction with Alexander Parris he built St. Paul's Church on Tremont Street. Shortly after, in 1825, he was selected by the Bunker Hill Monument Association, after much vacillation, as the architect of the obelisk. The history of the adoption of the design for this monument is curious. A portion of the committee were in favor of a reduction of Trajan's column, while the remainder were for an Egyptian obelisk. The latter carried the day, chiefly on the ground of its greater economy. Mr. Horatio Greenough presented a design and model for an obelisk a hundred feet high, raised on a plinth twenty feet high, approached by four flights of steps. This was finally rejected by the committee, and a design submitted by Willard for a shaft two hundred and twenty

SPIRE OF HOLLIS STREET MEETING-HOUSE.[1]

[1] [The previous building on this site was erected from a design by Bulfinch in 1787. It had two towers, and is shown in the *Columbian Magazine*, April, 1788, and in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, December, 1783. It forms the most conspicuous object in the view given in the

feet high, without accessories, was adopted and carried out.[1] Mr. Willard fixed upon a quarry in Quincy as likely to furnish stone of the desired quantity and quality, and purchased of Mr. Gridley Bryant for $325 the privilege of quarrying as much as might be required for the monument.[2] The United States Bank in State Street, a small granite building with the front of a Grecian Doric temple *in antis*, of which the columns, much reduced in size, now form a part of the façade of the Merchants' Bank building on the same site; and the County Court House, still standing in Court Square, a dismal prison, built in 1832, with two severe Doric porticos at the extremities, one of which has been removed, — these, with St. Paul's and the monument, were the chief works of Willard.

Alexander Parris was perhaps more engineer than architect; yet in Mr. Bonney's shop at Pembroke, where the boy was apprenticed to the carpenter's trade, the occupation of his leisure moments was the study of Nicholson's *Architecture*. At the close of his apprenticeship he removed to Portland, where he furnished designs for several important buildings. A little later we find him similarly engaged at Richmond. It was not until the close of the war with Great Britain in 1815 that he settled in Boston, where both as architect and engineer he occupied a prominent position for nearly thirty years. St. Paul's Church, referred to above as having been built by Parris in conjunction with Willard, was doubtless the best work of both. It presents to the street a simple Ionic hexastyle portico, with somewhat attenuated columns of freestone from Acquia Creek, and a pediment which it was intended to fill by a bas-relief representing Paul preaching at Athens. The requisite funds were, however, wanting for such a luxury as a sculptured pediment, and the rough blocks remain to this day to remind us of the loss. Had the design been carried out, another laurel might probably have been added to the brow of Willard. Parris built also the Quincy Market,[3] the Marine Hospital at Chelsea, the Arsenal buildings at Watertown, and many private buildings of which no record is at hand. He held for fifteen years the office of constructing engineer at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and was charged with many occasional duties outside that position, — as the construction of sea-walls on the islands of Boston Harbor, and several light-houses, beacons, and breakwaters on the New England coast. Mr. Parris died in 1852.

Asher Benjamin is less remembered for his buildings than for his books. His first work, long the sheet-anchor of house-builders throughout New England, was published as early as 1806 by Etheridge & Bliss in Boston, with this title: *The American Builder's Companion; the five orders of Architecture, with great alterations both in size and expense, etc., etc., by Asher Benjamin, Architect and Carpenter, and Daniel Rayner, Architect and Stucco-*

Massachusetts Magazine, November, 1790. This building, when the present structure was erected, was floated on a raft to East Braintree, where it became the place of worship of the Rev. Joseph Perkins's society. — ED.]

[1] [See the present volume, p. 403. — ED.]

[2] [See the chapter on "Canals and Railroads" in the present volume. — ED.]

[3] [See Vol. III. p. 228, for a perspective view of this structure. — ED.]

worker. This work ran through many editions, and was succeeded by the *Rudiments of Architecture*, the *Practice of Architecture*, the *Builder's Guide*, and last of all, in 1840, the *Architect; or, Practical House Carpenter.* These were what their titles implied, — practical guides to the builder who undertook the duties both of carpenter and architect; and from the faithful study of them grew the classic house-fronts and interior details of a generation to which systematic architectural education was as yet unknown.

Isaiah Rogers, a contemporary of Willard and Parris, was the architect of the Tremont House in 1828, and of the Merchants' Exchange in State Street a few years later, as of many less conspicuous buildings. It will be observed that this was the age in Boston of a sort of Greek revival, when not only churches like St. Paul's, and public buildings like the Court House, the Bank, and the Tremont House, but even dwelling-houses must be fitted out with a portico of columns in the severest cast of Doric. Often, as in the case of the Court House, this was the only attempt at architecture in the whole building; often, as in the case of innumerable suburban houses, the great wooden columns, three or four feet in diameter, were backed by a front wall pierced by three stories of parlor and bed-room windows. Perhaps no absurdity of fashion in architecture was ever more preposterous than this. Its foolishness had not yet been appreciated even as late as 1838, when the Boston Custom House, the most costly building at that time in the city, was begun. Its architect was Ammi B. Young, a man of much professional experience and ability, who was yet unable to perceive the incongruity of encumbering a building for the transaction of public business, requiring constant writing and constant perusal of papers, with such shadowy obstructions as porticos in the Grecian Doric style.

The Greek period was followed, as was natural, by the Gothic period. The Gothic spire of Federal Street, Bulfinch's only attempt in that direction, was not provocative of emulation, and remained long the solitary example; but about the year 1835 the Masonic Temple on Tremont Street, now the United States Court House, and Trinity Church in Summer Street, a massive structure of rough-hewn granite, with a low, square tower in the middle of the front,[1] opened the way for this new Gothic invasion. The results were rather more serious than in the case of the Greek revival, inasmuch as then the architects could conscientiously go to their books, and insure themselves against any too frightful solecisms by following the rules and proportions there laid down; but in the Gothic style there are no rules, and the untutored architects found themselves afloat on an uncertain sea without chart or compass. In an evil hour the fashion caught the suburban builders, and little boxes began to spring up all over Roxbury, Dorchester, and Brookline, in which the wooden skeletons were clothed with the most extravagant details into which wood could be tortured. This was believed to be the romantic style; but it was a style which, free from the restraint of

[1] [Traced partially in the view of its ruins in Vol. III. p. 457: also see p. 63 of the present volume. — ED.]

knowledge and training on the part of the architects, had neither convenience, beauty, economy, nor durability to recommend it, and it proved ephemeral.

The next style to obtain popular favor was what was commonly known as the "French roof" style. In country houses, where for some years it retained undisputed sway, it took the form of a cubical mass covered with a steep roof violently concave, hipped on all sides, and with a flat on top nearly as large as the area of the house. The French roof, so called, had at least convenience and economy on its side, since it afforded an upper story of rooms with upright walls, and nearly as large as those below. These were strong claims, and proved for many years irresistible. The great exemplar of this style was the Deacon House, built on Washington Street, about 1850, from the designs of a French architect, M. Lemoulnier. It was a villa of the *deuxième classe*, as the French would say, built of brick and set in an ample enclosure bounded by three streets, with square entrance-lodge, stable, and other accessories, carried out in a style of great completeness. Its plan was admirable, the disposition of rooms being generous and noble, and on a scale very unusual in this country, and its exterior was marked by great simplicity and breadth. But the examples of the French roof style which for twenty years multiplied so rapidly in all the suburban towns had for the most part a very small infusion of these qualities; clumsy in mass and unpicturesque in outline, their details were generally execrable, — the facility with which pine wood can be tortured into forms of "ornament" being a temptation too strong to be often resisted.

In the city, the street architecture of Bulfinch — as seen in the banking and insurance buildings of State Street still standing, and in the dwelling-houses of Franklin Place and Colonnade Row which have now disappeared — was invariably characterized by good taste and absence of ambition which make it easy to forgive a certain timidity and tameness which were the inevitable result of the slender resources at his command. For many years after his active practice in Boston came to an end, few examples of street architecture of conspicuous size or importance were erected. Somewhere about 1840 the pleasant streets to the eastward of Washington Street, which had been occupied by the old mansions and gardens of the past generations, began to be invaded by great blocks of warehouses, — massive but uninteresting piles of Quincy granite, of which the cold monotony was unrelieved except by an order of Greekish pilasters here and there carrying a flat entablature. The greater part of these buildings were swept away by the fire of 1872, but a few of them still remain near the head of Milk Street, which serve to show what the prevailing taste was forty years ago. Toward the year 1850, however, two buildings of nearly equal frontage were built, — the Boston Museum on Tremont Street and the Boston Athenæum on Beacon Street, which may be said to be the first since the days of Bulfinch to show a hopeful growth of architectural knowledge and capacity. The Boston Museum is built of granite, with three similar stories of round

arched windows, separated by strong belt-courses and crowned by a vigorous Italian *cornicione*. The Athenæum, of brown freestone, is a more pronounced example of a Palladian palace-front, with a high basement of rusticated piers and round arches carrying an order of Corinthian pilasters, with lofty windows between, embellished with pedimented caps. Both these buildings, though widely different in style, showed the adaptability of the Italian renaissance to the conditions and uses of modern life, and its effectiveness even on the smaller scale which those conditions permit.

Those were days when few costly private buildings were erected. The profession of architecture was as yet practically unrecognized, and the handful of young men who undertook to practise it had to contend against formidable obstacles, — an entire lack of confidence on the part both of clients and of builders, the absence of illustrative examples in design and construction, the want of elementary training and the stimulus of enlightened and generous competition. These depressing conditions were, however, soon to be greatly modified. Various influences conspired to produce a rapid amelioration in the position of architects as towards the general public. Of these influences none was probably more effective than the writings of Ruskin, which, as in the case of Carlyle twenty years earlier, were perhaps more promptly appreciated in America than in England. Making all due allowance for their exaggerated moral tone, their arrogance, their partial judgments, it must yet be admitted that the extraordinary vivacity, earnestness, and force of these writings stimulated to a remarkable degree the public interest in the subjects of which they treated, and brought about a corresponding increase of artistic perception, while often leaving the reader too much in the attitude of a partisan to admit of dispassionate judgment and criticism. The introduction of photography just at this time (or rather the rapid perfecting of its processes), and the great extension of foreign travel helped forward the artistic education of architects and the artistic cultivation of great numbers of those upon whom they must depend for encouragement and support.

The change first made itself felt in the architecture of the stores and warehouses which were the first visible results of the growing mercantile prosperity of the city. These were now characterized by greater ambition and a more apparent striving for effect. The well studied volumes which had for generations furnished the easily contented architects with the correct delineations of the Greek and Roman orders were now thrust aside. Photography had brought to our hand the examples of Rome and Florence, of Venice and Verona, of Paris and London. Northern Gothic, Southern Gothic, Romanesque, Renaissance, — the happy architect could "expatiate free o'er all this scene of man," confident that an appreciative community would salute each new monument as a new triumph.

The limited space afforded by the territory of the peninsula had become by this time covered with close built streets, in the newer of which the prosaic and uninteresting type of city dwellings devised by tasteless build-

ers whose idea of elegance was realized by what was commonly called the "swell-front," had been repeated with wearisome pertinacity. With the filling in of the Back Bay, which began about 1854, an opportunity was offered for breaking away from the old traditions. The new streets were occupied with considerable rapidity by a class of houses widely different for the most part from any heretofore built, and very generally under the charge of professional architects, who had now grown more numerous, and who had made good in great degree their claim to recognition and confidence. In the desire to give an aspect of luxury to the new buildings, brick, which had been until now generally used for the fronts of city dwellings, fell into disrepute, and the new houses were for the most part faced with one or another variety of freestone. The early houses of this territory were unusually ample in point of size and accommodation. As the price of lots rose with the success of the enterprise, the houses became gradually narrower, and a modification of the interior plan was the result, by which the stairs were put in the middle of the house, and a large room at either end covered the whole width. The octagonal bay-window on the front was early adopted as a feature both of convenience and beauty, and speedily became as much a matter of course as the swell-front of other days. In the style of the new houses, or in their want of style, there was the same variety to be observed, the same hunger and thirst after novelty of effect, which has been alluded to as prevailing among the newer stores and warehouses. It was much, however, that the interest of architects in their work could be seen to grow year by year more serious and intelligent, and that even while their preference for one or another style was variable, their use of all the styles grew more instructed, and their choice of motives and details more refined and chastened. It was difficult for the least mercurial designer to maintain, among the multiplicity of examples presented to him from every country and every age, and in view of the shifting tastes and practice of his fellows, the steady judgment, balance, and self-restraint which are indispensable to the production of the best work in design. Of systematic architectural teaching there was at the time of which I am speaking none whatever. The practice of a young architect was determined by the more or less of artistic knowledge and feeling in the office from which he had come forth, and by the individual predilections which resulted from accidental connections and opportunities. On the one hand, those most deeply impressed by the teachings of Ruskin strove to give to their designs the character of the Italian Gothic which Ruskin so warmly expounded. On the other hand, those whose training and associations were strongly classic contemned with vehemence the Gothic fever, and followed the lead of the French architects of the Second Empire, whose works were illustrated with great minuteness in numberless published serials and monographs. The public buildings of the city were generally of the latter style. The new City Hall finished in 1865, the Post Office commenced about the same time and not yet finished, and the Horticultural Hall, also built in 1865, are

imitations, as close as the slenderer resources would allow, of that ambitious and grandiose style, of orders superimposed and heavily loaded mansards, which reached its climax in the pavilions of the new Louvre.

To such a style, with its columns and entablatures, the granite, so much an object of local pride, was supposed to lend itself with peculiar fitness, on account of the facility with which large stones could be quarried, and the safety with which, by reason of its great strength, large openings could be spanned. But, in truth, our native gray granite, admirable for works either of engineering or of architecture in which the chief expression desired is that of massiveness and strength, is one of the least admirable for any purposes of grace or luxury. Its color forbids any agreeable play of light and shade, and its texture scarcely admits of clean-cut ornament except at great expense; and when all is done, the ornament is without effect. The most striking example of the right use of granite is the Beacon Hill Reservoir, perhaps the noblest piece of architecture in the city, absolutely adapted to its purpose and absolutely free from excess or effort or affectation, — its cyclopean masonry unvexed by details and unbroken save by the single order of round arches, of which the five on Derne Street are almost Roman in their grand depth of shadow. The Reservoir has stood but thirty-five years, and having been proved to be a useless portion of the system of water-works is now being taken down. It would probably be vain to plead for its preservation on the ground of its architectural merit; yet it is a perpetual reminder, to every thinking architect who passes beneath its walls, of that quality in which our architecture, like our national character, is most deficient, — the quality of repose. But in buildings erected for the ordinary uses of life, such repose as this is of course unattainable. The reasonableness of leaving granite without ornament, and with its wall face untooled, was, however, at length generally recognized; and in many blocks of warehouses, notably those on Commercial Street and Long Wharf, in the new Jail for Suffolk County on Charles Street, and various other less conspicuous instances, this stone was used with right judgment and excellent effect.

During the period when brick was considered too common for use in fine buildings, the choice of materials at the command of the architects was practically limited to the granites of Quincy, Rockport, Concord, and other New England quarries, and the brown freestones of the Connecticut Valley or New Jersey. The effect of the latter stones when used by themselves is nearly as sombre as that of granite, as may be seen in the interminable succession of shadowy streets in the upper portion of New York; but about the time when building was commenced on the new lands of the Back Bay, other stones made their appearance one after another, until the variety now within the architect's reach is quite bewildering. The white and gray marbles of Vermont and New York were followed by the light sandstones of New Brunswick and Ohio, and the red granites of the Eastern coast. Brick was again admitted to the company of presentable materials, and its

near relation, terra-cotta, of which the use had been growing more common in England, was here experimented on now and then, but with timidity, until the building of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1872, when the experiment was tried on a large scale. This building, of which the complete design embraces four long blocks of building surrounding a quadrangle, but of which at the present time but a single block has been undertaken, is in the modern Gothic style, with much elaboration of decorative detail, and the whole of the dressings above the water-table are executed in terra-cotta from an English manufactory. The walls being of red brick, while the terra-cotta is of two colors, the result is an effective example of the capacities of this excellent material, which has now advanced so far in favor among us that there are half-a-dozen establishments engaged in its manufacture in as many different cities, and great improvement has been effected in the quality of the product.[1]

In the midst of the widely varying styles of private and public buildings the churches have, as by common consent, continued for forty years to be built in the Gothic style. A group of freestone churches was built about the years 1846–48 on Harrison Avenue, Chauncy Street, and Bedford Street, — all of which have now disappeared, and the last mentioned of which, built by a Unitarian Society from the designs of Hammatt Billings, was a graceful and effective composition whose destruction a few years since, to make room for a warehouse, was a real misfortune. Perhaps ten years later were the two churches still standing far up on Tremont Street, the one built of Roxbury rubble, with low walls and two spires; the other of brick, high shouldered, round arched, and rigid in outline, with a tall campanile on the corner, which was the first fruit, so far as Boston was concerned, of the teachings of Ruskin. Still a few years later, and the success of the Back Bay enterprise determined in that direction the movement of several of the wealthier congregations, whose churches had been successively swallowed up by the irresistible march of trade. The first society to build on the new territory was that of Federal Street. The Arlington Street Church, the successor of the first Gothic meeting-house in Boston, is the only recent exception to the prevalence of that style. It is built with general refinement of design after the manner of Wren, with a steeple such as our forefathers loved, — the exterior wholly of brown freestone, the interior cold and correct in white plaster, modelled, as we were told by the architect, as closely as possible upon the church of Sta. Annunziata at Genoa, but with such substantial differences as a pair of side galleries clogging the sides, and cutting ruthlessly across the great columns which divide the church into an apparent nave and aisles, the former covered by a barrel vault. The columns are stately, but their stateliness is at the expense of the convenience and comfort of that portion of the congregation whose seats may happen to be in the side pews.

In the Central Church, built four or five years later, on the corner of

[1] [A heliotype is given herewith of the Art Museum. — ED.]

Museum of Fine Arts.

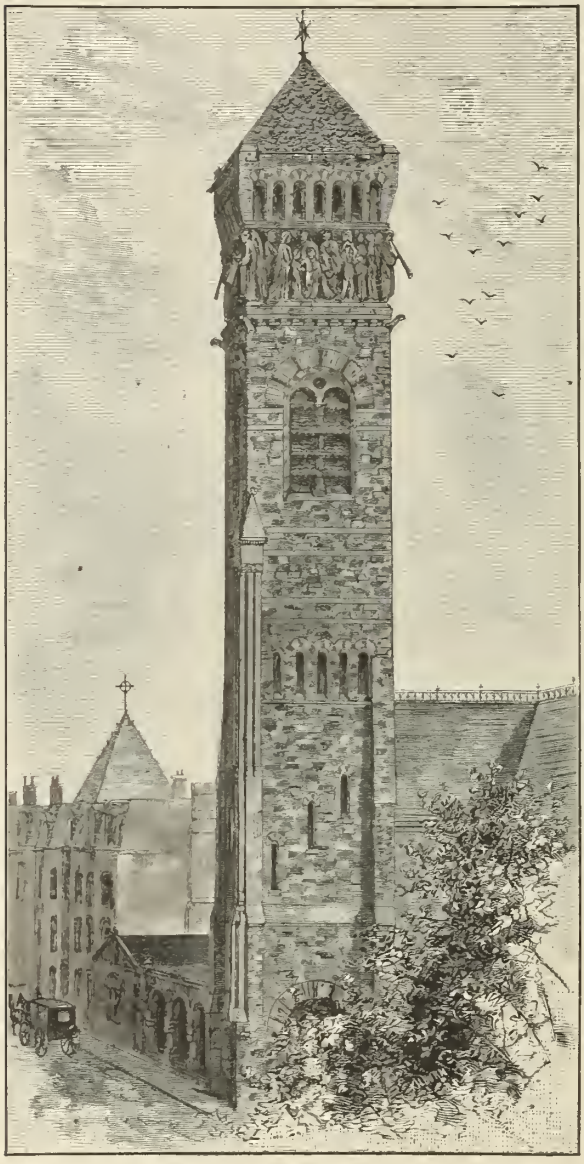
Huntington Ave., cor Dartmouth Street.

Berkeley and Newbury streets, and in the Emmanuel Church also on Newbury Street, the Gothic style is as conscientiously followed as the renaissance was in the Arlington Street, and with the same adherence to the forms of past ages, without reference to their convenience or fitness for the uses of the present. The walls of both these churches are of the Roxbury

THE FIRST CHURCH.

pudding-stone, — an admirable material, with great variety and richness of color. The exterior of the Central Church is designed with dignity and knowledge, and is ennobled by a fine and very lofty spire. The interior is high in the walls, with an open high-pitched roof; and although its plan is a rectangle, yet it is divided, by the arrangement of large piers of stone, into something like the nave, aisles, and transept of a mediæval church. Such a compromise between ambition and convenience has probably never proved quite satisfactory, since the features which are so impressive and admirable on the scale and with the resources of mediæval art are apt to lose their interest when copied on the reduced scale and with the limited resources of modern church building; while, on the other hand, they are

inevitably fatal to the one requirement of modern congregational worship, — the perfect seeing and hearing of what is done or said.



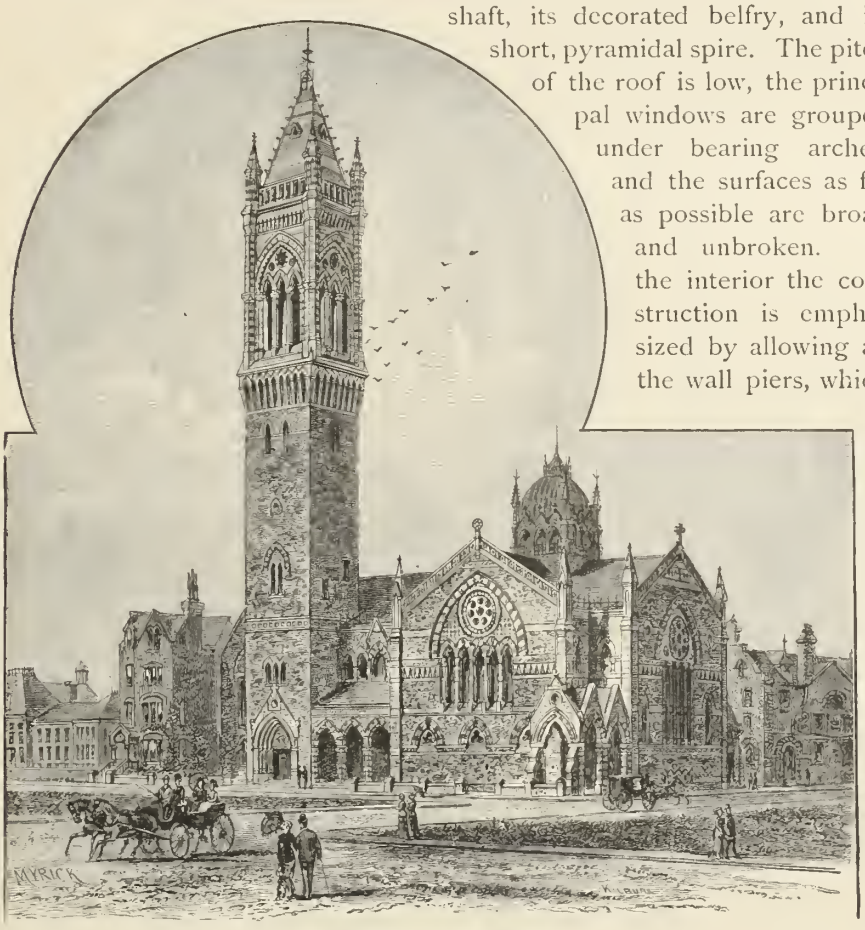
TOWER OF THE NEW BRATTLE SQUARE CHURCH.

In the First Church, on the corner of Berkeley and Marlboro' streets, built a year or two later than the Central Church, these principles were frankly recognized; and while the Gothic spirit governed every feature of the design, and expressed itself with conspicuous grace and vigor of detail both within and without, yet the treatment was made to adapt itself to the uses for which the house was built. The walls are low, the space they enclose is unobstructed by columns, and the only possible inconvenience arises from the sombreness of the interior, the windows being filled with very dark glass.

The old church in Brattle Square was sold in 1871, and a new and costly edifice was built on the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Clarendon Street, of which the somewhat clumsy body is redeemed by a square tower of remarkable beauty, with the unusual decorative feature of a band of colossal figure-sculpture girdling the tower between the belfry arches and the cornice. This church has the high walls, the low roof, and the round low arches which are characteristic features of the Southern Romanesque style. The decay of the society which built it, added to some acoustic defects which might doubtless have been overcome by persistent effort, have

prevented the use of this fine church, and it is now in danger of being destroyed.

In the new church of the Old South society, finished in 1874, the style is that of the Gothic of Northern Italy. In its high tower it was attempted to gain something of the expression of an Italian campanile with its simple shaft, its decorated belfry, and its short, pyramidal spire. The pitch of the roof is low, the principal windows are grouped under bearing arches, and the surfaces as far as possible are broad and unbroken. In the interior the construction is emphasized by allowing all the wall piers, which



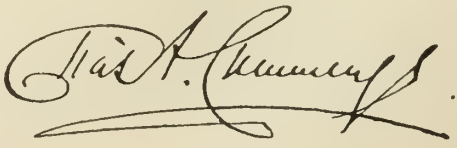
THE NEW OLD SOUTH.

carry the main trusses of the roof, to appear and make an important feature of the interior design. We touch here one of the points where both the New England climate and the New England habits of congregational worship are at odds with the traditions of European church building. As long as the churches were first of all monuments, and the services held within them were in the nature of spectacles addressed by a ruling priesthood to the eyes and ears of a crowd of ignorant worshippers, so long the splendor of the monument was everything,—the comfort of the people was of small importance. The walls, floor, and commonly the roof of the Mediæval church were therefore of stone, treated with as much richness of

material and decoration as the resources at the command of the builders would allow. In the climate of New England the warmth and general comfort of the congregation is enhanced by a carpeted floor and a plastered wall, — concessions harrowing to the ecclesiastical mind, but too strongly supported by common-sense to be generally resisted.

Trinity Church, the last and most conspicuous of the group of Back-Bay churches, occupies a more advantageous site than any other, allowing an irregular and picturesque disposition of the accessory chapel and cloisters. This building, a vigorous and striking example of the round-arched architecture of the south of France, — not without a strong trace of Spanish influence, — is extremely interesting in many ways, but notably so from its grand central tower, at once the most massive and the most ornate architectural feature in the city, but which, being on a scale suitable only to a cathedral, dwarfs every other feature of the composition; and not less notably from its elaborate system of interior decoration, — a system devised upon a scale hitherto unattempted in this country, and carried out with gratifying completeness and success.

I have found it impossible within the limits of a chapter to present more than an imperfect view of what has been accomplished thus far in Boston in the line of architectural design. Enough has perhaps been said to show — what indeed an hour's walk through the city streets would exhibit much more impressively — the extraordinary change which has taken place even within the last twenty years in the public and private architecture. In the position and standing of the architects themselves, the change has been not less marked. The resources of the profession on the side of education and training are now ample. A school of architecture has been for some dozen years maintained by the Institute of Technology, under the direction of Professor William R. Ware, in which the course of instruction, modelled as far as practicable upon that of the École des Beaux Arts, at Paris, has steadily and strongly furthered the growth of a severe taste in design, and has supplied the architects in active practice with a body of assistants well grounded in the principles of design, and with eye and hand trained to the appreciative use of the opportunities of office life. From such promising material are the ranks of architecture, year by year, recruited. Among so many active and well furnished minds, quickened by the stimulus of a generous emulation, broadened and cultivated by foreign travel, supplied with abundant and fresh information of every architectural achievement at home and abroad, through the constant multiplication of photographs and building journals, — one may hope, not unreasonably, that the future architecture of Boston is in safe hands.



Trinity Church,

and

Hotel Brunswick.

Boylston, corner Claredon Street

CHAPTER IX.

BOSTON AND SCIENCE.

BY JOSEPH LOVERING, LL.D.,

Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University.

MANY of the first settlers of Boston brought with them the science and culture of the Old World. But what was that science? Kepler indeed had announced his three laws, and died in the year in which Boston was founded. Galileo had made his discoveries and was ready to die. Bacon's great work had been published only ten years. Pascal and Torricelli had not recognized and measured the weight of the atmosphere. The air-pump had not been invented. Newton was not born, and his discoveries in astronomy and optics were not even in embryo. The scientific societies and academies of England, France, and Italy were not incorporated. The foundations had not been laid for the observatories of Greenwich and Paris. The true shape of the earth was not suspected. The sciences of electricity, magnetism, heat, and chemistry were in a distant future.

To show the condition of science in the earlier days, we give brief sketches of those engaged in the study of it: —

John Winthrop, son of the first governor of Massachusetts, was born in England in 1606; came to this country in 1633 and settled in Ipswich. His later history belongs to Connecticut, where he was governor in 1657, and from 1659 to 1676. On a visit to Boston in 1676 he was taken sick and died here. He was buried in the same tomb with his father, in the grounds of King's Chapel. He was skilled in chemistry and physics, such as they were then, and had the reputation of being one of the greatest natural philosophers of his age, — the equal of Boyle, Wilkins, or Oldenburg. He often revisited England, and maintained a correspondence with the chief scientific men of Europe. Had it not been for the concessions of Charles II., the best scientific men of England would have joined Winthrop and established here a "society for promoting natural knowledge." As it was, Winthrop was an early member of the Royal Society of London, which began its meetings in 1645 under the patronage of the king.[1] He was its official correspondent in the West, supplying it with specimens of the productions of this country, and descriptions of them. — His son, Fitz John Winthrop, was born at Ipswich in 1638, and died in Boston in 1707. Although constantly occupied with public trusts (being governor of Connecticut from

[1] [See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1878. — Ed.]

1698 to 1707), he was accomplished in natural science and a member of the Royal Society.

John Josselyn made two voyages to New England, in 1638 and 1663; and was here in all about nine years. He published in 1674 an account of these voyages, which includes notices of the natural history of the country, dedicated to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society of London. In 1672 he published a book called *New England Rarities discovered: in Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, and Plants of that Country*. He gives the latitude of Boston as 42° 30′; and the longitude as 315°. His books contain a curious medley of science and nonsense.[1]

The Rev. John Sherman was born in Dedham, England, in 1613. He was educated at old Cambridge, and emigrated to this country in 1634. For the last thirty years of his life he was settled over the church at Watertown, where he died in 1685. He was twice married, and had twenty-six children. Dr. Mather[2] regarded him as "one of the greatest mathematicians that ever lived in this hemisphere of the world." The character of his astronomical calculations, of which he left many in manuscript, may be inferred from the fact that he published almanacs for several years (1650–61), to which were added pious reflections.

Charles Morton was born in England in 1626, and came to this country in 1685. He was settled as minister in Charlestown from 1686 to his death in 1698.[3] He served Harvard College as a Fellow of the Corporation and Vice-President. He was eminent in mathematics, and his *Compendium Physicæ*, though existing only in manuscript, was copied by the students and studied. He brought with him the reputation of being a gifted teacher, and excited the jealousy of Harvard College by drawing private pupils to Charlestown. He was a contributor in 1675 to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London.

The Rev. Urian Oakes (1631–81) came with his parents to New England in 1634; graduated at Harvard College in 1649; was settled in Cambridge in 1671, and combined with his pastoral duties those of president from 1675 to 1681. In 1650 he calculated and published an almanac with the motto: "Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua gratia parva;"[4] being, as Cotton Mather says, "a lad of *small*, as he never was of *great*, stature."

The Rev. Samuel Danforth, the third minister of Roxbury, was born in England in 1626; came to New England in 1634; graduated at Harvard College in 1643; was ordained in 1650; and died in 1674. He incorporated into the records of his church observations on the weather and prevalent diseases of different years and seasons, on violent storms of snow and rain, and on earthquakes and meteors. "Several of his astronomical composures," says Dr. Mather, "have seen the light of the sun." He published almanacs for the years 1646–49; in 1665, *Astronomical Description of the Comet of* 1664, *with brief theological applications thereof;* and in the church records he has left various memoranda.[5]

[1] [See Vol. I. p. 19. — Ed.]

[2] *Magnalia*, i. 462.

[3] [See Vol. II. 315. — Ed.]

[4] *Magnalia*, i. 97–8.

[5] "Anno 1652, 9th day, 10th month. There appeared a comet in ye heaven in Orion, which continued its course towd ot zenith fr ye space of a fortnight, viz., till Mr. Cotton's death."

"1664, Nov. 17. About this time there appeared a comet in ye heavens. Ye first time I saw it, wch was ye 5th of 10th m, it appeared a little below the Crow's bill in Hydra, in ye Tropick of Capricorn or vy near to it. On ye 18th day it appeared in Canis major, 2 degrees below ye Trôpick. On ye 19th day I observed it to passe o|v ye upper star in ye Hare's foot, about 2 degrees and ½ above ye Tropick. It continued till Feb. 4."

The following epitaph[1] commemorates his science : —

Non dubium, quin eó iverit, quo stellæ eunt
Danforthus, qui stellis semper se associavit.

Increase Mather was born in Dorchester in 1639; graduated at Harvard College in 1656. He preached in the North Church, Boston, from 1661 to his death in 1723; and acted as president of Harvard College from 1685 to 1701. Of his voluminous publications only two have a place here, — namely, the *Cometographia*, and *Heaven's Alarm to the World*. These appeared on occasion of the blazing up of Newton's comet of 1680, and Halley's comet of 1682. The author had studied the literature of the subject; but he sees in comets nothing but tokens of the displeasure of Heaven. The connection is easily proved; as comets and calamities are both so frequent that there will always be a calamity for every comet, and a comet for every calamity.

Thomas Brattle was born in Boston in 1657, and graduated at Harvard College in 1676. He was chosen treasurer of the college in 1693, and held the office until he died in 1713. He was an eminent and generous merchant of Boston, with a taste for science, to which he devoted his leisure. He observed with a telescope the times of the beginning and end of the solar eclipse of June 12, 1694, when ten and a half digits were covered by the moon. A comparison of his observations with those made in London placed Boston in the longitude of $4^h\ 43^m$, or $70^\circ\ 45'$ west of London. In the calculations required for this determination the latitude of Boston was assumed to be $42^\circ\ 25'$; and this was the received latitude until about 1785. When or by whom it was obtained is not known; possibly by Mr. Brattle himself. Another eclipse of the sun was observed by him on Nov. 27, 1703; also two lunar eclipses, — one on Feb. 11, 1700, the other on Dec. 12, 1703.[2] Science is also indebted to him for the earliest precise observation known to have been made on the variation of the magnetic needle, which he found to be, in 1708, about 9° west of north. This observation proves that the needle, which in 1782 varied less than 7° from the true north, but which since that time has been moving westward until now it is more than 9° west of north, has returned to the position which it held about two hundred years before; and, therefore, that the changes are periodical. Mr. Brattle's name is perpetuated in one of the streets and churches [?] of Boston.[3]

Paul Dudley was born at Roxbury in 1673; graduated at Harvard College in 1690; and died in 1751. He was raised to the Supreme Bench in 1718, and was afterwards chief-justice. He was a member of the Royal Society of London, and published papers on the natural history of New England; also on the weather and the great earthquake of Oct. 29, 1727.[4]

Tulley published at Cambridge an almanac for the years 1691–93.

John Winthrop, great-grandson of the first governor, and great-grandfather of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, graduated at Harvard College in 1700. He spent the last part of his life in England, where he died in 1747. He became a conspicuous member of the Royal Society, to which he presented six hundred specimens,[5]

"1664, March 11. Another comet appeared in y^e^ East in y^e^ constellation of Antinous."

[1] *Magnalia*, i. p. 52. [See also Vol. I. pp. 408, 416. — Ed.]

[2] *Philosophical Transactions* (1704), vol. xxiv. p. 1630.

[3] [See Vol. I. p. 580. — Ed.]

[4] *Philosophical Transactions*, 1720–21, and No. 437; also vol. xl. p. 160. [See Vol. II. p. 351. — Ed.]

[5] For a description of them see *American Journal*, vol. xlvii. p. 282 (1844).

chiefly in the mineral kingdom, collected in this country, accompanied by descriptions, — "thereby showing your great skill in natural philosophy, and, at the same time, intimating to England the vast riches which lie hidden in the lap of her principal daughter." These words were used by Dr. Mortimer in dedicating to Winthrop the fortieth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, who also says: "The extraordinary knowledge you have in the deep mysteries of the most secret *Hermetic Science* will always make you esteemed and courted by good men." The library of Harvard College contains a copy of this volume, presented by "their very affectionate and most obedient humble servant, J. Winthrop."

Dr. Zabdiel Boylston came to this country and settled in 1635. His son, of the same name, was born in 1680; studied medicine with his father, and became an eminent physician in Boston. He is famous for having introduced into the country inoculation at the risk of his reputation and his life. He was led by his father to the study of natural history; and collected the animals, insects, and plants of the New World and sent them to his correspondents in Europe. He and his father were members of the Royal Society of London. He died in 1766.[1]

The Rev. Thomas Prince was born in Sandwich in 1687, and graduated at Harvard College in 1707. From 1709 to 1717 he preached in England. He was ordained pastor of the Old South Church in 1718, where he remained until he died in 1758. His learning was extensive,[2] but in science, at least, not profound. He published an account of the first aurora borealis seen in Boston.

Edward Holyoke was born in Boston in 1689. After graduating at Harvard College in 1705, he was librarian (1709–12), tutor (1712–16), and president from 1737 to the time of his death in 1769. In 1716 he was settled over a church in Marblehead. He was distinguished for his knowledge of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Nathan Prince, brother of Thomas, was born in Sandwich in 1698, and graduated in 1718. He had the reputation of superior genius. In mathematics and natural philosophy he was said to have no equal in New England; but nothing remains to sustain this high reputation. He died in 1748, in Ruatan, in the Bay of Honduras.

Thomas Robie was born in Boston in 1689, and graduated at Harvard College in 1708. He was tutor, librarian, and Fellow of the college, and died in 1729. He published an account of a remarkable eclipse of the sun on Nov. 27, 1722; also, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, papers on the Alkaline Salts and the Venom of the Spider (1720–24). The following extract from the diary of President Leverett shows the estimation in which he was held: "It ought to be remembered that Mr. Robie was no small honor to Harvard College by his mathematical performances, and by his correspondence thereupon with Mr. Durham and other learned persons in those studies abroad."

In continuing this history it will be instructive to arrange the materials under a few general heads, — I. Mathematics and Astronomy. II. Physics and Chemistry. III. Natural History.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 557; and Dr. Green's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. pp. 221, 426; and the chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

I. MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY. — Some personal sketches follow: —

Thomas Clap was born in Scituate in 1703, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. In 1726 he was ordained pastor of the church at Windsor, Conn. He was president of Yale College from 1740 to 1766, and died in 1767. President Stiles says that he studied mathematics in the higher branches, and was one of the first philosophers America had produced; "that he was equalled by no man except the most learned Professor Winthrop." He published *Conjectures upon the Nature and Motion of Meteors which are above the Atmosphere;* and constructed in 1743 the first orrery made in this country. This orrery, which was placed in the library of the College, represented on a large scale the orbits of the planets at their proper relative distances, with their inclination, eccentricity, and perihelia; also their satellites, and part of the orbit of Halley's comet, which was expected to return in a few years. There was no system of wheels for moving the parts, but the bodies were put by the hand in their appropriate places for any given time.[1]

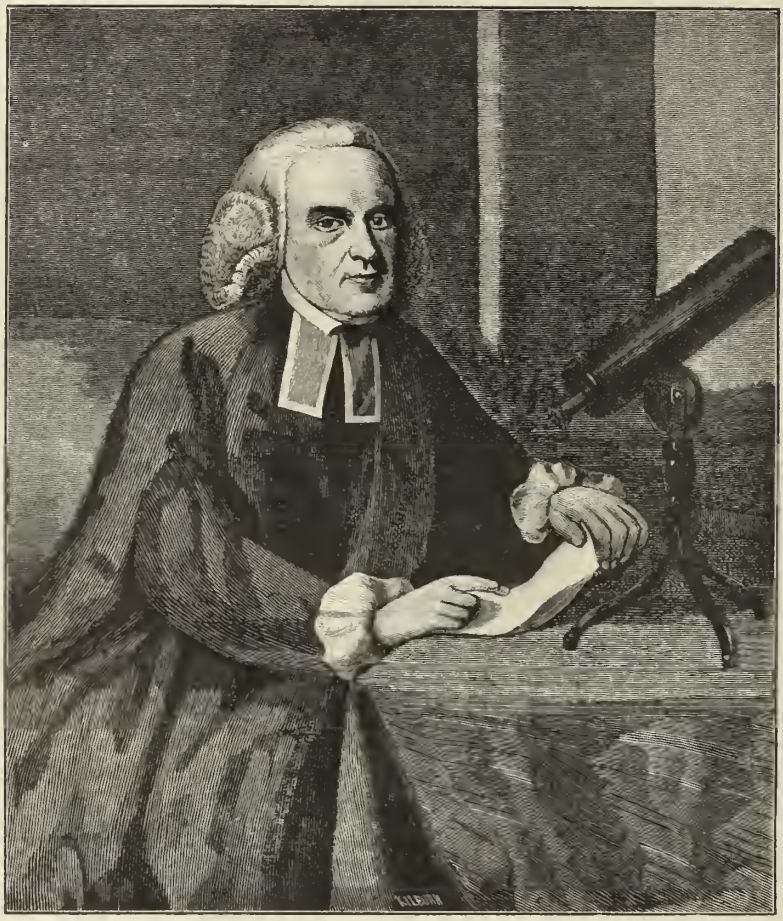
John Winthrop was born in Boston, Dec. 19, 1714; graduated at Cambridge in 1732; and was Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy from 1738 to his death, May 3, 1779. He was as zealous in the advancement of science as he was gifted in teaching. In mathematics and astronomy he had no equal in America, and his reputation was great in England and France. He received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh, and was a member of the Royal Society of London. At home he was a member of the Governor's Council, as his father and grandfather had been before him. In the Revolution he was a stanch Patriot, and in company with Dexter and Bowdoin he was honored by the marked disapproval of the English Government. His learning and accomplishments, outside of his profession, elicited the admiration of Dr. Chauncy and President Stiles. Professor Winthrop was fortunate in living at a time when he could be a witness of three celestial occurrences of transcendent importance to the progress of astronomy; namely, the first predicted return of Halley's comet in 1759, after an absence of seventy-seven years, and the transits of Venus across the sun in 1761 and 1769. In 1759 the accuracy of astronomical prediction was on its trial, and, months before the time of the expected visit, astronomers were at their posts and looking; but they were all anticipated by a Saxon peasant who saw first the comet on Dec. 25, 1758. Winthrop saw it on April 3, 1759. This was the occasion of his two lectures on Comets, read in the College chapel and printed in 1759, and reprinted in 1811. These lectures are a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. In 1766 he wrote an essay in Latin on Comets, which was communicated by Dr. Franklin to the Royal Society,[2] and printed in London. He observed the comets of 1769 and 1770, — one remarkable for its brilliancy and the other for the disturbances which Jupiter inflicted upon its orbit, — and published an account of them in the Boston papers. Professor Winthrop's views of the nature of heat were greatly in advance of the science of his day.

In 1740 Professor Winthrop had observed a transit of Mercury over the sun. His observations were printed in London,[3] and mentioned with favor in the *Memoirs* of the French Academy. These transits were valuable in correcting the orbit of Mercury, but they were not of vital significance for the measurement of the solar system. In

[1] *American Magazine*, i. 202. See concerning Rittenhouse's orrery, p. 500.

[2] Vol. lvii. p. 132.

[3] *Transactions of the Royal Society*,, vol. xlii.



John Winthrop[1]

Cambridge
10 Decr 1763.

1761, and still better in 1769, opportunities were presented for doing a great work in astronomy, — opportunities which would not be repeated until 1874 and 1882, and which will not occur at all in the next century. Cambridge was fortunate in having a

[1] [This engraving follows a photograph kindly furnished by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., who has inscribed on the back of it: "Hon. John Winthrop, LL.D., F.R.S., for forty years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard, member of the Executive Council of Mass., author of various astronomical treatises; a well known Revolutionary Patriot. Born, Dec. 19, 1714; died, May 3, 1779. He was also for some time Judge of Probate, librarian of Harvard College, and one of the founders of the American Academy. He married, first, Rebecca, daughter of James Townsend and step-daughter of Rev. Charles Chauncy; and, second, Hannah,

man able and disposed to participate in an important scientific enterprise, the ultimate success of which depended upon the consenting efforts of many astronomers. The following extracts from the votes of the House of Representatives will show the interest inspired by his own enthusiasm.

On April 18, 1761, the Governor sent the following message : —

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, — I have received a Letter from Professor Winthrop, wherein he offers his Service to go to Newfoundland to observe the Transit of Venus over the Sun on the Sixth Day of June next. You must know that this Phenomenon (which has been observed but once before since the Creation of the World) will, in all Probability, settle some Questions in Astronomy which may ultimately be very serviceable to Navigation. For which purpose those Powers that are interested in Navigation have thought it their business to send Mathematicians to different parts of the World to make Observations. And as the Comparisons of the Observations in the different Parts of the Earth will be the principal Means of making the Discoveries useful, His Majesty has sent a Man-of-War, with Mathematicians to be stationed in different Parts of the East Indies, etc., and the French King and some other Powers have done the same. It happens that this Phenomenon is not to be seen in North America except the most Northern Parts, of which Newfoundland exhibits the best view; I cannot, therefore, excuse myself recommending to you to enable Mr. Winthrop to take a view from thence. The best and least expensive Method I can think of is this: that the Province Sloop, which a little before that Time will be obliged to be sent to Penobscot, may proceed from thence with the Professor to Newfoundland.

If you will signify your Approbation of this, I will order it; and I can assure you that we shall hereby serve the Cause of Science, and do credit to the Province.

FRA. BERNARD.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, April 17, 1761.

On Monday, April 20, it was voted—

"That his Excellency the Governor be humbly requested to direct Captain Saunders, Master of the Sloop in the Province Service, to wait on John Winthrop, Esq^{r}, Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy at the College in Cambridge, and him in said sloop to attend and convey, with the Apparatus and other Necessaries, to the Northeast Part of Newfoundland, or to such Places as the Professor shall judge proper; and when his Observations are compleated, and Mr. Winthrop shall direct it, that Captain Saunders attend on and convey Mr. Winthrop back to Boston."

Professor Winthrop embarked from Boston on May 9, taking with him the College instruments and two members of the Senior class; and after a passage of thirteen days arrived at St. Johns. He says: "The reception I met with there was suitable to the consequence of my Commission and the dignity of my Employers." After some fatiguing and fruitless attempts, a convenient locality was selected on a commanding eminence, which was afterwards christened Venus Hill. Swarms of relentless insects had possession of the hill, and annoyed the new comers by day and night; but in spite of them the clock and other instruments were put in working order. "Thus prepared we waited for the critical hour, which proved favorable to our wishes." The transit had begun before sunrise in any part of America, except Labrador; but on June 6 the sun rose at St. Johns at 4^{h} 18^{m}, and with Venus upon its disc, where the planet remained until 5^{h} 6^{m}. On his return Mr. Winthrop published an account of his voyage and his observations.

daughter of Thomas Fayerweather and widow of Parr Tolman. The latter was the well known correspondent of Mrs. John Adams. Photographed in 1878 from the original portrait by Copley, belonging to Professor Winthrop's great-grandson, Colonel John Winthrop of Louisiana, and now at Newport. This portrait was formerly loaned to Harvard College and hung in Harvard Hall. It is in very bad order." See also Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 124, — a book which the Editor has found of constant service. — ED.]

In anticipation of the transit of June 3, 1769, Professor Winthrop read two lectures in the College chapel, which were published with this motto: *Agite mortales! et oculos in Spectaculum vertite, quod hujusque spectaverunt perpaucissimi, spectaturi iterum sunt nulli.* It was the wish of the astronomer, Dr. Maskeline, that Mr. Winthrop should go to Lake Superior, where the beginning and end of this transit would be visible; but his health prevented him, and he was obliged to content himself with seeing no more than other astronomers in the American Colonies, — namely, the beginning of the transit; as the sun set before the transit was over. Professor Winthrop also observed the transit of Mercury on Jan. 20, 1763.[1]

James Bowdoin was born in Boston in 1727, graduated at Harvard College in 1745, and died in 1790.[2] Inheriting a large fortune, he was able to devote himself to public affairs, in which he took always a conspicuous part before and after the Revolution. He was president of the convention which formed the State government, and was governor in 1785 and 1786; but he is here to be commemorated as a princely patron and cultivator of science. Before Harvard Hall was burned in 1764 he had given largely to the philosophical apparatus; and after the fire he contributed more than any one else to repair the loss. He was the first president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (incorporated May 4, 1780), and delivered a public inaugural address, November 8, on the Benefits of Science. This address is a running commentary on the following clause of the Act of Incorporation: —

"*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the end and design of the institution of the said Academy is to promote and encourage the knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses to which the various natural productions of the country may be applied; to promote and encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical enquiries and experiments, — astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations, and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people."

The address closed with a prophetic vision of what some American Livy or Thucydides might say when the Academy was a century old.

Mr. Bowdoin corresponded with Dr. Franklin, and the letters have been published. He also printed three memoirs on the Theory of Light.[3] Dr. Franklin had criticised the corpuscular theory of light,[4] which the authority of Newton's great name had brought into universal acceptance, and suggested a theory of undulations similar to that which at the present day has no competitor. Franklin probably did not know that Hooke and Huyghens, a century earlier, had held the same view, and carried it to finer issues. Mr. Bowdoin attempted to answer Franklin's objections to the Newtonian doctrine of light; and finally launches forth into speculations which had but little support in fact, as may be inferred from the subject of his third memoir, which was: *Observations tending to prove, by Phenomena and Scripture, the Existence of an Orb which surrounds the whole visible material System; and which may be necessary to preserve it from the Ruin to which, without such a Counterbalance, it seems liable by that universal Principle in Matter, — Gravitation.* At this time the elder Herschel was indulging in bold speculations concerning the construction of the heavens, but his speculations were ballasted by the weighty observations furnished by his gigantic

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 57.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 268. See his portrait in Vol. III. p. 195. — Ed.]

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 187–233.

[4] *Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects*, p. 264 (1769).

telescope. Bowdoin bequeathed his library to the Academy, and also one hundred pounds in money.

Andrew Oliver was born in Boston in 1731, and graduated at Harvard College in 1749. After his marriage he removed to Salem, where he was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas before the Revolution, and where he died in 1799. He had a taste for mathematics and natural philosophy. He wrote an *Essay on Comets*, which was published in 1772, and again in 1811. It was translated into French at Paris, and the eminent but ill-fated historian of astronomy Bailly refers in favorable terms to Mr. Oliver's arguments and conjectures in relation to the tails of comets. Mr. Oliver's application of Franklin's electrical repulsion to the case suggested to Bailly a resemblance between his views and those of Buffon in regard to heat and light, and he concludes his analysis of the essay with these words: "Tout cet ouvrage est infinitement ingénieux; le système est très-vraisemble: et peutetre l'application de la force répulsive et des phénomènes électriques aux phénomènes de la queue des cometes merite-t-elle un autre nom." Many years afterward De Luc[1] produced views upon the constitution and use of comets closely resembling those of the *Essay*. Mr. Oliver also published two other papers,[2]—one on Thunder-storms, and the other on Water-spouts. He was a member of the American Academy and of the Philosophical Society.[3]

Edward Wigglesworth was born in 1732, graduated at Harvard College in 1749, and was Hollis Professor of Theology from 1765 to his death in 1794; retiring, however, from active service in 1791. He manifested considerable interest in science, observing the total eclipse of the sun Oct. 27, 1780. He published in 1775 calculations on American population; and, in 1791, tables showing the probable duration and expectation of life in Massachusetts, etc.[4]

Joseph Willard was born in Biddeford, Maine, in 1738, and graduated at Harvard College in 1765; where he was tutor from 1766 to 1772, and president from 1781 to his death in 1804. Between 1772 and 1781 he was pastor of a church in Beverly. At school he manifested a taste for arithmetic and navigation, and at college for mathematics. The duties of a minister or a president are engrossing; but Mr. Willard found, or made, time to gratify his scientific taste, especially for astronomy.[5] At Beverly he observed the solar eclipse of Oct. 27, 1780; at the president's house in Cambridge, the lunar eclipse of March 29, 1782, the solar eclipse of April 12, 1782, and the transits of Mercury of Nov. 12, 1782, and Nov. 5, 1789. President Willard also cultivated mathematical astronomy. He constructed tables for facilitating computations, and himself computed the longitude of Cambridge from Greenwich and Paris by a comparison of the observations made in Europe and in this vicinity on the solar eclipses of Aug. 5, 1776, and June 24, 1778; and on the transit of Mercury of Nov. 5, 1743, and the transit of Venus of June 3, 1769. His result for the distance of Harvard Hall west of Greenwich (namely, $4^h\ 44^m\ 31^s$) was probably as exact as that for any two places on the earth at that time, if determined without the aid of geodesy. There is evidence that Dr. Bowditch, whose standard of excellence was high, placed President Willard among the few good mathematicians of New England.[6]—The Rev. Manasseh Cutler was settled within eight miles of Beverly, and observed with Mr.

[1] *Journal de Physique*, 1802.

[2] *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, ii. 1786.

[3] [See Vol. III. Index, for various references to his family connections. — Ed.]

[4] [See the chapter on "Insurance" in this volume. — Ed.]

[5] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, vols. i. and ii.

[6] Sidney Willard's *Memories, etc.*, i. 93.

Willard the solar eclipse of Oct. 27, 1780. He also observed at Ipswich the transit of Mercury, Nov. 12, 1782; an eclipse of the moon, March 29, 1782; and an eclipse of the sun, April 12, 1782.[1]

Phillips Payson was born in Walpole in 1736, graduated at Harvard College in 1754, and was ordained minister at Chelsea in 1757, where he continued to preach until his death in 1801.[2] He had a zeal for science, especially mathematics and natural philosophy. In a communication to the Academy, of which he was a member, he says:[3] —

"The extensive territories of the United States of America are a foundation in nature of a vast empire. The geography of its interior parts, though of great importance, is at present but little better than conjectural; to perfect which, and fix the interesting boundaries and lines, the best and indeed the only proper method is that of astronomical observations, which it is probable the Supreme Council of America will soon adopt, now the glorious revolution is so happily completed. To promote such observations, both at noted headlands upon the sea-coast and at distant places in the interior country, highly merits the attention of this Academy. For though they should not at first be made with such accuracy as modern astronomy can boast of, they will prove great helps for future improvements."

As his contribution to this end, he observed many eclipses of Jupiter's satellites in 1779; the solar eclipses of June 24, 1778, of Oct. 27, 1788, and of April 12, 1782; the lunar eclipses of May 29, 1779, and of Nov. 11, 1780; also the transit of Mercury, on Nov. 12, 1782. From his observations he calculates the latitude and longitude of Chelsea.

Daniel Treadwell, who is described as an "eminent mathematician," was born at Portsmouth, N.H., and graduated at Harvard College in 1754. In the same year he was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in King's College (now Columbia College), New York; but consumption put an end to his career in 1760, when he was only twenty-six years old.

John Hancock, who graduated at Harvard College in 1754, who put his name to the Declaration of Independence and was afterward governor, deserves to be mentioned as a liberal patron of science, giving five hundred pounds to replace the library and philosophical apparatus of Harvard College, in fulfilment of a purpose which his uncle had failed to express in his will.

Samuel Williams was born in Waltham in 1743, and graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He was settled over a church in Bradford in 1765, where he remained until 1780. Scientific tastes were early developed in him, for he was one of the two members of the Senior class selected by Professor Winthrop to assist him in the observations of the transit of Venus in 1761, because they had made "good proficiency in mathematical studies." Mr. Williams observed the lunar eclipses of Nov. 12, 1761, and March 17, 1764, both at Waltham. While at Bradford he observed the lunar eclipses of April 6, 1773, July 30, 1776, Dec. 3, 1778, and May 29, 1779; and on the last night an eclipse of Jupiter's second satellite. He also observed the solar eclipse of June 24, 1778, which was almost total in New England, and wholly so in some of the Southern States.[4] The Rev. Samuel Williams succeeded Mr. Winthrop in the professorship of mathematical and physical science in 1780, having already manifested great zeal in the study of astronomy.[5]

[1] *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, iv. 272.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 379. Ed.]

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 124.

[4] Ibid., 81.

[5] Although eclipses of the sun are more frequent than those of the moon, a total eclipse of the sun is visible only within an area of about one hundred and seventy miles in diameter, and

Caleb Gannett was born in Bridgewater in 1745, and graduated at Harvard College in 1763. From 1767 to 1771 he preached in Nova Scotia, and then for two years in New England. He was tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy between 1773 and 1780, and bursar from 1779 to his death in 1818, taking a great interest in astronomy and meteorology, and co-operating in observations of the eclipse of the sun Oct. 27, 1780. After Professor Winthrop's death Mr. Gannett gave his lectures for one year. As an executive officer he was a model.[1]

The scientific attainments of Theophilus Parsons would have saved his name from oblivion, though they were only a part of his universal accomplishments, and were overshadowed by his great reputation as a lawyer and judge. He was born in Byfield in 1750; graduated in 1769; practised law, at first in Falmouth, and in Byfield and Newburyport after 1775; removed to Boston in 1800, where he died in 1813. He was chief-justice from 1806 to the time of his death. Master Moody, principal of Dummer Academy, liked to boast of his brilliant pupils, — such as Willard, Webber,

the favored spot is as likely to be in a savage country or in mid-ocean as along the great highway of civilization. Nowadays, when a total eclipse will not come to the astronomer the astronomer pursues it even to the ends of the earth. Only two total eclipses of the sun have been visible in the United States during the present century; namely, those of 1806 and 1869, — the first visible in Boston about high noon on a June day, to the astonishment of the whole animal creation; the second seen in the Western States. When calculations indicated that a total eclipse of the sun might possibly occur on Oct. 27, 1780, in the eastern part of this State (now Maine), the University at Cambridge and the American Academy desired that it should be properly observed. What efforts were made to secure this end will appear from the following extract: —

Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay, Sept. 12, 1780, p. 65.

Whereas, representations have been made to this Court by the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq. and others, lovers of learning and mankind, that on the 27th of October next there will happen in the neighbourhood of Penobscot a central and total eclipse of the sun, a phenomenon never apparent in these States since their settlement, and as observations thereon may be of much consequence in science, particularly in geography and navigation; and that the Rev. Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, in this State, will be ready to give his aid, with such assistance as may be proper, to make the necessary observations at the most convenient place near Penobscot; therefore —

"*Resolved*, That the Board [of war] be, and they are hereby, ordered and directed to fit out the State galley with proper stores and accommodations for the conveyance of the Rev. Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and such attendance as he may think proper to take with him, to make the aforesaid observations on the central and total eclipse of the sun, which will happen on the said 27 day of October at or near Penobscot, and that the Council be, and they are hereby, requested to write proper letters to the British commander of the garrison at Penobscot, that the important designs of the said observations may not be frustrated."

This prompt action by the Government, at a period when the people were burdened with the anxieties and expenses of a protracted war, manifests an appreciation of the utility and nobility of science which has not been surpassed, if it has been equalled, in the times of its greatest prosperity.

On October 9 Professor Williams embarked on the "Lincoln" galley with Professor Sewall, James Winthrop, the librarian, one graduate, and six students, taking with him the necessary instruments from the College. The party arrived on the seventeenth, and remained as long as they were permitted; namely, to the twenty-eighth. Though somewhat embarrassed by military orders, they placed their instruments on Long Island, in Penobscot Bay, and took their observations. The eclipse just failed of absolute totality. The error was in the old maps. A fine thread of light, broken into drops, remained on one side of the sun. Venus, Jupiter, and the bright stars showed themselves. During one hour and nineteen minutes, while the eclipse was progressing, two thirds as much dew was deposited as on the whole of the preceding or following night. At Cambridge, Professor Williams observed the lunar eclipses of Nov. 11, 1780, March 28, 1782, Sept. 10, 1783; and the solar eclipse of April 12, 1782; many eclipses of Jupiter's satellites in 1782; and the transit of Mercury on Nov. 12, 1782. He observed, at Newbury, the transit of Venus in 1769. Professor Williams also made special observations to ascertain the latitude of Harvard Hall, which he put down in 1785 as 42° 23′ 28.46″. He retired from his office in 1788, and passed the remainder of his life in Rutland, Vt., where he died in 1817. At this place he observed the solar eclipse of June 10, 1806; but it was not total at that place.

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xviii. 277.

Parsons, etc., — and, himself a bachelor, to call them his children. While in college young Parsons calculated the total eclipse of the sun in 1806. As the time of the event drew near, he was nervous from fear of losing it; but he observed it from the top of his house, with a telescope furnished by Dr. Prince. In 1786[1] he contributed a paper on the method of calculating the azimuth of a telescope by observations on the pole-star at its upper and lower culminations. His favorite science to the end of his life was mathematics; and geometry rather than the calculus. He made models to illustrate the conic sections. Dr. Bowditch,[2] in describing the advantages of his own method of working a lunar observation, says: "These improvements were made in consequence of a suggestion of the late Chief-Justice Parsons (a gentleman eminently distinguished by his mathematical acquirements), who had somewhat simplified Witchell's process." In 1847 the astronomer Airy made a still further extension of the idea which Mr. Parsons had entertained in 1807. Two of Mr. Parsons's mathematical papers were published by his son in 1859, — one on the roots of affected equations, and the other on parallel lines, on which he was busy during the summer before he died. His house was supplied with a variety of physical apparatus, magnets, microscopes, and electrical machines, with which he and his friend Dr. Prince delighted in experimenting. He imported Rumford's cooking apparatus, and experimented upon it in his own kitchen. The chief-justice also took delight in making his own soda-water with Woulfe's apparatus for impregnating water with carbonic gas.[3]

James Winthrop graduated in the same class with Mr. Parsons. He was librarian of the College from 1772 to 1787, and fought at Bunker Hill. Afterward he was judge of probate, and died at Cambridge in 1821. He inherited some taste for science, observed from the president's house the transit of Mercury Nov. 12, 1782; published two mathematical papers, and also an account of an ancient eclipse of the moon seen at Jerusalem and mentioned by Josephus, which had been used by Whiston to settle the date of the birth of Christ.[4]

The invention of some kind of machinery for illustrating the celestial mechanism dates back to the time of Archimedes.[5] Rittenhouse of Philadelphia has had the credit of having constructed the first orrery with wheels in this country, in 1768.[6]

Boston had its orrery as well as Philadelphia, but it came a few years later. Its history is curious, and reflects some light on the science and habits of the last century. This orrery introduces us to Mr. Joseph Pope, who was born in Hollis Street, Feb. 1, 1750, being one of twelve children.

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, ii. 12.

[2] *Navigator*, 10th edition, p. 243.

[3] *Life*, by his son (1859).

[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 159; ii. 20.

[5] Such contrivances were regarded in their day as miracles of mechanical skill and astronomical learning. Of one of these, which antedated the Christian era by eighty years, it was said that if it were seen by a barbarous people it would seem to be made, if not actuated, by perfect reason. Another, constructed in the sixth century, was described as a "machine pregnant with the universe; a portable heaven; a compendium of all things." The Copernican system of astronomy introduced changes of construction; and what is now called an orrery (in compliment to the Earl of Orrery, a patron of the art) was invented in England by Graham in 1700. Ferguson devised and executed another in 1743. Long, the professor of astronomy in Cambridge, England, had completed in 1758 his enormous astronomical machine eighteen feet in diameter, within which thirty persons might sit comfortably. It has stood for one hundred years, and perhaps still stands, in Pembroke College, to amuse visitors, if not to popularize astronomy according to the design of its inventor.

[6] *Amer. Phil. Trans.*, i. 1. See p. 493.

At the age of sixteen or seventeen he went to Maryland and learned the trade of watch-making. Then he spent some time in Europe. Returning to Boston he applied himself to his trade, devoting his leisure, however, to the study of navigation and mathematics with his brother Robert. Meeting in some book with a description of an orrery, he conceived the idea of making one after his own plan. It was finished in 1786, and embodied ten years of his best labor and thought. It was deposited in an upper chamber of his house in Washington Street, where it had a narrow escape from being burned. Governor Bowdoin, who had been interested in it, when he heard of its danger, sent six men with a cart and blankets to rescue it. With difficulty it was brought down the stairs (Mr. Pope himself tearing away the balusters), and taken temporarily to the Governor's house, and afterward to Mr. Pope's new residence on Essex Street. There it was visited by hundreds a day. His daughter has written out interesting reminiscences of her father, describing his various other inventions; his visit to London in 1788, where he remained fourteen months; the kindness he received from Sir Joseph Banks, and his correspondence with Jefferson and Lafayette.

Mr. Pope moved to Hallowell, Me., about 1818, and died there in 1826. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Robert Pope, of Gardiner, has inherited a curious clock made by Mr. Pope in 1780, which still runs accurately. Numerous hands indicate the local time in twenty-four different longitudes, the place of the sun in the zodiac, and the phases of the moon.

A description of Pope's orrery was published in the *Memoirs*[1] of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which he was chosen a member in 1788. A committee of the Academy, consisting of Richard Cranch, Samuel Williams, Joseph Willard, Caleb Gannett, and Loammi Baldwin, examined the orrery and made a favorable report upon it on February 22 of that year.[2] On the petition of the Lieut.-governor and seventy others an Act was passed by the General Court,[3] and signed by John Hancock, granting a lottery for the purpose of raising a sum not exceeding £550, to be expended in the purchase of Pope's orrery for Harvard College. Three men of character and influence were appointed managers, and gave bonds for £2,000. The penalty for counterfeiting the tickets was £100 fine, or whipping, or standing in the pillory. Some of the reasons for the Act are set forth in these words selected from the preamble: "And whereas, this Court are willing at all times to encourage the efforts of ingenuity, and to aid a plan which has the advancement of science and the public good for its object." The managers issued a circular, Dec. 3, 1788, announcing the scheme of the lottery, and then said:[4]—

"The managers flatter themselves that the above scheme is calculated to give a fair chance to all who may become adventurers, and holds up every pecuniary advantage

[1] Vol. ii. p. 43.

[2] *Massachusetts Magazine*, i. 36.

[3] Nov. 21, 1788. *Acts and Laws of General Court* (1783–88), p. 719.

[4] *Massachusetts Centinel*, Dec. 10, 1788.

that can be reasonably expected. But this lottery, besides holding out to those who embark in it a capital opportunity of benefit, comprises two other important objects which must deeply interest the feelings of all who regard the honour of their country and the advancement of the arts and sciences. The latter must be eminently served by the University being possessed of an instrument which, in its kind perhaps, the world cannot parallel. The former must be promoted by rewarding in some degree the efforts of a worthy mechanick, whose application and genius would do credit to any age or nation. Such being the design of this lottery, there cannot be a doubt that a people who have long enjoyed the blessings of science and literature, and who have been distinguished by their early attention to seminaries of learning, will give, by their zeal in such a cause, so rapid a sale to the tickets that the managers may have it in their power, as it is truly their wish, to announce a very early day for the drawing."

According to the scheme,[1] there were three thousand tickets at $2 each, to be purchased only from the managers or the librarian of the University. There were six hundred and seventy-three prizes of $3 each, fifteen of $20, three of $50, two of $100, one of $200, one of $300, and one of $1,000, — which would leave for expenses and profits $1,831.

It was advertised at first that the drawing would be executed in Faneuil Hall. It really took place in the hall of the House of Representatives, between March 10 and 14. The *Centinel* of February 28 contained this notice:[2] "Mr. Pope's planetarium (or orrery) was yesterday removed from this town to be deposited in the Philosophy room of the University of Cambridge. A correspondent cannot forbear congratulating the public, that through the liberality of the citizens of this State the above mentioned elegant and useful production of ingenuity will be retained among us, and that the artist will be rewarded for his talents and time." President Willard's receipt for the orrery is dated March 20. The lottery account stood thus: the proceeds were £549 6*s.*; expenses, £27 8*s.* 3*d.*; paid to Mr. Pope for the orrery £450 3*s.*; the balance of £71 14*s.* 9*d.* was paid into the College treasury, in accordance with the Act of the General Court, and a receipt given by the treasurer (Storer), March 31, 1789. On the same day it was voted: —

"That the thanks of the Corporation be given to Samuel Eliot, Henry Hill, and Aaron Dexter, Esquires, — managers of a lottery granted by the Honorable General Court to purchase for the college an orrery made by Mr. Joseph Pope, — for their great attention to the business; by which the design was so speedily and happily carried into execution. And while they view with pleasure this noble and useful machine, which does so much honor to Mr. Pope, they feel highly grateful to the managers of the lottery for their politeness and generosity in freely giving their time and trouble, by which means a handsome sum has been received into the treasury of the college."

The bonds given by the managers were cancelled April 14. The orrery is still in good condition; but a century has made a change in the estimation in which orreries are held.[3]

[1] *Centinel*, December 10 and March 18.

[2] Also *Salem Mercury*, March 3.

[3] At this period lotteries were in good repute, and presented an easy and convenient way

We resume the biographical sketches: —

Samuel Webber was born in Byfield in 1760; graduated at Harvard College in 1784; was tutor in 1787–89, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy from

of raising large sums of money; as fairs do nowadays. This device is not of American or English origin. Lotteries were instituted in Florence as early as 1530; in France in 1539; in England in 1569; and in Germany in 1699. The people's lottery of 1863, in aid of the fund for completing the Cathedral of Cologne, proves that they are still held in Europe to be respectable. Governments have not scrupled to profit by this fertile expedient. Between 1816 and 1828 the French government derived an annual income of fourteen millions of francs from lotteries. The drawing of the first English lottery took place at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the proceeds were applied to the repair of the harbors; there were forty thousand shares at ten shillings a share. In 1747 a million pounds was raised in a similar way, the prizes being paid in perpetual annuities at four per cent. The first parliamentary lottery was in 1709; but in 1612 the Virginia Company was authorized to raise money by a lottery. It is not strange that an institution so strongly indorsed, and appealing to the charity as well as to the cupidity of the community, took deep root in this country, where everything was to be done and where there was little money to do it. In this way, roads, bridges, ferries, wharves, were built or repaired; and hospitals, academies, and colleges were endowed.

In 1744 authority was given in this province to raise £7,500 to replenish the public treasury; but the managers were forbidden to sell tickets to Indians, negroes, or mulattoes; and if by accident one of these drew a prize, it was forfeited.* In 1749, the town of Swansea was allowed a lottery in order to repair Miles's bridge. In 1750 the town of Newbury was permitted to raise £12,000 to build a bridge. In the same year the public treasury received $26,700. In 1755 the town of Teticut was granted a lottery for building a bridge. In 1757 a lottery was sanctioned to encourage the manufacture of glass in Braintree. In 1772 a lottery was authorized in the interest of Harvard College, for building Stoughton Hall; and the privilege was renewed in 1794.† As all the tickets were not sold, the managers asked the College to take them. This may explain a statement in the *Massachusetts Magazine* that the College had drawn $10,000 in a lottery. The sum realized by the treasurer in 1804 was $18,400. In 1778 a lottery was granted for the benefit of the officers and soldiers of the State. In 1779 three was another lottery for raising £60,000 to repair the streets of Charlestown, and £250,000 to repair Long Wharf. In 1780 resort was had to a lottery for obtaining $200,000 to mend the roads in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire. In 1806 Harvard College received $29,000 from a lottery to help in the building of Holworthy.* In 1812 a lottery was granted in order to obtain $16,000 for repairing Plymouth Beach. This grant eventually brought the subject to a crisis. In 1750 there was a lottery in Connecticut in aid of the fund for erecting a new edifice in Yale College. †

The obvious evils of the system were not slow to manifest themselves here as elsewhere. The spirit of gambling was disguised under the garb of charity, and moral distinctions were confounded. The temptation was irresistible to those who had but little to invest, and the poor were the greatest sufferers. As a tax it fell most heavily upon them. After the suppression of lotteries in France about 1830, the funds in savings-banks increased one year by 525,000 francs. It is stated that an assembly of ministers in Boston in 1699 denounced lotteries as cheats. In reference to private lotteries, the General Court declared and enacted in 1719 "that all such lotteries and all other lotteries are common and publick nusances." ‡ More stringent laws were passed in 1733, 1753, and 1785. The sale of tickets in foreign lotteries (not authorized by a State or the United States government) was forbidden. Finally, in 1821, a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives (of which Peter C. Brooks § was the moving spirit) disclosed the abuses of the system of State lotteries; showing that in a recent case nearly half a million dollars had been collected from tickets, and a larger sum sunk in expenses and prizes. An embezzlement and a suicide in Boston exposed the frauds perpetrated by dealers in lottery tickets, and on the recommendation of Governor Lincoln a law was passed in 1833 which gave the final blow to the sale of tickets in this State.‖ Most of the other States imitated the example of Massachusetts. In 1823 Great Britain followed, both as regards domestic lotteries and the sale of tickets in foreign ones.

* *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay*, vol. iii. p. 195 (1878).

† *Acts and Laws of Commonwealth*, ii. 405.

* *Laws of the Commonwealth*, iii. 361 (1807). Quincy's *History*, ii. pp. 162, 273, and 292.

† Holmes's *Life of President Stiles*, p. 391.

‡ *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay*, vol. ii. p. 149.

§ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ix. 26.

‖ House Documents, 1833, No. 44, p. 28. *Laws of Commonwealth*, xii. 721.

1789 to 1806, and president from 1806 to the time of his death in 1810. He observed the annular eclipse of the sun on April 3, 1791; and in 1796 was appointed by the Government to ascertain the boundary between the United States and Canada. In 1801 he published a *System of Mathematics* in two volumes.

Walter Folger was born in Nantucket in 1765. The common schools in which he was educated were so poor that the pupil was soon able to instruct the teacher. By himself he conquered algebra, geometry, and the elements of the calculus. He learned French in order to be able to read Lalande's *Astronomy*. He elevated the position of ship-masters by teaching them navigation. In 1790 he calculated and printed an almanac. He inherited an aptitude for mechanics, and made refracting and reflecting telescopes. His greatest achievement in this line was a clock which indicated the year and day as well as the hours and minutes, and also the changes of the moon. In this complex mechanism one wheel made only one revolution in a century. Mr. Folger's observations [1] of the comets of 1807 and 1811 were used by Dr. Bowditch, with others, in calculating their orbits. He also observed the total eclipse of 1806. He studied law for his own benefit and that of his neighbors, and was sent to Congress. He wrote a memoir upon aerolites, and made voluminous calculations on Encke's comet, but most of his work exists only in manuscript. He died in 1849.

Epaphras Hoyt was born in Deerfield in 1765, and died there in 1850. He declined a place in the army offered to him by Washington, but he rose to be major-general of the militia. He published several books on military affairs, and left others in manuscript. In 1824 he published *Antiquarian Researches*. His scientific work consisted of observations of the lunar eclipse of Jan. 15, 1805; the solar eclipse of Sept. 17, 1811; an occultation of Aldebaran by the moon on Oct. 29, 1811; and the meridian altitudes of several celestial bodies. From these observations he deduced the latitude and longitude of Deerfield. He also made observations on the declination of the magnetic needle.[2]

Elisha Clap was born in Dorchester in 1766. He graduated at Harvard College in 1797 and was tutor there in 1801–3. He studied for the ministry, but in 1804 he was appointed principal of the Sandwich Academy where he remained ten years. Between 1816 and 1826 he had a private school in Boston, and died there in 1830. He devoted much of his time to mathematics and astronomy; worked with Chief-Justice Parsons upon the orbit of the comet of 1807; and prepared for the press Dr. Holyoke's meteorological observations for twenty-six years, 1793–1818.[3]

The nineteenth century opened with a prospect more encouraging to science than that which greeted the eyes of its predecessor. In 1780 the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which held its meetings alternately

[1] Published in the Boston papers.

[2] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iii. 305.

[3] *Hist. Soc.*, i. 438. *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iv. 361. The preparation of an almanac implies a certain amount of astronomical and mathematical acquirement. Mr. Holyoke published in Boston *An Almanack of the celestial motions, aspects, and eclipses*, etc., for the years from 1715 to 1723 inclusive. — Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham was eminent as a physician and mathematician. He published an *Astronomical Diary or Almanack* for forty years 1725–65. It was held in such repute throughout the country that after his death in 1766 it was continued under his name until 1775. — Dr. William Douglass was a native of Scotland, but came to Boston in his youth. He was a mathematician and published an almanack for 1743 and 1744 under the name of *Mercurius Novanglicanus*. [See Vol. II. Index. — Ed.] Still more short-lived were the almanacs of Eddy for 1760, of Pope for 1792, and of Chandler for 1798.

in Boston and Cambridge, had been founded.[1] Count Rumford's bequest in 1796, while it extended the usefulness of the Academy, indicated the confidence inspired by the high character of its membership. At its centennial celebration in May, 1880, the Academy could point to its fourteen quarto volumes of *Memoirs* and its fifteen volumes of *Proceedings* as the justification of its existence. All these publications, except two volumes of the *Memoirs*, belong to the present century. We return again to the biographical sketches: —

The most conspicuous figure among the scientific worthies of the first half of the century is Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch. He was born in Salem in 1773, and removed to Boston in 1823, where he died in 1838. Though Dr. Bowditch was his own teacher in mathematics, he was competent, at the age of twenty, to detect flaws in a mathematical demonstration published in the second volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy. After he became a Fellow of the Academy in 1799 he furnished twenty-three articles for its printed volumes. The first was of great interest to the navigator, being "On a new method of working a Lunar Observation."[2] Although Dr. Bowditch is best known by his mathematical achievements, he lost no opportunity while he lived in Salem of observing comets, eclipses, and occultations, as material for his computations. He thoroughly discussed the eclipses of 1806 and 1811, and all other eclipses and transits which had ever been observed in the vicinity, and deduced from the whole mass of evidence the most probable value for the longitude of Cambridge. He collected all the observations upon the great meteors of 1807 and 1819, and computed the height and the velocity of these strange visitants to our sky. He fitted out the blazing comets of 1807, 1811, and 1819 with appropriate orbits, and sent them on their way. He made careful observations on the Declination and Inclination of the magnetic needle, for the purpose of estimating the changes in the direction and intensity of the force of terrestrial magnetism. His computations upon the contemporaneous observations made with barometers in 1804 at Salem, Boston, and the White Mountains brought down the height of Mount Washington from ten thousand feet (as given by Dr. Belknap)[3] to seven thousand one hundred and eight feet. This figure is too great, but the fault was in the barometers of that day. Dr. Bowditch's analysis of the motions of a pendulum suspended from two points, with his experimental illustrations, have a fresh interest at this time, as anticipating by more than half a century the famous Lissajous curves which now play an important part in the science of acoustics.[4] In the realm of pure mathematics Dr. Bowditch's mind worked with an accuracy equal to its power, and enabled him to detect oversights in the work of such profound mathematicians as Poisson and Laplace. The crowning glory of Dr. Bowditch's scientific life was his translation of Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*, and his invaluable commentary upon it. This vast work was done at Salem between the years 1815 and 1817. Dr. Bowditch's removal to Boston facilitated, and perhaps made possible, its publication; which extended over the ten years from 1829 to 1839. And all this, be it remembered, was only a brilliant scientific episode in a life never released from the labors and anxieties of business.

[1] [See the chapter on "Education" in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] *Memoirs Amer. Acad.*, vol. ii. 1.

[3] *Hist. of New Hampshire*, iii. 49.

[4] [Professor Lovering presented a paper to the American Academy on the "Anticipations of the Lissajous Curves," which is printed in its *Proceedings*, xvi. p. 292. — ED.]

John Farrar was born in Lincoln in 1779. His father destined him to a farmer's life; but a trifle turned the boy's thoughts in a different direction. On a visit to his brother who was in college he saw the students practising with a fire-engine, and the fascinations of college life were irresistible. After graduating at Harvard College in 1803, he studied for the ministry, but was soon brought back to Cambridge. From 1805 to 1807 he was tutor in Greek, and from 1807 to 1836 professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. Professor Farrar's attractive style of lecturing supplied the deficiency which existed in his means of experimental illustration. He

Nath^l Bowditch.[1]

rendered great service to his department by translating and publishing, between 1818 and 1828, eleven of the best French treatises, which became the text-books generally used at colleges for many years. His observations on the comet of 1811 were published, with a description of it, in the *Memoirs* of the Academy, which he served as secretary from 1811 to 1824, and as vice-president in 1829–30. Five or six essays on scientific subjects were written by him for the *North American Review*. He retired partially in 1831, and wholly in 1833, and visited Europe twice with the hope of

[1] [This portrait of Dr. Bowditch was begun by Stuart for the East India Marine Society; but being left unfinished, it was bought of the heirs of Stuart by the sitter, and is now in the possession of Wm. I. Bowditch, a son of Dr. Bowditch. Mason's *Stuart*, p. 149. — Ed.]

restoring his health; but he returned no better than when he left, and remained an invalid until released by death in 1853.

Ichabod Nichols was born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1784, graduated at Harvard College in 1802, and officiated as tutor in mathematics at the College from 1805 to 1809. He was settled over a church in Portland in 1809, at first as a colleague. Eminent in his profession, he always retained his interest in mathematics and astronomy, and took careful observations on the solar eclipse of Sept. 17, 1811. In 1855 his society released him from active service, and he passed his retirement in Cambridge and died there in 1859.

The foundation of the astronomical observatory at Cambridge marks a new epoch in the cultivation of astronomy in this vicinity. Previously no adequate means existed for making observations of precision with fixed instruments, as contrasted with what might be done with ordinary telescopes by amateurs. In observing the comet of 1811 Professor Farrar relied upon a sextant for position and a watch for time. The best map of the States rests upon a trigonometrical survey of excellent quality, but with no better astronomical support than was given to it by latitudes and longitudes obtained with sextants and chronometers. W. C. Bond, who died in 1859 at the head of a great observatory and with a world-wide reputation, began life with few external advantages. He was born in Portland in 1789; but his father moved to Boston in 1790, and the son received here his pittance of education. The father was a watchmaker of narrow means, and required the assistance of his son in his business "before he had learned the multiplication table;" but the delicacy of touch and vision which he acquired in his trade were not wasted upon him in his scientific work,—and Joseph Henry probably profited by the same hard discipline. The total eclipse of the sun in 1806, when Bond was only seventeen years old, made him an astronomer. He extemporized rude instruments for taking the altitude and transit of stars. His vigilance in detecting the comet of 1811, four months before it was seen in Cambridge, brought him to the notice of Dr. Bowditch and Professor Farrar. Through their influence he received a commission from the Corporation of Harvard College to visit the principal observatories of Europe. Between 1820 and 1842 he observed eclipses and occultations at his home in Dorchester with instruments bought at his own expense, among them a meridian instrument for getting correct time. During the last part of this period he was employed by the United States Government in making observations in co-operation with the officers of the United States antarctic expedition. In 1842 he was induced by President Quincy to come to Cambridge,—the College furnishing a house, which served as a primitive observatory, and Mr. Bond providing all the instruments which were of much value; but an astronomer without an observatory was an inconsistency too glaring to continue long. In this emergency the comet of 1843 blazed almost at midday in the very face of the sun, awakening a popular interest in astronomy which the august and solemn motion of the stars could not excite. President Quincy and Professor Peirce took advantage of the event

to make an effectual appeal to the liberality of the citizens of Boston. In 1844 the observatory was built; in 1847 an equatorial telescope, unrivalled in its day, was placed under the large dome; and in 1848 the meridian circle was ready for work.

Under the wise and able direction of the two Bonds and Professor Winlock (the endowments of each happily supplementing those of the others) the observatory soon acquired, and afterward maintained, a high rank with the best equipped and most fully appointed observatories of the Old World, and stimulated other institutions and the national government to follow the example. Here, for the first time in this country, was an addition made to the permanent bodies of the solar system when the elder Bond discovered the eighth satellite of Saturn and its dark inner ring. His researches on the nebulæ of Orion and Andromeda, and on the physical aspect of the planets, especially of the Saturnian system, revealed the delicacy of his vision no less than the excellence of his instruments.

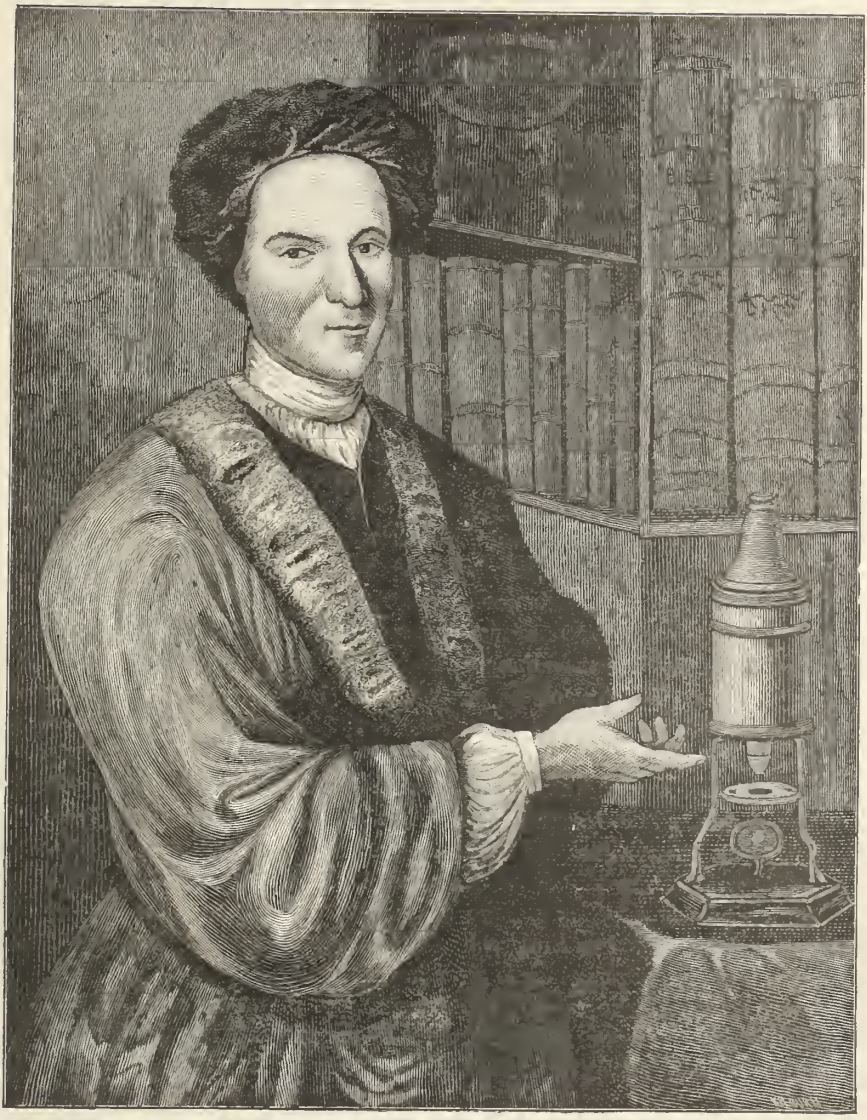
One other astronomer deserves to be noticed: —

William Mitchell was born in Nantucket in 1791. He was educated on the Island, but none of his teachers ever inspired him with a love of books. At the age of fifteen he was put to learning the trade of cooper. From eighteen to twenty-one he was a teacher. Then for ten years (1812–22) he was in business with his father. From 1822 to 1830 he was again employed in teaching. From 1830 to his retirement in 1861 he was an officer in an insurance company or a bank. At times and in several capacities he represented the Island at the State Capital. He inherited a love of astronomy, and diffused a scientific atmosphere around his home and neighborhood. He had taught himself enough of mathematics to enable him to calculate the annular eclipse of Feb. 12, 1831, which he had also the satisfaction of observing. He was probably the first in the country to welcome Halley's comet on its return in 1835. The Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey employed him in making observations for determining the latitude and longitude of Nantucket. In 1860 he received an honorary degree from Harvard College. He removed to Lynn in 1861, and to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in 1865, and died there in 1869, leaving as a legacy to his daughter (Miss Maria Mitchell) that love of astronomy which he had received from his father.

II. Physics and Chemistry. Brief notices of some of the most eminent in these departments here follow: —

The name of Benjamin Franklin cannot be wholly omitted from this portion of the memorial, although he has been specially commemorated in the second volume.[1] Born in Boston in 1706, and educated at the common schools, he left it at the age of seventeen for Philadelphia, where he died in 1790. Having seen some electrical experiments on a visit to Boston in 1746, he soon became a conspicuous figure in science by his bold experiments, his original discoveries, and his beautiful theory of electricity. Though public affairs engrossed most of his time at a later period, he continued his contributions, practical, experimental, and speculative, in various branches

[1] P. 269.



Edward Bromfield[1]

of science. He was one of the founders of the University of Pennsylvania, and was influential in inaugurating the Philosophical Society in the city of his adoption, — the oldest association in the country dedicated to science.

Edward Bromfield, who was descended from an old family of influence and prop-

[1] [This cut follows a copy made by Miss E. S. Quincy of a likeness, supposed to be by Smibert, which was in the possession of the late Mrs. Blanchard of Harvard, Massachusetts, granddaughter of Henry, a younger brother of Edward Bromfield, Jr. See account of him and his family by D. D. Slade in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* January, 1872, p. 37. — Ed.]

erty in Wales, emigrated from Hampshire, England, to Boston in 1675. Here he became an eminent merchant. His mansion-house stood in the street which now bears his name, but it was then surrounded by fields and groves. His son, of the same name, was born in Boston in 1696, and was also a merchant of high character. He built the first house on Beacon Street,[1] where it remained until 1845, having been sold in 1756 to William Phillips, the son-in-law. In this house Edward Bromfield the Third was born in 1723, and died Aug. 18, 1746, after graduating at Harvard College in 1742. He lived long enough, however, to develop a character and exhibit tastes and talents which have embalmed his name in the memory of succeeding generations, and he might have achieved great distinction in science if his life had been spared. His love of music, united with much mechanical skill, induced him to undertake the construction of an organ (the first built in America), though he had seen only two or three which had been imported from England. This organ was of excellent workmanship, with two rows of keys, and was intended for twelve hundred pipes, though he did not live to complete more than a few hundred. During the siege of Boston the organ and the library of Josiah Quincy, Jr., were removed for safety to a store belonging to William Phillips, where unfortunately both were burned. Young Bromfield was also the first in America to make a microscope, grinding and polishing his own lenses. Possibly he had read a description of the instruments made and used by the famous Dutch microscopist, Leeuwenhoek, which was published in 1740;[2] but he must have depended mainly on his own resources. Dr. Thomas Prince has described in glowing terms the wonderful insight into the mysteries of creation imparted by Bromfield's lenses. He says of the inventor that "he seemed to be making haste to the sight of the *Minima Naturalia*, or the very minutest and original atoms of material substances."[3] For ninety-nine years after he was dead, the sun still shone through the hole in the shutter of the attic window in Beacon Street, which he had cut for his solar microscopes, and a few relics of his instruments are possibly preserved. The only book of his library which has been preserved is Hooke's *Micrographia*, London, 1666. This was given to Miss E. S. Quincy in 1848 by a relative of Edward Bromfield, and was presented by her in 1870 to the library of the Boston Society of Natural History. It contained an autograph and some notes, to which Miss Quincy added a photograph of the portrait which is given in the text.

Edward Bromfield also made sundials, and maps in various kinds of projection. He had a talent for drawing, and cultivated it by the purchase of valuable engravings; among them a glorification of Sir Isaac Newton, by G. Bicknell, 1733 (the first engraver of his day, according to Walpole), doubly memorable as having ornamented the room of President Quincy in Massachusetts Hall during his college days, between 1786 and 1790. Of the few drawings of Bromfield which have escaped the accidents of time and war, the most interesting one was placed by Miss Quincy in the volume given to the Society of Natural History.

Samuel Danforth was born in Cambridge in 1740 and graduated at Harvard College in 1758. He studied medicine, and practised two years in Newport and the rest of his life in Boston, where he died in 1827. His knowledge of chemistry was extensive for his time, and he imported the best collection of chemical apparatus that had then been seen in Boston. Dr. Eliot refers to his father, the Hon. Samuel Danforth of Cambridge, as eminent for his acquaintance with natural philosophy and chemistry.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 521.— Ed.]

[2] *Phil. Trans. Royal Soc.*, London.

[3] *American Magazine*, 1746, p. 548.

Samuel Tenney was born in Rowley in 1748, and graduated at Harvard College in 1772. He studied medicine in Andover and settled in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1775, intending to practise; but he soon joined the army and remained in it to the close of the war. He returned to Exeter, but not to the practice of his profession. He was judge, member of Congress, and member of his State Convention. He published in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a paper on the Waters of Saratoga, and another on the Prismatic Colors; and in the *Medical Repository* an explanation of a curious phenomenon in the heating of water. He died in 1816.

John Lathrop was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1740, and graduated at Princeton College in 1763. After he was prepared for the ministry he was settled at the Old North Church in Boston, in 1768.[1] In 1779 his society united with another, their own building having been destroyed during the war. He received honorary degrees from Harvard in 1768 and from Edinburgh in 1785, and was a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College from 1778 to 1815. Elected a member of the American Academy in 1790, he made several contributions to its *Memoirs* on the effects of lightning, and on the springs and wells in the peninsula of Boston. Dr. Lathrop died in 1816.

Loammi Baldwin was born in Woburn in 1745, and died there in 1807. He had a good education at school, and was fond of mathematics. In 1770 he and Benjamin Thompson obtained permission to attend the lectures on natural philosophy of Professor Winthrop, at Cambridge. A journey of nine miles on foot back to their homes, after each lecture, was not able to damp their zeal. With such rude apparatus as they could extemporize they repeated the experiments which had illustrated the lectures. Mr. Baldwin became a surveyor and engineer, and superintended the construction of the Middlesex Canal, which was called at that time an "immense undertaking."[2] He served in the Revolutionary Army from June 16, 1775, to 1777, when ill health compelled him to retire, with the rank of colonel. He was sheriff of Middlesex from 1780 to 1794. He received an honorary degree from Harvard College in 1785. In 1771 Mr. Baldwin attempted to repeat Franklin's experiment on a thunder-cloud, with a kite; but when the kite had reached an elevation not much above that of the highest trees in the vicinity, he was enveloped in a glare of light which induced him to desist from his attempt. In 1797 he suggested to the American Academy the substitution, for the round lightning-rod, of a square bar jagged at the edges, and other improvements which are now in general use.

Aaron Dexter was born in Malden in 1750. His father was a farmer. He wished to send one of his boys to college, and Aaron was selected.[3] After graduating at Harvard College in 1776 he studied medicine with Dr. S. Danforth, and then made several voyages as ship-surgeon. He was taken prisoner and carried to Halifax. At the close of the war he settled as a physician in Boston. In 1791 the professorship of chemistry was founded in Harvard College by Major Erving, partly as a token of respect and affection for Dr. Dexter. He was professor of Chemistry and *Materia Medica* from 1783 to 1816, and honorary professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1816 to the time of his death in 1829. In 1793 he published in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a paper on the manufacture of potash.[4]

John Prince was born in Boston in 1751. His father was a hatter, and he was apprenticed to a tinman. When he came of age he prepared for Harvard College,

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 240. — Ed.]

[2] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xii. 174. [See Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[3] *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, i. 421.

[4] Vol. II. 165.

and graduated in 1776. In 1779 he was settled over a church in Salem, where he had a prosperous ministry of fifty-seven years and seven months, and which terminated only with his death in 1836. He observed at Beverly the solar eclipse of Oct. 27, 1780,[1] but his taste was more in the direction of mechanics and natural philosophy than of astronomy. He was not only familiar with the best physical apparatus of his day, but he could make it himself; and in some cases he improved upon what could be purchased, by his own inventions. He was often, in deference to his superior judgment, commissioned by colleges and individuals to import apparatus from London. He had collected a valuable library of scientific books which was accessible to Dr. Bowditch before he was known to fame. Mr. Prince encouraged him by his appreciating sympathy, and was always ready to supplement his imperfect early education from his own superior advantages. The improvements which he made in Smeaton's air-pump,[2] accounts of which were widely circulated in foreign journals, made his science and mechanical skill as highly respected abroad as they were at home; and the American air-pump was exalted to a place among the constellations in celestial maps and globes. The eminent mechanician of London, Mr. Adams, adopted the modifications which Dr. Prince had made in his Lucernal Microscope (an instrument now superseded by the photographic camera), with the bare statement that he had received some suggestions from a clergyman.[3] In 1831 Dr. Prince published an account of a new stand which he had constructed for a reflecting telescope. He closes the description of it with this sentence: "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birthday, — 80 years old."[4]

James Thacher was born in Barnstable in 1754. He studied medicine under Dr. Hersey of Hingham, served in the army as surgeon from 1775 to 1783, and then practised in his profession in Plymouth, where he died in 1844. Most of his writings relate to his profession; but he published in the second volume of the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a paper on the art of extracting salt from sea-water. His *American Dispensary* which first appeared in 1810 shows his familiarity with chemistry.

Benjamin Thompson, already mentioned in connection with young Baldwin, was born in Woburn in 1753. At school his special taste was for arithmetic and elementary mathematics, and he found a congenial teacher in the Rev. Samuel Williams of Bradford. Forced at thirteen into a counting-room in Salem, he beguiled his time in these studies and in mechanical pursuits. He then made an unsuccessful attempt to study medicine with a physician in Woburn. After making a second trial of a counting-room, in Boston, he came home with the reputation of being unfitted to support himself or give any comfort to his friends. While teaching school in Concord, New Hampshire, he formed an acquaintance which led to his marriage at nineteen, and introduced him to a social circle suited to his ambition. When the army of the Revolution was in Cambridge, he was active in protecting the library and philosophical apparatus from injury. Disappointed in obtaining the preferment which he courted, and suspected of disloyalty (though acquitted by a court martial), he left the country for England in 1776,[5] and for the Continent in 1784. He received great attention wherever he went, and made himself highly acceptable to the King of Bavaria, from whom he acquired his title of Count Rumford. In his turn he rendered the greatest services to the Bavarian

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 130.
[2] Ibid., i. 497.
[3] *Mass. Hist. Col.*, v. 271.
[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 334.
[5] [But came back for a brief interval to take part in the army acting against the Colonies, and served in South Carolina and near New York. — Ed.]

Government and its impoverished subjects. For his scientific acquirements he was honored with membership of the Royal Society of London and the Institute of France; but his interest in science was largely for its applications to the comfort and happiness of the people. That he could have been great in theoretical science is shown by his experiment at Munich in 1798, and his clear reasoning upon it, which was in advance of the prevailing scientific opinion by half a century. If Massachusetts can claim no exclusive property in his scientific renown, his title to a place in this memorial may rest on the munificent gifts which he made to the American Academy of Sciences in Boston and the scientific department at Cambridge. Count Rumford died in France in 1814.[1]

Nathan Reed was born in Warren in 1759, graduated at Harvard College in 1781, and was employed as tutor in the College from 1783 to 1787. Later he studied medicine and taught a school in Salem; moved to Danvers in 1795, and was a member of Congress from Essex in 1801. In 1807 he changed his residence to Belfast, Maine, where he died in 1849. He had an aptitude for mechanics and mechanical inventions;[2] applied steam to paddles, as Fulton did afterward to wheels, testing his invention in 1789 on Wenham Pond. The Governor, Nathan Dane, Dr. Holyoke, and Dr. Prince went on the trial trip between Danvers and Beverly. He conceived the idea of storing the tidal waters and utilizing their energy. The invention of tubular boilers has also been claimed for him.

John Davis was born in Plymouth in 1761, and graduated at Harvard College in 1781. He was one of the Fellows from 1803 to 1810, and treasurer from 1810 to 1827, and judge in the United States district court from 1801 to 1847. Most of his life was spent in Boston, where he died in 1847. When a Junior in college he was selected as one of the students who accompanied Professor Williams to Penobscot to observe the eclipse of the sun. Outside of his profession he was best known for his antiquarian researches, but he always took a lively interest in astronomy, chemistry, and natural history. In 1811 he republished Winthrop's *Lectures on Comets* and Oliver's *Essay on Comets*, with sketches of their lives; and a *Supplement* on the comet of 1811, by himself. He was the first president of the Linnæan Society of New England, and in 1815 delivered an address on the Advantages of the Study of Natural History, and contributed to the scientific proceedings.

Jacob Perkins was born in Newburyport in 1766. He was a goldsmith by trade, but an inventor by Nature's patent. At the age of twenty-one he made dies for the mint; when he was twenty-four he invented machinery for making nails, and steel plates for bank-notes. He resided for a time in Boston and New York. In 1818 he went to England, and died in London in 1849. There his machinery was highly appreciated and freely adopted. The Society of Arts honored him with its medals. Experiments with his steam-gun, which could discharge a thousand balls a minute, interested the Duke of Wellington and other military men; but gunpowder still holds its place against steam. Among his other inventions was one for measuring the depth of the ocean, and another for registering the speed of a vessel. His measure of the compressibility of water stood for many years as the best word of science on the subject, though it is now thought to be too large. He was elected a member of the American Academy in 1813.

[1] [The *Life of Count Rumford*, by George E. Ellis, was published by the American Academy in 1871, and contains engraved likenesses of him. A portrait by Page, after one by Kellerhofer, hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. — ED.]

[2] *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, i. 184.

Samuel Dexter was born in Boston in 1761, graduated at Harvard College in 1781, and died in Athens, N. Y., in 1816. At a college exhibition in 1780 he delivered a poem on the Progress of Science, which Judge Story states was received with great applause; but he is most widely known as a lawyer and statesman. His father, of the same name (1726–1810), published in 1785, in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy, a paper on the retreat of house-swallows in winter.

In 1792 Captain John Foster Williams communicated to the Boston Marine Society his process for distilling fresh water from salt water, which was published, with drawings, in volumes four and five of the *Massachusetts Magazine.*

Loammi Baldwin, Jr., was born in Woburn in 1780, and graduated at Harvard College in 1800. He studied law, and followed this profession until about 1815, as Professor Ashur Ware (afterward Judge) studied in his office until he left Cambridge. In 1809 Mr. Baldwin published *Thoughts on Political Economy;* but he had a taste for engineering, and visited Europe to accomplish himself in this direction. He became distinguished as an engineer, and was employed by the Government in planning and constructing the dry docks at Norfolk and Charlestown.[1] In 1834 he made his report on the introduction of water into Boston, and in 1835 an additional report.[2] He died in Charlestown in 1838.

John Gorham was born in Boston in 1783, graduated at Harvard College in 1801, and received his medical degree in 1804. He went to Edinburgh to perfect himself in his profession. He was assistant professor of Chemistry and *Materia Medica* in Harvard University from 1809 to 1816, and professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the College from 1816 to 1827. He published *Elements of Chemical Science* in two volumes in 1819. In 1810 he made an analysis of sulphate of barytes, which was afterward published.[3] He died, greatly lamented, in 1829.

Dr. John Feron of Paris, an honorary member of the Academy, published memoirs in 1783 and 1793 on the well-waters of Boston; and S. Godon of Paris, also an honorary member, published an account of mineralogical observations made in 1807–8 in Boston and its vicinity.

J. G. Cogswell was born in Ipswich in 1786, graduated at Harvard College in 1806, studied law with the distinguished Fisher Ames, and was tutor in the College in 1814. In 1816 he went to Göttingen, and took a degree there in 1819. He was librarian of Harvard College from 1820 to 1823, and most of this time also professor of Mineralogy and Geology; he was afterwards one of the founders of the Round Hill School at Northampton. After 1839 he passed many years in New York, and rendered great services to literature and science by the ability he displayed in filling and administering the Astor Library. The last few years of his life were spent in Cambridge, where he died in 1871. He purchased and (with Mr. Andrew Ritchie) presented to Harvard College five thousand minerals and four thousand specimens of plants.

Sylvanus Thayer was born in Braintree in 1788, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1807, and at West Point in 1808. He entered the corps of engineers and rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General. He was engaged in the active duties of his profession until 1817, when he was appointed superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point. His success in its administration was unrivalled, and the character

[1] [See Admiral Preble's chapter on "The Navy and the Charlestown Navy Yard," in Vol. III.— Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III.— Ed.]

[3] *Memoirs of American Academy*, iii. 237.

and efficiency of the institution received from him an impulse which was felt for a long time after he left it. After 1833 he had charge of the construction of Forts Warren and Independence, in Boston Harbor. Fort Winthrop and the harbor improvements began under him. He received honorary degrees from Harvard College in 1825 and 1857. He was chosen a member of the American Academy in 1834, and left it a legacy of one thousand dollars. After his retirement in 1863 he lived at South Braintree, and died there in 1872.[1]

S. F. B. Morse was born in Charlestown in 1791,[2] and graduated at Yale College in 1810. He studied art abroad under Benjamin West. On his return to this country he resided in New York, and died there in 1872. His attention was drawn to the electro-magnetic telegraph in 1832, and his faith in its possibilities was not restrained by a knowledge of its difficulties. With the help of others familiar with the science of electricity, he devised or constructed instruments in 1835, the success of which encouraged him to persevere. In 1843 Congress granted an appropriation of $30,000 for establishing a line between Washington and Baltimore, which was completed in 1844. There are more than fifty claimants for the invention of the electrical telegraph. It is unjust to give the credit of it to any one man, and impossible to divide the honor fairly between them. It may be conceded to Mr. Morse that his writing telegraph embodied the best combination of ideas which were in the air and were the common property of all who breathed. It has gradually supplanted the methods of other countries, and foreign Governments have recognized their obligation to Mr. Morse by gratuities amounting in the aggregate to $80,000.

Daniel Treadwell was born in Ipswich in 1791. His ancestors, back to 1637, were farmers. Equipped with a very common-school education he went, in his fifteenth year, as an apprentice to his brother, who was a goldsmith in Newburyport. At seventeen he came to Boston in the same capacity under Mr. Churchill, also a goldsmith; and at twenty-one he was received as a partner, and remained in the business four years. Meanwhile he had read such books as came within his reach, and studied French, geometry, algebra, mechanics, and the laws of mechanism. As jewellery was too expensive a luxury in time of war, his business was not encouraging; and he turned to more congenial pursuits, which had filled his mind even when his hands were upon his work. His first invention was a machine for making wooden screws, on which two years were expended. In 1818 he began the study of medicine with Dr. John Ware, and continued it for one year and a half; but his passion for machinery again prevailed, and determined the rest of his life. After inventing a printing-press to be worked by the legs instead of the arms, during a short visit to England in 1819 his attention was directed to the steam-press then recently introduced into the office of the *Times*. On his return, in the autumn of 1820, he invented his power-press. As there was not at the time a single steam-engine in Boston he worked it by horse-power; but in order to introduce it he became printer himself for two years, when a Boston bookseller purchased his establishment and patent. The first sheet printed on this continent, by any other than hand-power, was printed on Treadwell's press. At the

[1] [It was by his assistance that the selection of military works for the Boston Public Library was so well made, that, at the outbreak of the war in 1861, it was the collection of all in the country best supplied with authorities on war. Among the books which came from his estate to that library after his death, were found the working drawings by which Fort Warren had been constructed, and which had long been lost to sight from their concealment between the leaves of a large volume. Their absence had occasioned the Government some solicitude during the war. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. III. p. 255. — Ed.]

same time he was publishing, in conjunction with Dr. John Ware, the *Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts*. His election into the American Academy in 1823 brought him into intimate association with the best minds in literature and science. On the foundation of the Mechanics' Institution, in 1826, Dr. Bowditch was president, and Mr. Treadwell a vice-president. About this time he began to lecture in Boston on mechanics, and was employed by the city government in making surveys looking to the introduction of water into Boston.[1] In 1829 he received an honorary degree from Harvard College, and gave a course of lectures to the students. In 1830 he invented his machinery for spinning hemp and flax, a description of which was published, with drawings, in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy.[2] Seven years were spent in maturing this invention, by which yarns are made stronger and more uniform, and also at less cost, than before. By 1833 the number of these machines set up by the Boston Hemp Company was sufficient for the annual manufacture of one thousand tons of hemp. From 1834 to 1845 Mr. Treadwell was Rumford Professor in Harvard College. The remainder of his active life was devoted to the invention and construction of cannon of lighter weight or of larger calibre than had hitherto been thought practicable. He published two memoirs on the subject, remarkable for their scientific precision and the knowledge he displayed of the materials with which he was dealing. After some years of infirmity, Professor Treadwell died in Cambridge in 1872.[3]

J. F. Dana was born in Amherst, N. H., in 1793, and graduated at Harvard College in 1813. He studied medicine, partly with Dr. Gorham and partly in London, and took his degree at the Medical School in 1817. He settled in Cambridge as a physician, and in 1819–20 assisted in refitting the chemical laboratory of the College and in teaching chemistry. Dr. Dana was appointed lecturer on chemistry at Dartmouth in 1817, and professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1820–26. In 1826–27 he was professor of Chemistry in the College of Surgeons, New York; and died there in 1827. He contributed many papers on chemistry, etc., to *Silliman's Journal*, and published in 1826 *Epitome of Chymical Philosophy*.

Simeon Borden was born in Fall River in 1798, and was brought up in Tiverton, R. I. He was fond of mathematics, particularly geometry. He was educated as a surveyor and engineer, and made his own surveying compass. In 1828 he had charge of a machine-shop in Fall River. In 1830 he devised and constructed an instrument for measuring a base line, an account of which was published in the *Transactions* of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. From 1834 to 1841 he was in charge of the Trigonometrical Survey of Massachusetts, having already assisted in the measurement of the base line.[4] Though it was the first example in this country of a geodetic survey, the work was found by the officers of the U. S. Coast Survey to be admirably done. Mr. Borden also laid down the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In 1851 he was employed to suspend a telegraph wire across Hudson River, from the Palisades to Fort Washington, two hundred and twenty feet above the river. He constructed several railroads, and published in 1851 *Useful formulæ adapted to the operations of constructing and locating Railroads*. His residence was in Fall River, where he died in 1856.

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Vol. i. p. 348.

[3] [He provided by will, that, upon the death of his wife, equal fifths of the residue of his estate should be paid to Harvard College Library, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, and the town of Ipswich. — Ed.]

[4] [See map mentioned in Vol. III. Introduction, p. xi. — Ed.]

John Lowell, Jr., son of F. C. Lowell, was born in Boston in 1799. After studying in the schools of Boston and Edinburgh, he entered Harvard College in 1813. He left at the end of two years on account of his health, and in 1816–17 made two voyages to India. On his return he was engaged in the East India business in Boston, giving his leisure to his own cultivation and the public service. After 1832 he made an extended journey in Europe and the East, and died at Bombay in 1836. He inherited a taste for mathematics, and made elaborate computations upon the dimensions of the Pyramids. In 1833, at Edinburgh, he studied mineralogy. While residing in Albania he kept a daily register of the thermometer, barometer, and hygrometer. His bequest of $250,000 for founding the Lowell Institute has, as one of its benefits to the community, been instrumental in diffusing a knowledge of the sciences, and, by that diffusion, inciting some to a scientific career.[1]

III. Natural History. — We continue the plan of personal sketches:

Benjamin Lincoln was born in Hingham in 1733. He was a distinguished officer (Brigadier-General) in the War of the Revolution, and in Shays's Rebellion; Secretary of War in 1781–84; and Collector of Boston from 1789 to 1808. He died at Hingham in 1810. He published two papers in the *Memoirs*[2] of the American Academy, which show that he took an interest in geology and botany. He spent his last years in literary and scientific pursuits.

Manasseh Cutler was one of the earliest cultivators of botany[3] in New England. He was born in Killingly, Conn., in 1742; graduated at Yale in 1765; was settled as minister at Ipswich Hamlet (now Hamilton), where he died in 1823. He studied law, theology, and medicine, after having first tried a mercantile life. He was a pioneer in promoting emigration to the West; and set the example by going there himself, in 1788, in a sulky, — a journey of seven hundred and fifty miles in twenty-nine days. He returned in 1791, and was a member of Congress from 1800 to 1804. In 1785 he published[4] a paper of great merit, and one hundred pages long, giving "An Account of some of the vegetable Productions naturally growing in this Part of America, botanically arranged." He begins with these words: "In an infant country, where Nature has been liberal in her productions, and internal resources are greatly wanted, few objects can be of greater importance than natural history. Yet, unhappily, there is no branch of useful knowledge we have so little cultivated. The cultivation of this branch of science will open to our view the treasures we possess unenjoyed; and must eventually tend to the security and welfare of our citizens, the extension of their commerce, and the improvement of those arts which adorn and embellish life." In 1809 he published a short paper "on a singular natural production, in which one part appears to be a plant and the other an insect, etc." He explains it and says: "It often happens that things which at first view seem miraculous are found on examination not to be miraculous, but produced in the regular course of nature."[5]

Chief-Justice Parsons discovered the *magnolia glauca* near Gloucester. He also made a collection of minerals and fossils.

[1] [See an account of the Institute in the chapter on "Education," and of his family relationship in the chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] Vol. i. pp. 372, 388.

[3] [See the chapter by Professor Asa Gray on "The Flora of Boston and its vicinity," in Vol. I. — Ed.]

[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 396.

[5] Ibid., iii. 161.

John Lowell was born in Newbury in 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1760.[1] He came to Boston in 1761, and died at Roxbury in 1802. He rose to great eminence as a lawyer, statesman, and judge in the U. S. district court. Massachusetts owes to him the most pregnant sentence in the Bill of Rights: *All men are born free and equal.*[2] He was greatly interested in botany and other branches of natural history. His advent into the Corporation of Harvard College, in 1784, was signalized by an appeal to the State Legislature in favor of creating a botanic garden at Cambridge. The King of France had offered "to furnish such garden with every species of seeds and plants which may be requested, from his royal garden, at his own expense." The application was unsuccessful at that critical period in the history of the State. In 1791 President Willard received a letter from Mr. Buck of Hamburg, who had studied under Linnæus, suggesting an exchange in specimens of natural history; but the College was not in a condition to accept the offer. In 1802 Judge Lowell originated a movement, which was fully consummated in 1805, for establishing a botanic garden and a professorship of Natural History in the College; and gave generously to the fund of $30,000 which was raised for this purpose.

Winthrop Sargent was born in Gloucester in 1753, graduated at Harvard College in 1771, and died on his passage from the South to Boston in 1820. He entered the army in 1775, and served with distinction. In 1786 he was appointed surveyor of the Northwest Territory, and, from 1798 to 1801, governor of the Mississippi Territory. He made his large opportunities serve the ends of natural history by publishing in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a catalogue of forest and other trees along the River Ohio, and meteorological observations in the vicinity of Natchez. He also furnished an account of the earthquakes felt in Mississippi, Dec. 16, 1811, and Jan. 23, 1812, the first of which overturned chimneys and rang the bells in the steeples.[3]

Benjamin Waterhouse was born in Newport, R. I., in 1754, and died in Cambridge in 1846. He was sent to London in 1775, and educated at Edinburgh and Leyden universities. In 1782 the Medical School of Harvard University was founded, and Dr. Waterhouse was one of the three professors in it, and remained in office until 1812. For twenty years he gave voluntary lectures to the Senior class in the College, on botany, which were published, with the synopsis of a larger course on natural history, in the *Anthology*;[4] and afterward (1811) in a pamphlet. When, in 1793–96, the nucleus of a mineralogical cabinet was formed by the gifts of Dr. Lettsom and the Hon. James Bowdoin (consisting of more than nine hundred specimens), Dr. Waterhouse was appointed keeper.[5]

William D. Peck[6] was born in Boston in 1763, graduated at Harvard College in 1782, and died in Cambridge in 1822. He tried to be a merchant, but his heart was not in the business. Self-taught, he became an eminent botanist and entomologist. He was the first professor of Natural History at Cambridge, holding office from 1805 to 1822. He published[7] a paper on four remarkable fishes, a description and history of the slug-worm, canker-worm, and lion-ant, and an account of the reputed sea-serpent; also remarks, in Latin, on the *kamellia japonica* and the *thea bohea*. His artistic talent was useful in enabling him to sketch the objects of his study, as is seen in the

[1] [See his family traced in the chapter on "Libraries." — Ed.]

[2] [See the present volume, p. 6, note. — Ed.]

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, ii. 156; iii. 350.

[4] Vol. i. p. 308 (1804).

[5] [See the chapter on "Medicine" in the present volume. — Ed.]

[6] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 161.

[7] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, ii. 46 (1800); iv. 86, 103 (1818); *Mass. Mag.*, vi. 411; vii. 323, 415 (1795).

illustrations which accompany his publications. His father was an eminent naval architect, and built ships for the Government.[1] The son inherited his models and also his mechanical talent, and made a microscope and other instruments, which should help him in his studies. In 1818 he published a catalogue of American and foreign plants in the Botanic Garden. Before coming to Cambridge he had made collections at Kittery of insects, plants, fishes, and birds. For his valuable paper on the canker-worm he received a gold medal from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

In 1785 Robert Annan of Boston described the skeleton of a large animal found near Hudson River. In 1786 the Hon. James Warren of Milton published a paper on the effect of light upon vegetation. In 1788 the Hon. Timothy Edwards of Stockbridge gave an account of a large bone or horn found in his neighborhood. In 1791 the Rev. Asa Packard of Marlborough wrote briefly upon the retreat of swallows in winter. In the same year an anonymous article appeared,[2] "On the Influence of Air upon Vegetation."

In 1794 Professor Williams, formerly the Cambridge astronomer, published a work *On the Natural and Civil History of Vermont*, which indicated his continued interest in science, and was highly praised by a competent authority.

Thaddeus M. Harris was born in Charlestown in 1768, and graduated at Harvard College in 1787. At first he taught school in Worcester, and then was invited to be private secretary to Washington; but he declined the offer, and was appointed librarian of the College, and remained in that office from 1791 to 1793. He was settled as a minister in Dorchester in 1793, and died there in 1842. Dr. Harris published in 1820 a book on the *Natural History of the Bible*, and in 1806 a short paper[3] on shells found in Dorchester.

John Lowell (son of the Judge) was born in Newburyport in 1769,[4] and graduated at Harvard College in 1786. He was a highly gifted lawyer in Boston, but retired from practice in 1803, and gave much of his time to advancing the intelligence and prosperity of the city. He inherited a taste for botany, horticulture, and agriculture; and co-operated with his father's efforts to establish the Botanic Garden at Cambridge. He was a member of the Linnæan Society, and took an active part in its proceedings, communicating a paper on some of the customs of the Italians and Romans.

J. C. Warren was born in Boston in 1778, and graduated at Harvard College in 1797. He studied medicine with his father, and then went to London and Paris to complete his professional studies. He began to practise in Boston in 1802. He was assistant professor in the Medical School from 1806 to 1815, and then succeeded his father to the place which he filled until 1847.[5] He remained an honorary professor till his death, in 1856. As a surgeon he had the highest reputation of any one in New England, — being equally remarkable for his skill and courage. After his retirement in 1847 he devoted himself to natural history and to the interests of the Boston Society of Natural History, of which he was president. He made large collections in anatomy, osteology, and fossils, and formed the Warren Museum, — the central figure in it being the great mastodon from Newburgh. In 1854 he published *Remarks on some Fossil Impressions in the Sandstone Rocks of Connecticut River*. In 1852 he

[1] [See Admiral Preble's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] *Mass. Mag.*, i. 768.

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iii. 159. [See his portrait in Vol. III. p. 593. — Ed.]

[4] [See his portrait in the present volume, p. 285. — Ed.]

[5] [See the chapter on "Medicine" in the present volume, and the notes on his family, Vol. III. p. 61. — Ed.]

published an account of the *Mastodon Giganteus* of North America, with twenty-seven plates; and a second edition in 1856, with thirty plates. Only a week before his death he gave the finishing touch to a memoir on the *Argonauta*, numerous species of which he had collected, described, and delineated. Although seventy years old when he retired from his weighty duties as professor and principal surgeon of the Massachusetts General Hospital, he pursued the studies of his leisure with all his early vigor and enthusiasm.

Thomas Cole was born in Boston in 1779, and graduated at Harvard College in 1798. His profession was that of a teacher. He was at first principal of an academy in Marblehead, and from 1808 to 1835 conducted a school for young ladies in Salem. A disease of the heart compelling him, in 1835, to relinquish the labor and anxiety of his school, he devoted his time to the pursuit of natural history, which was always congenial to his taste. His special study was on the infusoria; and he became an expert in the use of the microscope upon these and other objects which he examined. He was a member of the American Academy and the Essex Institute,[1] and contributed to their *Proceedings*. In 1850 he communicated to the Institute a paper giving a historical sketch of investigations of the infusoria, to which was appended a catalogue of the infusoria found in the neighborhood of Salem. This was printed in the first volume of the *Proceedings* of the Essex Institute. He was highly valued by all who could appreciate zeal and scholarship, and died greatly lamented in 1852.

Parker C. Cleaveland was born in Rowley in 1780, graduated at Harvard College in 1799, was tutor in the College from 1803 to 1805, was professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Bowdoin College from 1805 to 1828, and of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1828 to 1855. He died in 1858. In mineralogy he had no equal in his day, and is regarded as the father of American mineralogy. In 1808 he made a short communication on fossil shells found in the neighborhood of Brunswick; but he is best known by his treatise on *Mineralogy and Geology*, editions of which appeared in 1816, 1822, and 1856. He also published an account of halos and parhelia seen in Brunswick in 1815 and 1818.[2]

George Osgood was born at Fair Haven in 1784. He studied medicine with his father, attending the medical lectures at Cambridge, and occasionally teaching in the district schools. In 1805 he began the practice of his profession in Danvers, where he remained until his death in 1863. In early life he resided for a few years in Hamilton, and, like many others, was inspired by Dr. Cutler with that love of nature and of botany which he carried through his long life. Without being a scientific botanist, he had an extensive knowledge of the flora of his neighborhood, which he made very useful to Dr. Bigelow and others who were studying the subject systematically.

Chester Dewey was born in Sheffield, Mass., in 1784, graduated at Williams College in 1806, was tutor and professor there for nineteen years, and at Rochester, N. Y., from 1850 to his death in 1867. The interval from 1825 to 1850 was also devoted to teaching. For fifty years he was a frequent contributor to the *American Journal of Science*. His duties as professor brought him into closer contact with physical and chemical science than with natural history, and he wrote upon it, particularly upon meteorology;[3] but his inclination was decidedly towards botany, and he made the report upon the *Herbaceous Flowering Plants of Massachusetts*. He selected for special study the genus Carex, followed it up in successive publications for forty-three years, and became a "leading authority" upon it.

[1] *Proceedings*, i. 33. [2] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iii. 155, and iv. 120. [3] Ibid., iv. 387.

Andrew Nichols was born in Danvers in 1785. Until he was eighteen years old he worked upon his father's farm, attending only the district school. His love of nature led him to aspire to the profession of medicine. After spending two years at the Andover Academy he began to study for this profession in 1805, and in 1808 started his practice in Danvers, which he continued until his death in 1853. He was familiar with the flora and fauna of his neighborhood, and published some papers on the "Batrachians" in the *Journal* of the Essex Institute.

Thomas Nuttall was born of humble parents in England in 1786. He was a printer by trade, and emigrated to this country in 1808. He probably brought with him a taste for natural history, but his knowledge was acquired here, and mostly by his own wide explorations, which began within two years of his arrival. He was familiar with mineralogy and ornithology, but his strength was in botany. In 1822 he was appointed curator of the Botanic Garden in Cambridge, and held the place for ten years. Then he resumed his wanderings across the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California, and on the Pacific Ocean. He returned to England in 1842, where he died in 1859. The fruits of his studies were published in this country by the American Academy and the Philosophical Society, and in separate works. His *Remarks and Inquiries Concerning the Birds of Massachusetts* was printed in Cambridge in 1833.[1] Dr. Gray said of him: "Altogether, the name of Nuttall must ever stand very high among the pioneers of botanical science in the United States."

Jacob Bigelow was born in Sudbury in 1787, and graduated at Harvard College in 1806. From 1810 to his death in 1879 he resided in Boston, and attained the highest rank as a scientific physician. He was professor in the Medical School from 1815 to 1855; and Rumford Professor, on the application of science to the arts of life, from 1816 to 1827. Though having many claims on the gratitude of this city, he is here to be remembered for his devotion to natural history. For three years he gave lectures on botany, partly in conjunction with Professor Peck. In 1814 he published a description of the native plants of Boston and the environs, which passed through three editions. In 1817 he began to publish the *American Medical Botany*, which was completed in three volumes in 1820. But his profession and natural history combined did not exhaust the fertility of his knowledge. In 1829 he published *Elements of Technology*, and a second edition in 1840, under the title of *The Useful Arts*, — the fruits of his Rumford lectures.

J. E. Teschemacher was born in England in 1790. He came to this country in 1832, and finally settled in Boston, where he lived twenty-two years, until his death in 1853. He exhibited at an early age a love of nature, and devoted whatever leisure he could extract from a busy mercantile life to the study of natural history, and made himself a good botanist and an accomplished mineralogist. He had an intimate acquaintance with agriculture and horticulture. His latest investigations were instituted with a view to ascertain from what kind of plants coal had been formed; and to this end he had collected an immense number of rich specimens. He was a member of the two principal scientific societies of Boston, and contributed to their Transactions. His addresses before the Boston Society of Natural History, the Horticultural Society, and the Harvard Natural History Society have been published.

Francis Boott was born in Boston in 1792, and graduated at Harvard College in 1810. After spending four years in Europe he returned to this country in 1814, and spent the largest part of the next six years in studying the botany of New England. In

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 91.

1816 he undertook with Dr. Bigelow a botanical exploration of the mountains of New England, ascending Wachuset, Monadnock, Ascutney, and Mount Washington. In 1820 he went to England, and took a degree as Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh in 1824. After studying in the schools of medicine and natural history in Paris, he settled in London as a physician, where he died in 1863. He also lectured on botany, and in one branch of it he was unrivalled. The last six years of his life were devoted to publishing his great work, at his own expense, entitled *Illustrations of the Genus Carex*, on which he had expended many years of labor, and money without stint. At an early period he was invited to the chair of Natural History in Harvard College, but family ties bound him to England.

B. D. Greene [1] was born in Demerara in 1793, while his parents were temporarily absent from Boston, and graduated at Harvard College in 1812. He first studied law and was admitted to the Boston Bar; but his taste for natural history inclined him towards medicine, which he studied in the schools of Paris and Scotland, and in which he took his degree at Edinburgh in 1821. Not needing his profession for his support, he had the leisure and the means to cultivate his scientific tastes. His favorite study was botany. He surrounded himself with an extensive herbarium and a valuable botanical library, not merely for his private use, but for the service of investigators in the country. He did not write for the public, for he was a silent student of nature, and shrank from popular applause; but he rendered a great service to naturalists by his sympathy, his example, and his influence. He was the first president of the Society of Natural History, and made it the recipient of his books and his collections, and also of a generous legacy when he died in 1862.

In the order of time a geologist now appears who, if Boston did nothing for him, did much himself for the scientific reputation of the whole State. Edward Hitchcock was born at Deerfield in 1793. At the academy of his native village he exhibited a love for mathematics and science in general, and served there as the principal from 1815 to 1818. Then he studied theology at New Haven, and was settled in Conway, Mass., from 1821 to 1825. In 1825 he was called to the chair of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, where he remained until his death in 1864. During ten years of this period he served as its president. He was a laborious worker and writer, and produced sixteen volumes and pamphlets, and contributed fifty-three papers to the scientific journals, the most important of which relate to geology. An attempt at a State geological survey had been made by North Carolina. With this exception the two geological surveys of Massachusetts in 1832 and 1837, suggested and executed by Professor Hitchcock, set the example for a brilliant array of similar State and Territorial surveys, equally beneficial to science and to the community, illustrating the natural history and developing the resources of the whole country. Professor Hitchcock's study of fossil foot-prints was embodied, after thirteen years, in a paper published by the American Academy in 1848, with twenty-four plates; but the treasury of the Commonwealth has been freely opened for printing and embellishing his voluminous reports on the geology and ichnology of the State. As one of the principal pioneers in the geology of New England, he deserves a place in this memorial.

In 1818 Dr. J. F. Dana and Dr. S. L. Dana (brothers) made a joint contribution to the *Memoirs* [2] of the American Academy, entitled "Outlines of the Mineralogy and

[1] [He was a son of Gardiner Greene, and married a daughter of Josiah Quincy. — Ed.]

[2] Vol. iv. pp. 129–223.

Geology of Boston and its Vicinity, with a Geological Map." Dr. S. L. Dana was born at Groton in 1795; graduated at Harvard College in 1813, and at the Medical School in 1818. He practised his profession for a time in Gloucester and Waltham; but chemistry had stronger attractions for him, and he engaged in the manufacture of vitriol and other chemicals. In 1833 he was appointed chemist of the Merrimac Print-Works, and removed to Lowell, where he died in 1868. In the application of his science to art, he invented a new process for bleaching, known as the American method, an account of which was published by a foreign society in 1836. Whatever he touched he improved. His inventions in calico-printing led to an interest in agriculture, where he also found room for his science. In 1839–40 he delivered lectures on the Chemistry of Agriculture, which were printed under the title of *A Muck Manual for Farmers*. The Massachusetts Agricultural Society awarded him a prize for his *Essay on Manures*. A competent judge has said of him: "In point of time, originality, and ability, Dr. Dana stood first among scientific writers on agriculture in this country."

T. W. Harris was born in Dorchester in 1795. He graduated at Harvard College in 1815, and at the Medical School in 1820. From this time until 1831 he practised in his profession at Milton. He was librarian at the College from 1831 to his death in 1856, and for part of the time gave instruction in natural history. Though harassed by incessant cares he acquired an enviable reputation as a naturalist, at home and abroad. He was a most conscientious observer, and gifted with the power of making a faithful and intelligible transcript of what he saw, by pen and pencil. His specialty was entomology, in which he had no equal; and his report to the Legislature in 1841 on insects injurious to vegetation testifies to his industry and patience, his accurate eye and his facility of description. He was at home in other branches of natural history (especially in botany), and published fifty papers upon them. At the time of his death he had been engaged upon the study of the origin of cultivated plants, and man's agency in their distribution. Three editions (in 1842, 1852, and 1862) were published of his *Insects of New England Injurious to Vegetation*. To say that his merits were equal to his modesty, is to award him the highest praise.

Since the sounds of Boston's last great celebration died upon the ear, it has lost one of its best citizens, having many claims upon its gratitude in addition to the encouragement which he gave to the love of Nature. G. B. Emerson was born in Wells, Me., in 1797, graduated at Harvard College in 1817, and was tutor in mathematics there from 1819 to 1821. He was the first principal of the High School of Boston, then teacher of his own private school for young ladies, and always devoted to the interests of education throughout the State.[1] Before coming to college he was familiar with the trees, plants, and shrubs around his home, and was eager to read all books on botany that were within his reach. When, in 1837, a movement was made by the Society of Natural History to induce the Legislature to authorize a zoölogical and botanical survey of the State, as the fitting complement to the geological survey, Mr. Emerson was selected to represent the society, of which he was then the president. The Government responded promptly to the appeal, and Governor Everett requested Mr. Emerson to recommend persons fitted to conduct such a survey. The members of the society were anxious that Mr. Emerson himself should take part in it, and he was induced to divide the botany with Professor Dewey. He devoted the summer vacation for nine years to explorations through the State, the issue of which was his

[1] [See the chapter on "Education" in the present volume. — Ed.]

admirable *Report on the Trees and Shrubs of Massachusetts*, published in 1846. In 1875 Mr. Emerson published a new edition, elegantly illustrated with colored plates. He died in 1881.

F. W. P. Greenwood was born in Boston in 1797, graduated at Harvard College in 1814, and at the Divinity School in 1817. He was settled at first in Baltimore, and afterward in Boston, where he died in 1843. His fine, sensitive constitution was in harmony with the wonders and beauties of nature, and he made a special study of conchology and botany. Dr. Greenwood was an active and highly esteemed member of the Society of Natural History, and made frequent contributions to its Proceedings.

Silas Durkee was born in Hanover, N. H., in 1798, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1822, and then studied medicine. He practised his profession in Portsmouth until 1841, when he removed to Boston, where he died in 1878. He devoted the leisure of a full and successful professional life to marine botany and entomology, and was an honorary member of the Natural History Society at Montreal and the State Society of New York.

W. B. O. Peabody was born in Exeter, N. H., in 1799, graduated at Harvard College in 1816, and at the Divinity School in 1819. He was settled in Springfield in 1820, where he died in 1847. Outside of his profession Dr. Peabody was interested in natural history, and was selected by Governor Everett to make the report upon the ornithology of Massachusetts.

William Oakes was born in Danvers in 1799, graduated at Harvard College in 1820, and at the Law School in 1825. After an experience of two or three years at Ipswich, he left the practice of the law and devoted himself until his death, in 1848, to the study of natural history, and became the most eminent botanist of his day in New England. While in college he received his first impulse towards this study from Professor Peck. He collected with his own hands specimens of almost every New England plant, making explorations of the White Mountains in 1830 and again in 1842, and attending to the geology and mineralogy as well as to the botany. He prepared a catalogue of the plants of Vermont for Thompson's History of that State, and in 1848 he published *Scenery of the White Mountains*, with sixteen plates; but he was too cautious a student to rush precipitately before the public, and his great legacy to science is his collection of beautiful specimens, with his notes and descriptions, forever paying their silent tribute to his zeal and acquisitions.

What is called the Physics of the Globe may be ranked under the head of Physics or of Natural History, according to the way in which the subject is treated. It is only within a few years that systematic observations in meteorology, and often with self-registering instruments, have superseded the desultory labor of amateurs and revealed the law of the winds and the law of storms. Nevertheless, the history of the weather in this vicinity is more complete than for any other place on this continent, and is equalled by that of few places in Europe.

Mr. Thomas Brattle was one of the earliest observers in this field.[1] The observations of Winthrop, from 1742 to 1779, of Wigglesworth, from 1782 to 1793, of Webber, from 1790 to 1807, supplemented by those of Farrar and Bond, record the tem-

[1] *Phil. Trans.*, xl.

perature and pressure of the air at Cambridge for more than a century. Dr. Enoch Hale's (1790–1848) observations in Boston comprise the period from 1818 to 1848; and those of J. P. Hall (1799–1866) extend from 1821 to 1866.[1] At Salem Dr. Holyoke (1728–1829) kept a meteorological journal from 1786 to 1821, and with less fulness to 1829.[2] If the ordinary march of the atmospheric changes did not escape notice, it is certain that no extraordinary aspect of the sky would pass unheeded. Such were the dark days of 1716, 1780, 1785, and 1819, surpassing in gloom that of 1881. Such were the earthquakes of 1638, 1658, 1663, 1727, and 1755. The last was the occasion of a lecture given by Professor Winthrop in the college chapel. The Rev. Thomas Prince, of the Old South Church, took the same occasion to reprint a sermon which first appeared in connection with the earthquake of 1727. He indulged in some reflections[3] on Mr. Winthrop for diverting the minds of the people, by his physical explanation, from the moral consideration suggested by the extraordinary season. Mr. Winthrop said, in reply, that the season was no more extraordinary when he gave his lecture than when Dr. Prince reprinted his sermon, with an elaborate appendix, — both the sermon and the appendix entering largely, if not deeply, into a material explanation of the event. Professor Williams made a careful study of the twenty-four earthquakes felt in this vicinity during the last century.[4]

Since the first aurora borealis was observed in Boston, Dec. 17, 1719, a record has been kept at Cambridge of similar displays, amounting to about seven hundred; and the theory of Mairan in regard to the periodicity of the Northern Lights has been corroborated.[5]

A knowledge of the declination of the magnetic needle and its changes is indispensable at sea, and of no small importance on land, especially in a country where the original surveys were made by compass. The observations of Brattle, Winthrop, Williams, Willard, Sewall, Bowditch, and Bond, at Cambridge, Salem, or Boston, have preserved the history of these changes since 1708. Professor Sewall (1734–1804) was an indefatigable observer. "Often in my youth," says Mr. Sydney Willard,[6] "I saw Mr. Sewall passing slowly by the President's house, crippled, tottering, and tremulous from debility, steadying himself by the fence, and now and then stopping at the President's to communicate his magnetic observations."

The limits prescribed to this paper make it necessary to omit everything but the names of the scientific men who were born in and around Boston since 1800, but who have finished their work on earth. In many cases their names alone are sufficient to indicate who they were to the present generation. The reputation of not a few is world-wide. All of them were members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, or of the Boston Society of Natural History, or of both. Extended notices of their lives and labors may be found in the publications of these societies. Arranged chronologically, there have been in (1) *Mathematics and Astronomy*, Sears C. Walker, Benjamin Peirce, George P. Bond, Joseph Win-

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, vi. 229.
[2] Ibid., ii. 89; iv. 361, and i. 107.
[3] *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 26, 1755.
[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 260.
[5] Ibid., ix. 101.
[6] *Memories of Youth, etc.*, i. 125.

lock, Chauncey Wright, and W. P. G. Bartlett; (2) *Physics and Chemistry*, Francis Peabody, Joseph H. Abbot, Martin Gay, Henry C. Perkins, Charles T. Jackson, Charles H. Davis, J. H. Temple, and Charles G. Page; (3) *Natural History*, James Deane, Amos Binney, A. A. Gould, Charles Pickering, J. B. S. Jackson, Louis Agassiz, Francis Alger, Joseph P. Couthouy, John L. Russell, J. W. Bailey, T. M. Brewer, Jeffries Wyman, Henry Bryant, Louis F. de Pourtalès, J. B. Perry, Henry J. Clark, W. I. Burnett, Edwin Bicknell, and R. H. Wheatland.

In reviewing the ground covered by this memorial, the reader will notice that a taste for mathematics and physical science was developed at an earlier period than the love of natural history; but the latter has grown to be a formidable rival. A large part of the work done in science in every field has been accomplished by amateurs otherwise engaged in earning a support. In the last century and before, it was the clergy, — at a later period it was the physicians, — who recruited the ranks of scientific men.

This is a memorial of the dead and not of the living. Even the names will be missed here of veterans in science whose reputation has crossed the ocean and is an honor to the places that can claim them; but happily they still live, and must wait for the appendix which 1930 will bring to these volumes. The coming jubilee is full of promise for science. Academies, societies, observatories, laboratories, museums, libraries, journals, — all stand ready to lend a helping hand. These institutions are memorials of the science which is ripe for them and of the intelligent munificence which has endowed them. It would be invidious to name the largest benefactors unless there was room for all. Some have given of their poverty; others from their abundance. Praise to those who, when Boston was young, did what they could for science without these advantages! Discoveries can no longer be made by scratching on the surface of nature; delicate and costly instruments must be provided. Scientific men will furnish the nerves, if the wealth of the community will supply the sinews. Listen to the words of Washington addressed to the first Congress: "There is nothing that can better deserve your attentive patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in any country the surest basis of public happiness."

Joseph Lovering.

CHAPTER X.

MEDICINE IN BOSTON.

BY SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D.,
City Physician, and Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society;
WITH ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA
BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M.D.,
Parkman Professor of Anatomy in Harvard University.

THE need of a medical man to accompany the planters of Massachusetts Bay was recognized by the Company from the very outset. At one of its earliest meetings, held in London on March 5, 1628–29, it is recorded that a proposition was made "to Intertayne a surgeon for [the] plantacon," and Mr. Pratt "was ppounded as an abell man" for the place. His given name was John, and after coming to New England he lived at one time in Cambridge. At the same meeting Robert Morley was appointed "to serue as a barber and a surgeon [on all] occasyons belonging to his Calling to aney of this [Company] that are planters, or there seruants." In those days a barber-surgeon attended to the ordinary cases of minor surgery, such as pulling teeth, bleeding, and cupping. This record furnishes the earliest official action taken by the Massachusetts Company to supply the colonists with medical attendance.

Before this time, however, the Puritans in England had been subjected to bitter persecution; and, foreseeing the possibility of an ejectment, a considerable number of their ministers had studied medicine. They saw the probable wants of the future, and fitted themselves, as best they could, for any emergency that might arise in a new settlement. Hence they formed a large proportion of the early physicians of the colony. These Puritan ministers were men of liberal education, and some of them authors of the earliest medical treatises printed in America. It was with them a matter of conscientious duty to heal the body as well as to save the soul. Each one practised in his own flock, and for his fee generally received that which is considered better than money, though not equally current at the counter. Occasionally they took part in the medical controversies of the day, and defended their views with much skill and ability. Cotton Mather speaks of this union of the two professions as an "Angelical Conjunction," and says that "ever since the Days of *Luke* the Evangelist, Skill in *Physick* has been frequently professed and practised by Persons whose more declared Business was the Study of *Divinity*."[1]

[1] *Magnalia*, book iii., chap. xxvi. p. 151.

At the period when Massachusetts was settled, medicine was an art rather than a science, and just ready to take a new departure under the guidance of Sydenham. Certain facts about disease were learned by rote, as it were, and the treatment was nearly the same in all cases without regard to the minute symptoms. The public believed in *specifics*, and remedies were prescribed as if they were infallible or sovereign. Says Shakespeare: —

> "The sovereign'st thing on earth
> Was parmaceti, for an inward bruise."

About this time there were in Europe two schools of medical practice, of which the one was in the habit of prescribing vegetable substances alone, and the other for the most part mineral preparations. The first of these schools was denominated the Galenists, as they were supposed to follow the teachings of Galen; and they might be termed the Botanic doctors of that day. The other school adopted the doctrines of Paracelsus, and gave "chemical" medicines, which included mineral substances and a few of the most active vegetable compounds. The supporters of the second school were sometimes called Chemists. There was of course a bitter rivalry between the two sects; and if everything that was said about the one by the other was true, the poor patients had to suffer. It is very likely that the prejudice existing to-day against mineral medicines dates back to this hostility.

An advertisement in the *Boston Gazette*, June 19, 1744, speaks of "All Sorts of Drugs and Medicines, both Chymical and Galenical," — an allusion to these two schools.

The early physicians of New England, however, do not seem to have entered into this medical controversy, but gave such remedies as they saw fit, without regard to either faction, though they followed a routine practice. The relation of cause and effect was slighted by them, and an air of mystery and superstition pervaded the whole domain of therapeutics. The literature of the profession was scanty, and for that reason easily mastered. They had no knowledge of pathology, and but little of anatomy. It must not be forgotten that there were but few regular graduates of medicine in the country for more than a hundred years after its settlement. Dr. William Douglass, a young Scotchman who had just begun practice in Boston, writing to Cadwallader Colden, of New York, under date of Feb. 20, 1720–21, says that "we abound with Practitioners, though no other graduate than myself. We have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston. All our Practitioners dispense their own medicines." [1]

The remedies used by the early practitioners of Massachusetts were made up largely of "simples," as they were called in contradistinction to compounds, and consisted principally of herbs dear to old women, though none the less valuable on that account. Occasionally they strike us as absurd, and sometimes excite feelings akin to disgust. Excretions and secretions

[1] 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ii. 164.

were employed as curative agents, and had their particular parts to play in the treatment of disease. These remedies were prescribed at times by the best physicians two hundred years ago. When Charles II. was on his death-bed, according to Macaulay, he was bled largely, and a loathsome volatile salt, extracted from human skulls, was forced into his mouth.

John Winthrop, the founder of Boston and Governor of Massachusetts, was well versed in medicine; but his public services to the colony were so marked that his minor ministrations among friends and neighbors are thrown into the background. The venerable Cotton says of him just before his death, that he had been a "*Help* for our *Bodies* by *Physick*, for our *Estates* by *Law*." [1]

His son, John Winthrop, Jr., for some years an inhabitant of Massachusetts and afterward Governor of Connecticut, was a noted physician.[2] He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society of London, and an accomplished scholar. He had a large correspondence with scientific men, from which many interesting facts are gathered about medicine in the early history of the colony. A third generation of the family, represented in the person of Wait Winthrop, a son of John, Jr., was also proficient in the profession. In Cotton Mather's sermon preached at his funeral, Nov. 7, 1717, there is an "Epitaphium," from which the following is an extract: —

MEDICINÆ Peritus;

Qui Arcanis vere Aureis, et Auro preciosioribus potitus;
Quæque et *Hippocratem* et *Helmontium* latuerunt,
Remedia panacæasque Adeptus;
Invalidos omnes ubicunque sine pretio sanitati restituit;
Et pene omnem Naturam fecit Medicam.

Among those who came over in Winthrop's fleet was Richard Palgrave, a physician, from Stepney, London. He settled in Charlestown, though neither himself nor his wife was ever connected with the church in that town. Their ecclesiastical relations were always with Boston, where those of their children who were born in this country were baptized. He lived about twenty years after coming to New England.

Another passenger in the same fleet was William Gager, one of the deacons of the Charlestown Church, whom Governor Dudley styles "a right godly man, skilful chyrurgeon," but who unfortunately died soon after his arrival.

Another among the early settlers of Massachusetts who practised medicine was Giles Firmin, Jr., who came to this country in 1632. His father — "a godly man, an apothecary of Sudbury in England," according to Winthrop — arrived here about the same time; and in some accounts the two have been confounded from the similarity of their names. It is very likely that the elder Giles was a medical practitioner. The son did not long remain in Boston, but soon returned to England; coming again, however, to these shores a few years subsequently. He had studied for a while at the

[1] *Magnalia*, book ii., chap. iv. p. 15.

[2] See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1862.

University of Cambridge, and was learned in medicine. He is the first man known to have taught in New England this branch of science, and he seems to have left a professional imprint on the minds of his students. A little later he removed to Ipswich, where he was widely known as a successful physician. His practice does not appear to have been a lucrative one, for he writes to Winthrop some years afterward: "I am strongly sett upon to studye divinitie, my studies else must be lost; for physick is but a meene helpe."[1] Subsequently he carried this plan into execution, and studied theology; after which he returned to England, where he was ordained, and settled as a rector. Nevertheless he continued to practise his early profession.

The Apostle Eliot, under date of Sept. 24, 1647, writes to Mr. Shepard, the minister of Cambridge, and expresses the desire that —

"Our young Students in Physick may be trained up better than yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practice before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now."[2]

An "anatomy" is the old name for a skeleton, and Mr. Firmin may be considered, in point of time, the first medical lecturer in the country. His instruction must have been crude, and comprised little more than informal talks about the dry bones before him; but even this might be a great help to the learners. At any rate it seems to have excited an interest in the subject, for the recommendation is made, at the session of the General Court beginning Oct. 27, 1647, a few weeks later than the date of Eliot's letter, that —

"We conceive it very necessary y^t^ such as studies phisick, or chirurgery, may have liberty to reade anotomy, and to anotomize once in foure yeares some malefacto^r^, in case there be such as the Courte shall allow of."[3]

Charles Chauncy, that stern Puritan, President of Harvard College, and also Leonard Hoar, who succeeded him in the presidency, were regular graduates of medicine at Cambridge in England. Chauncy left six sons, all of whom were educated at Harvard College and became preachers. "They had," says Cotton Mather, "an Eminent Skill in *Physick* added unto their other Accomplishments; which, like *him* [their father], they used for the Good of many; as, indeed, it is well known that, until Two Hundred Years ago, *Physick* in *England* was no Profession distinct from Divinity."[4] John Rogers, the fifth president of the college, was also a practitioner of medicine. Hoar was the first president who was a graduate of the institution, but Rogers was an earlier graduate who became its president afterward.

Elisha Cooke was a prominent physician as well as a politician of this

[1] Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers*, etc., p. 109.

[2] 3 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv. 57.

[3] *General Court Records*, ii. 176.

[4] Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii., chap. xxiii. p. 140.

period.[1] He was born in Boston, Sept. 16, 1637, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1657, being one of the first natives of the town that studied medicine. While esteemed as a physician, his reputation is based more on his labors in connection with the body politic than the body physical. He died Oct. 31, 1715, having filled many public positions of trust and honor.

John Dunton, who came to New England in the spring of 1686, wrote home some interesting letters which were published. They contain considerable gossip about men and things in the colony at that time, and refer in particular to two Boston physicians. Dr. Thomas Oakes — a brother of President Oakes, and a graduate of Harvard College — Dunton calls "the greatest Æsculapius of the Countrey," and says that —

"His wise and safe Prescriptions have expell'd more Diseases and rescu'd Languishing Patients from the Jaws of Death, than Mountebanks and Quack-Salvers have sent to those dark Regions: And on that score, Death has declar'd himself his Mortal Enemy: Whereas Death claims a Relation to those Pretenders to Physick, as being both of one Occupation, viz.: that of Killing Men."[2]

In speaking of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, afterward Governor Andros's attorney-general,[3] he writes that —

"His Skill in Pharmacy was such, as rendered him the most compleat Pharmacopean, not only in all Boston, but in all New England; and is beside, as much a Gentleman as any one in all the Countrey." . . . "He is as intimate with Gallen and Hypocrates (at least ways with their works), as ever I have been with you, Even in our most Familiar Converse. And is so conversant with the great variety of Nature, that not a Drug or Simple can Escape him; whose Power and Vertues are known so well to him, he needs not Practise new Experiments upon his Patients, except it be in desperate Cases, when Death must be expell'd by Death. This also is Praise-worthy in him, That to the Poor he always prescribes cheap, but wholesome Medicines, not curing them of a Consumption in their Bodies, and sending it into their Purses; nor yet directing them to the East-Indies to look for Drugs, when they may have far better out of their Gardens."[4]

The opportunities for successful imposition in the treatment of disease were unusually favorable in the early days of the colony; and the quacks were not slow to avail themselves of the chances. During the first winter at Boston, the court of assistants fined Nicholas Knopp five pounds

". . . for takeing vpon him to cure the scurvey by a water of noe worth nor value, which he solde att a very deare rate, to bee imprisoned till hee pay his ffine or giue securytie for it, or els to be whipped and shalbe lyable to any mans accõn of whome hee hath receaued money for the s^d^ water."[5]

The record, however, does not state which dose he took in the way of punishment; but as three pounds of the fine were subsequently remitted, it

[1] [See Vols. I. and II., Index. — Ed.]

[2] *The Publications of the Prince Society*, iv. 93.

[3] [See Vol. II., Index. — Ed.]

[4] *The Publications of the Prince Society*, iv. 94–96.

[5] *General Court Records*, i. 67.

is fair to infer that he was not whipped. If we now had as wise legislation in regard to medicine, there would be less quackery in the community. By a law passed a few years later, regulating the precedence of passengers in ferry-boats, preference was given to public personages, and to "Physitians, Chirurgeons, and Midwives."

The colonial authorities appear to have taken steps, at an early day, to guard against the introduction of infectious and contagious diseases from foreign ports. An order was passed by the General Court, at the session beginning in March, 1647–48, which established a strict quarantine over all vessels coming from the West India Islands. It prohibited the landing of persons or goods from such vessels, until the council saw fit to decree otherwise. At that time "y^e^ plague or like in[fectious] disease" — perhaps yellow fever — was raging in some of these islands, and this fact was the cause of the order. During the session beginning May, 1649, one year afterward, it is recorded that —

"The Courte doth thinke meete, that the order, concerning the stoping of West India ships at the Castle should hereby be repealed seeing it hath pleased God to stay the sicknes there." [1]

No further sanitary regulations are recorded until Oct. 11, 1665, when a warrant was issued by the General Court, ordering all vessels coming from England to be placed in quarantine. This order was due to the prevalence of the "plague" in London at that time; but it was repealed just two years afterward, owing to the disappearance of the disease. The quarantine grounds then were near the Castle. These two orders appear to have been made to meet special emergencies; but they comprise the whole legislation of the seventeenth century, so far as it relates to quarantine in Massachusetts.

It is said that the first appearance of yellow fever in what is now the United States occurred during the summer of 1693, at Boston, where it had been brought from Barbadoes. A fleet, under the command of Sir Francis Wheeler, arrived in the early summer of that year, after an unsuccessful attempt on the island of Martinico. Chief-Justice Sewall alludes to this fleet in his diary,[2] under date of June 13, when he says that "severall of the Frigotts come up above Long Island;" though he does not mention whence they came. It is probable that they had arrived within a few days. A short time afterward he records that —

"Last night Tim° Wadsworth's man dies of the Fever of the Fleet, as is supposed, he having been on board and in the Hold of some ship. Town is much startled at it."

Still later, under date of July 24, he writes: —

"Capt. Turell is buried. Mr. Joseph Dassett was buried yesterday, being much lamented. Jn° Shove and —— Saxton died before, all of the Fleet-Fever, as is

[1] *General Court Records*, ii. 238. [2] 5 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v. 379.

supposed; besides others. The Town is much startled. Capt. Byfield speaks of removing his wife and daughters to Bristow. One of the Fleet-Women dies this day, July 24, 1693, at David Johnson's, over against the Town-house.

"July 25. Three Carpenters die.

"July 26. Dr. Pemberton dies. Persons are generally under much consternation, which Mr. Willard takes notice of in his Prayer."

At irregular intervals after this time, quarantine laws were passed or modified to meet the needs of the public. A necessary adjunct to such legislation was a hospital; and as early as the summer of 1716 a committee of the General Court was appointed to select a location for such a building. In due time they reported on two sites, — Spectacle Island and Squantum Neck; but as the owner of the island would not sell it at a fair price, they recommended Squantum as the proper place. A strong protest to this proposition, however, came from the towns of Dorchester, Braintree, and Milton, and that project was abandoned; but during the next year a quarantine hospital was built on Spectacle Island, which was used for infectious diseases until the year 1737, when the establishment was transferred to Rainsford Island, where it remained until the year 1849. It was then established on Deer Island, where it was kept until April, 1867, when it was removed to Gallop's Island, at which place the quarantine buildings for the port of Boston are now situated.

In the year 1649 a law was passed which is commendatory to the wisdom of that time. It regulated, within certain limits, the practice of medicine and surgery, and required the practitioner to act according to the most approved precepts of the art in each domain. It was a salutary enactment, so far as it went; but it afforded only a slight protection against the deficiencies of the profession. It was like leaning on a broken reed, however, since it made no provision for educating medical men, and established no test of their qualifications. The attempt, however, is worthy of notice as being the first one, on the part of the colonial authorities, to restrain the quackery of the day. The tendency of the law was to confine the profession to skilled persons; and it must be granted that the whole medical legislation of that period was in the interest of sound learning, as understood at the time. The present generation will do well if, tried by the standard two centuries hence, they display as much common-sense in such matters as was shown by the founders of the colony.

The character of the diseases that prevailed in the early days of the colony was substantially the same, though not entirely, as nowadays. It is known that intermittent fever often occurred in certain sections of Massachusetts where now it is never seen.

The Rev. Mr. Danforth of Roxbury, during the winter of 1660, makes the following entry in the church records: "The Lord was pleased to visite vs, with epidemical colds, coughs, agues, and fevers."[1] Under date of Sept. 8, 1671, he says furthermore: "This summer many were visited with y^e^

[1] P. 199.

ague and fever." And again the next year, September 11, he records: "Agues and fevers prevailed much among vs about y^e^ Bay, and fluxes and vomiting at Boston." These extracts are taken from the printed edition.

John Josselyn wrote *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, which was published at London in the year 1674. He speaks of arriving at Boston, Sept. 1, 1671, and finding "the Inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with griping of the guts, and Feaver, and Ague, and bloody Flux."[1] The plain Anglo-Saxon word used as a synonyme of the intestinal canal has gone down in the language, and become indelicate to this generation.

The women had their representatives in the profession in olden times as well as in our day, though they were not so strenuous in regard to their political rights as their modern sisters are. Anne Hutchinson was among the earliest of the sisterhood who practised medicine in Massachusetts. She came to Boston in the year 1636; and in *A Short Story*, etc., by Thomas Welde[2] (London, 1644), she is spoken of as a person "very helpfull in the times of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes."[3]

In the Roxbury *Church Records*, under date of Nov. 27, 1665, Mr. Danforth, the minister, writes: —

"M^rs^ Sarah Alcock dyed, a vertuous woman, of vnstained life, very skilful in physick & chirurgery, exceeding active, yea vnwearied in ministering to y^e^ necessities of others. Her workes praise her in y^e^ gates."[4]

Her husband was a physician, and he is mentioned in the next paragraph.

Two years later, March 27, 1667, it is recorded in the same book that "M^r^ John Alcock, Physician, dyed. His liver was dryed up and become schirrous."[5] Possibly an autopsy was made in this case.

The following quaint epitaph is found in the Phipps Street Burying-ground at Charlestown, and would seem to indicate that occasionally in early times midwives were commissioned to practise their calling. Some mischievous person has skilfully changed the number on the stone slab, so that 3,000 reads 130,000: —

Here lyes Interred y^e^ Body of
M^rs^ Elizabeth Phillips, Wife
to M^r^ Eleazer Phillips. Who
was Born in Westminster, in Great
Brittain. & Commission'd by John
Lord. Bishop. of London, in y^e^ Year
1718 to y^e^ Office of a Midwife; & came
to this Country, in y^e^ Year 1719. & by
y^e^ Blessing of God, has brought into
this world above 3000 Children:
Died May 6^th^ 1761. Aged 76 Years.

[1] P. 213. [2] [See on the authorship, Vol. I. p. 176. — Ed.] [3] P. 31.
[4] P. 203. [5] P. 205.

In the year 1648 Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was found guilty of witchcraft; and she was the first person hanged in New England for that offence.[1] She had been a practising physician, and her medicines, according to the best testimony of that period, had "extraordinary violent effects." It was said that "she would use to tell such as would not make use of her physic, that they would never be healed, and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons."

The earliest treatise on a medical subject published in this country was a broadside, twelve inches by seventeen in size, written by the Rev. Thomas Thacher, the first minister of the Old South. It bears date Jan. 21, 1677–78, and was printed and sold by John Foster, Boston. The title is, *A Brief Rule To guide the Common People of New England How to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks, or Measels.*[2] It was intended to furnish some popular hints in regard to the management of this disease, which was then much more prevalent than now. A second edition of this *Brief Rule* was printed in the year 1702.

The introduction of variolous inoculation was the most important event in the medical history of the Province; and in promoting it the ministers took a leading part. It occurred in the summer of 1721, when there was not a single practitioner of medicine in Boston, with the exception of Dr. William Douglass, who was a regularly graduated physician. Some of the ministers were the peers of the doctors in medical knowledge, though with less clinical experience. In this state of affairs, it can readily be understood that it was a "free fight," whenever there was a medical controversy. Dr. Douglass, the leader of the opponents of inoculation, was a Scotchman, who came to Boston in the year 1718. He received his medical education in Paris and Leyden; was a man of fine intellectual parts, and a versatile writer. He knew astronomy, and could calculate eclipses. He had a taste for natural history, and was withal an excellent botanist. He studied his medical cases, and took careful notes by the bedside. With a large practice, he wrote on a great variety of subjects, and it is not strange that occasionally he was inexact in his statements. It was wittily said of him, by some one, that he was always positive and sometimes accurate. He had little tact, and it is not surprising that he found himself continually in controversy. He died on Oct. 21, 1752, having passed his whole professional life in Boston, where he had much influence as a physician.[3]

The credit of the introduction of inoculation into this country is generally given to the Rev. Cotton Mather, who had read, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society at London, that this method was used in Turkey as a means of protection against small-pox. During a long time the practice had been kept up in Constantinople, where it was brought from

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 133. — Ed.]

[2] [The annexed fac-simile is of a copy, perhaps unique, belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. It has been once before reproduced. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II., Index. — Ed.]

A BRIEF RULE

To guide the Common People of

NEW-ENGLAND

How to order themselves and theirs in the

Small Pocks, or Measels.

THe *small Pox* (whose nature and cure the *Measels* follow) is a disease in the blood, endeavouring to recover a new form and state.

2. This nature attempts---1. By Separation of the impure from the pure, thrusting it out from the Veins to the Flesh.---2. By driving out the impure from the Flesh to the Skin.

3 The first Separation is done in the first four dayes by a Feaverish boyling (Ebullition) of the Blood, laying down the impurities in the Fleshy parts which kindly effected the Feaverish tumult is calmed.

4. The second Separation from the Flesh to the Skin, or *Superficies* is done through the rest of the time of the disease.

5 There are several Errors in ordering these sick ones in both these Operations of Nature which prove very dangerous and commonly deadly either by overmuch hastening Nature beyond its own pace, or in hindering of it from its own vigorous operation.

6 The Separation by Ebullition in the Feaverish heat is over heightned by too much Clothes, too hot a room hot *Cordials*, as *Diascordium*, *Gascons powder* and such like, for hence come *Phrensies*, dangerous excessive sweats, or the flowing of the Pocks into one overspreading sore, vulgarly called the Flox.

7 The same seperation is overmuch hindred by preposterous cooling that Feaverish boyling heat, by *blood letting*, *Glysters*, *Vomits*, *purges*, or *cooling medicines*. For though these many times hasten the coming forth of the *Pox*, yet they take away that supply which should keep them out till they are ripe, wherefore they sink in again to the deadly danger of the sick.

8. If a *Phrensie* happen, or through a *Plethorie* (that is fulness of blood) the Circulation of the blood be hindred, and thereupon the whole mass of blood choaked up, then either let blood, Or see that their diet, or medicines be not altogether cooling, but let them in no wise be heating, therefore let him lye no otherwise covered in his bed then he was wont in health: His Chamber not made hot with fire if the weather be temperate, let him drink small Beer only warm'd with a Toft let him sup up thin *water-gruel*, or *water pottage* made only of Indian Flour and water, instead of *Oat-meal*: Let him eat *boild Apples*; But I would not advise at this time any medicine besides. By this means that excessive *Ebullition* (or boyling of his blood) will by degrees abate, and the Symptoms cease; If not, but the blood be so inraged that it will admit no delay, then either let blood (if Age will bear it) or else give some notably cooling medicine, or refresh him with more free Air.

9 But if the boiling of the blood be weak and dull that there is cause to fear it is not able to work a Separation as it's wont to be in such as have been let blood, or are fat, or Flegmatick or brought low by some other sickness or labour of the (*Gonorrhea*) running of the Reins, or some other Evacuation In such Cases, *Cordials* must drive them out, or they must dy

10. In time of driving out the *Pocks* from the Flesh, here care must be had that the *Pustules* keep out in a right measure till they have attain'd their end without going in again, for that is deadly.

11 In this time take heed when the *Pustules* appear whilst not yet ripe, least by too much heat there arise a new *Ebullition* (or Feaverish boyling) for this troubles the driving out, or brings back the separated parts into the blood, or the Fleshy parts over heated are disabled from a right suppuration or lastly the temper of the blood and tone of the Flesh is so perverted that it cannot overcome and digest the matter driven out

12. Yet on the other hand the breaking out must not be hindred, by exposing the sick unto the cold. The degree of heat must be such as is natural agrees with the temper of the fleshy parts: That with exceeds or falls short is dangerous: Therefore the season of the year, Age of the sick, and their manner of life here require a discreet and different Consideration requiring the Counsel of an expert Physitian.

13. But if by any error a new *Ebullition* ariseth, the same art must be used to allay it as is before expresst.

14. If the *Pustules* go in and a flux of the belly follows (for else there is no such danger) then *Cordials* are to be used, yet moderate and not too often for fear of new *Ebullition*

15 If much spitting (*Ptyalismus*) follow you may hope all will go well, therefore by no means hinder it: Only with warm small Beer let their mouths be washed.

16. When the *Pustules* are dryed and fallen purge well, especially if it be in *Autumn*.

17 As soon as this disease therefore appears by its signs, let the sick abstain from Flesh and Wine, and open Air, let him use small Beer warmed with a Toft for his ordinary drink, and moderately when he desires it For food use *water-gruel*, *water-pottage*, and other things having no manifest hot quality, easy of digestion Boild Apples, and milk sometimes for change, but the coldness taken off. Let the use of his bed be according to the season of the year, and the multitude of the *Pocks*, or as found persons are wont. In Summer let him rise according to custome, yet so as to be defended both from heat and cold in Excess, the disease will be the sooner over and less troublesome, for being kept in bed nourisheth the Feaverish heat and makes the *Pocks* break out with a painful inflamation

19. In a colder season and breaking forth of a multitude of *Pustules*, forcing the sick to keep his bed. let him be covered according to his custome in health a moderate fire in the winter being kindled in his Chamber. morning and Evening: neither need he keep his Arms always in bed, or ly still in the same place, for fear least he should sweat which is very dangerous especially to youth.

20 Before the fourth day use no medicines to drive out, nor be too strict with the sick; for by how much the more gently the *Pustules* do grow, by so much the fuller and perfecter will the Separation be.

21. On the fourth day a gentle *Cordial* may help once given.

22. From that time a small draught of warm milk (not hot) a little dy'd with *Saffron* may be given morning and evening till the *Pustules* are come to their due greatness and ripeness

23 When the *Pustules* begin to dry and crust. least the rotten vapours strike inward, which sometimes causeth sudden death; Take morning and evening some temperate *Cordial* as four or five spoonfuls of *Malago Wine* tinged with a little *Saffron*.

24. When the *Pustules* are dryd and fallen off, purge once and again, especially in the *Autumn Pocks*

25. Beware of anointing with *Oils*, *Fatts*, *Ointments*, and such defensives, for keeping the corrupted matter in the *Pustules* from drying up, by the moisture they fret deeper into the Flesh, and so make the more deep Scars

26. The young and lively men that are brought to a plentiful sweat in this sickness, about the eighth day the sweat stops of it self, by no means afterwards to be driven out again; the sick thereupon feels most troublesome distress and anguish, and then makes abundance of water and so dyes

Few young men and strong thus handled escape, except they fall into abundance of spitting or plentiful bleeding at the nose.

27 Signs discovering the Assault at first are beating pain in the head Forehead and temples, pain in the back, great sleepiness, shifting of the eyes, shunning glimmerings seem before them itching of them also with tears flowing of themselves, itching of the Nose, short breath, dry Cough, sneezing, hoarseness, heat redness, and sense of pricking over the whole body, terrors in the sleep sorrow and restlessness, beating of the heart, *Urine* sometimes as in health, sometime filthy from great *Ebullition*, and all this or many of these with a Feaverish distemper.

28. Signs warning of the probable Event. If they break forth easily, quickly, and soon come to ripening, if the Symptomes be gentle, the Feaver mild, and after the breaking forth it abates if the voice be free, and breathing easie, especially if the Pox be red white distinct, soft few, round, sharp top'd only without and not in the inward parts, if there be large bleeding at the nose. These signs are hopeful

29 But such signs are doubtful, when they difficultly appear, when they sink in again, when they are black, blewish, green, hard, all in one, if the Feaver abate not with their breaking forth if there be Swooning, difficulty of breathing, great thirst, quinsey, great unquietness, and it is very dangerous, if there be toyn'd with it some other malignant Feaver, called by some the pestilential Pox: the *Spotted Feaver* is oft joyned with it

30 Deadly Signs if the *Flux* of the *Belly* happen, when they are broke forth, if the Urine be bloody or black, or the *Ordure* of that Colour, Or if pure blood be cast out by the Belly or Gummis. These Signs are for the most part deadly.

These things have I written Candid Reader, *not to inform the Learned* Physitian *that hath much more cause to understand what pertains to this disease than I, but to give some light to those that have not such advantages, leaving the difficulty of this disease to the* Physitians *Art, Wisdom, and Faithfulness: for the right managing of them in the whole Course of the disease tends both to the* Patients *safety, and the* Physitians *desired Success in his Administrations: For in vain is the* Physitians *Art employed, if they are not under a* Regular Regiment. *I am, though no* Physitian, *yet a well wisher to the sick. And therefore intreating the Lord to turn our hearts, and stay his hand, I am*

A Friend, Reader to the Welfare,

21. 11. 167⅞.

Thomas Thacher.

BOSTON, Printed and sold by *John Foster*. 1677

Asia, and had met with much success. Dr. Mather was impressed with the importance of the method, and tried to interest the Boston doctors in the subject. With one exception, however, they seemed to be either indifferent or opposed to the whole matter. This exception was Dr. Zabdiel Boylston,[1] who took up the practice of it amid the most violent opposition of his professional brethren; and on June 26, 1721, he inoculated his own son Thomas, six years of age, his negro man Jack, of thirty-six years, and a little negro boy, of two and a half years. They all had the disease very lightly, and he was encouraged to try the experiment on others. In his judgment the safety and value of the operation were soon established; but the medical profession were sceptical, and their opposition strong and bitter. With Dr. Douglass at their head they talked against it and wrote against it; and moreover they had the newspaper press on their side. Opposed to them were Dr. Boylston and the ministers, who at last carried the day. At one time the public feeling was so excited that the advocates of the practice were not safe even in their own houses. The town was patrolled by the rabble with halters in their hands, threatening to hang Dr. Boylston, if they could find him, to the nearest tree.

An attempt was made early in the morning of Nov. 14, 1721, by means of a "Fired Granado," to destroy the house of Cotton Mather, who had at the time a kinsman living with him and under his charge for inoculated small-pox. Fortunately the fuse was shaken out of the shell, and no serious damage done. A full account of the affair is given in the *Boston News-Letter*, Nov. 20, 1721, which says that —

> "When the Granado was taken up, there was found a paper so tied with a Thread about the Fuse, that it might outlive the breaking of the Shell, wherein were these words: COTTON MATHER, I was once one of your Meeting; But the Cursed Lye you told of —— ——, You know who, made me leave You, You Dog; And, Damn You, I will Enoculate you with this, with a Pox to you."

Of the Boston newspapers the *New England Courant*, edited by James Franklin, was particularly hostile to the new method.[2] Within the period of one year Dr. Boylston inoculated two hundred and forty-seven persons, and of this number only six died; and during the same time thirty-nine other persons in the neighborhood were inoculated by two other physicians, and all made good recoveries. This low rate of mortality, as compared with that among persons who had taken small-pox in the natural way, was a telling argument in favor of inoculation. The array of these statistics carried the public to the side of Dr. Boylston, who was now honored to the same degree that he had previously been libelled by a fickle populace. He was invited by Sir Hans Sloane, the Court physician, to visit London, where he received the most flattering attentions from the scientists of England, as well as from the reigning family. He was chosen

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 557, and Index to that volume, for references to inoculation. — ED.]

[2] [See the chapter on the "Press of the Provincial Period," in Vol. II. p. 394. — ED.]

a member of the Royal Society, and read a paper before that learned body on the subject of small-pox inoculation in New England. This was published in London in the year 1726, and dedicated by permission to the Princess of Wales. In this pamphlet he gives a minute account of many of his cases, telling the names of his patients in full, besides stating their ages; and in the preface he apologizes for the liberty he has taken in doing so. A second edition of this pamphlet was published at Boston, in the year 1730. In the course of time inoculation conquered all opposition, and finally became a well established fact in the community. Some of those who had bitterly opposed it were now its warmest friends. Notably among them was Dr. Benjamin Franklin; and in the small-pox epidemic of 1752, even Dr. William Douglass both practised inoculation and spoke of it as a "most beneficial Improvement." In writing on the subject he expresses himself "at a loss for the Reasons why Inoculation hitherto is not much used in our Mother Country, *Great Britain*; considering that it has with good Success been practised in our Colonies or Plantations."[1] During three quarters of a century the practice was continued, until it was superseded by the great discovery of Jenner.

The next excitement in the medical history of Boston was an epidemic which raged fifteen years later, and excited great consternation. This was described at the time by Dr. Douglass, a close observer in such cases, who wrote a good account of it. The title of this pamphlet is: "The Practical HISTORY of A New Epidemical Eruptive Miliary Fever, with an Angina Ulcusculosa which prevailed in *Boston*, New England, in the Years 1735 and 1736" (Boston, 1736). The diagnosis was rather obscure, and the disease baffled the skill of the physicians. "It was vulgarly called the *Throat Illness*, or a *Plague in the Throat*, and alarmed the Provinces of New England very much." Dr. Thacher, in his account of Douglass in the *American Medical Biography*, calls the disease by the name of *angina maligna;* which is a generic term, and includes any inflammatory affection of the throat or fauces, such as quinsy, malignant sore throat, croup, or mumps. It has been considered also to be scarlatina; but the description leaves little doubt that the diagnosis at the present time would be diphtheria. Dr. Douglass's essay was republished in the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Boston, 1825), with an editorial note that "it has been pronounced by competent judges one of the best works extant upon the subject of which it treats."[2]

The disease was so malignant and the public so much alarmed, that the town of Boston, in its corporate capacity, took action in the matter; and the following circular in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, April 29, 1736, will explain itself: —

THE *Select-Men of the Town of Boston*, in order to inform the Trading Part of our neighbouring *Colonies* concerning the State of the present *prevailing Distemper* in this Place, did desire a Meeting of as many of the *Practitioners in Physick* as could

[1] Douglass's *Summary*, ii. 412.

[2] xiv. 1–13.

then be conveniently obtain'd. The Practitioners being accordingly met, did unanimously agree to the following *Articles:* —

1. That upon the first appearance of this *Illness* in *Boston*, the *Select-Men* did advise with the *Practitioners;* but they at that Time having not had Opportunities of observing the Progress of the *Distemper*, it was thought advisable (until further Experience) to shut up that *Person* who was supposed to have received it in *Exeter* to the Eastward; upon his Death the Watch was soon removed, but no Infection was observed to spread or catch in that Quarter of the Town; therefore no Watches were appointed in other Parts of the Town where it afterwards appeared, the Practitioners judging it to proceed from some *occult Quality in the Air*, and not from any observable *Infection communicated by Persons or Goods.*

2. The *Practitioners* and their Families have not been *seized* with this Distemper in a more *remarkable* manner (and as it has happened not so much) than other Families in Town, even than those Families who live in solitary Parts thereof.

3. As to the *Mortality* or Malignity of this Distemper, all whom it may concern are referred to the *Boston* Weekly-Journal of *Burials*. By the Burials it is notorious that scarce any Distemper — even the most favourable which has at any Time prevail'd so generally — has produc'd fewer Deaths.

4. As formerly, so now again, after many Months Observation, we conclude, That the present prevailing Distemper appears to us to *proceed from some Affection of the Air, and not from any personal Infection receiv'd from the Sick, or Goods in their neighbourhood.*

Nathaniel Williams.	Hugh Kennedy.
William Douglass.	William Davis.
John Cutler.	Thomas Bulfinch.

Nathaniel Williams, whose name heads the signatures, was an active and useful man in his day and generation. In the affairs of life he performed the triple *rôle* of preacher, doctor, and school-master. The union of these three characters was no infrequent occurrence in former times. In each he appears to have played well his part; and his career entitles him to more than a passing notice. He was the son of Nathaniel and Mary (Oliver) Williams, and was born in Boston, Aug. 23, 1675. He graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1693, and in the summer of 1698 was ordained — according to the sermon preached at his funeral by Thomas Prince — "an Evangelist in the *College-Hall*, for one of the *West India Islands*. But the climate not agreeing with his Constitution, He soon returned to this his *native City*." At one time he was engaged in giving private instruction to boys; and he had the reputation of being an excellent classical scholar. In the year 1703 he was appointed usher at the Free Grammar School, now known as the Boston Latin School; and subsequently, in 1708, he was chosen to the mastership, which position he held until 1734.[1] He studied "*Chymistry* and *Physick* under his Uncle, the Learned Dr. *James Oliver*, of *Cambridge*, one of the most esteemed *Physicians* in his Day;" and even while teaching continued to practise his profession of medicine. He died Jan. 10, 1737–38; and the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of January 12 calls

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xxxiv. — Ed.]

him "the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Nathaniel Williams*," and speaks of him "as a very skilful and successful *Physician*;" and says that "as his Life has been very extensively serviceable, so his Death is esteemed as a public Loss."

The career of Dr. William Douglass has been already noted.

John Cutler was the son of John Cutler, and born Aug. 6, 1676, at Hingham. The father was a "chirurgeon," and served in King Philip's War. He came originally from Holland, where his name was Demesmaker. On coming to this country he adopted the English translation of his Dutch patronymic, and called himself Cutler; and ever afterward the family was so designated. His marriage is thus given in the town records of Hingham: —

"Johannes Demesmaker, a Dutchman (who say his name in English is John Cutler) and Mary Cowell, the daughter of Edward Cowell of Boston, were marryed by Captaine Joshua Hobart on the fourth day of January, 1674."

The births of seven children are also recorded in the same records. I give the entries of the two oldest and the two youngest of these children, as they show how the distinction between the names was made at the outset, and that it was dropped in the course of time. The oldest child was John, who became the physician and signed the circular relating to the epidemic: —

"Johannes Demesmaker, whose name in English is John Cutler, the son of Johannes Demesmaker, a Dutchman, and of Mary his wife, was born on the sixt day of August, 1676."

"Peter Demesmaker (the son of Johannes Demesmaker, a Dutchman, and of Mary his wife, an English woman) was born on the seventh day of July, 1679."

"David Cutler, y^e^ son of Doctor John Cutler and of Mary his wife, was born the first of November, 1689."

"Ruth Cutler, the daughter of Dr. John Cutler, and of Mary his wife, was born y^e^ 24th of February, 169½."

The father removed to Boston about the year 1694, and lived in Marlborough Street, now a part of Washington Street, near the Old South Meeting-house. He had a large practice, and was the preceptor of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, who afterward became famous during the time of the small-pox inoculation. He died, probably in the winter of 1717, and his son John, Jr., inherited his practice as well as the homestead. The son married the widow, Mrs. Joanna (Dodd) Richards; and he was actively connected with the King's Chapel, of which church he was a warden. He died Sept. 23, 1761, having lived a long life of usefulness.

It requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that Hugh Kennedy, the fourth signer of the circular, was a Scotchman.

William Davis, the next signer, died March 14, 1746. The *Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal* of March 18 says that he was "a Gentleman much

improv'd and greatly belov'd among us, as a skillful Physician and Surgeon, and was held in Esteem for his strict Piety." An inventory of his property contained among the items: "Druggs [£] 284: 4: 4;" "Chirurgical Instrum^ts of all Sorts, 120;" "3 Glass Cases of Veins and Anat: 50." This appraisal was made according to the paper money of New England, which at that time was much depreciated; and it would be difficult to calculate the gold value.

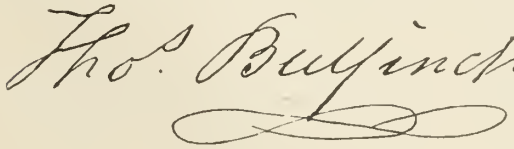
Thomas Bulfinch, the last signer, was the son of Adino Bulfinch, a merchant of Boston, who came to this country from England about the year 1680. The son was born in 1694, and began the study of his profession with Dr. Zabdiel Boylston as his preceptor. He afterward went to London, and received instruction in anatomy and surgery under the famous Cheselden, and subsequently to Paris, where he completed his professional education. On his return to Boston he married a daughter of John Colman, at that time a prominent merchant. He soon acquired the reputation of an excellent physician, and enjoyed a very large practice. He died Dec. 2, 1757, leaving a son, Thomas, Jr., who followed in the footsteps of his father as a successful practitioner.[1]

The first inoculating hospitals in the neighborhood of Boston — one at Point Shirley and the other at Castle William — were opened in the winter of 1764, during an epidemic of small-pox. The Point Shirley hospital was established by the governor of the province, with the advice of the council, and placed under the charge of several physicians. A notice in the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, March 19, 1764, sets forth that —

"Those Physicians of the Town of *Boston* who are engaged in carrying on the inoculating Hospital at *Point Shirley*, being prevented giving their constant Attendance there during the continuance of the *Small-Pox* in Town, hereby notify the Public that they are join'd by Doctor *Barnett* of *New Jersey*, who will constantly attend at said Hospital with one or other of said Physicians whose Business will permit, and employ the utmost Diligence and Attention for the relief of those that put themselves under their care. They further notify that *Point Shirley* contains as many comfortable and decent Houses as will be sufficient to accommodate as many Persons as will probably ever offer for Inoculation at one Time, from this or the neighbouring Governments, and is well furnished with every requisite Convenience both for Sickness and Health."

Dr. William Barnett lived at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and had acquired considerable reputation in Philadelphia as a promoter of variolous inoculation.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xlv, for the father's signature; the son's is herewith. His certificates often occur in the *Massachusetts Archives*, — "Royalists," — that this or the other person's health is such that he should not be confined in the guard-ship. — Ed.]



The Castle William hospital was opened, to quote from the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Feb. 27, 1764, —

"In order to inlarge the Conveniences for Inoculation in addition to those already proposed at Point-*Shirley*, that every Person desirous of undergoing that Operation may have an Opportunity of doing it, without endangering the Spreading the Distemper, and that this Town may be, as soon as possible, freed from the apprehension of the Small-Pox, the Governor has consented that the Barracks of *Castle-William* shall be improved for the Purpose of Inoculation from this Time into the Middle of *May* next. And the said Barracks are now opened to ALL PHYSICIANS having Patients to Inoculate, under such Rules as shall be thought proper to be made for that purpose.

"There are in the Barracks 48 Rooms, each of which will contain ten Patients conveniently."

The following advertisement in the same newspaper of March 5, 1764, furnishes the principal details of its administration: —

DR. SAMUEL GELSTON

Gives this Publick Notice to his Patients in *Boston* and the adjacent Towns that he has prepared (by Permission of his Excellency the Governor) all comfortable Accommodations for them at the Barracks at *Castle-William*, in order to their being inoculated for the Small-Pox under his immediate Care.

N.B. — His Rooms are in that Part of the Barracks where the Patients of Dr. *Nathaniel Perkins*, Dr. *Whitworth*, and Dr. *Lloyd's* are received.

☞ Dr. *Gelston* and Dr. *Warren* reside at *Castle-William* Day and Night.

ALL Persons inclined to go to the Barracks at *Castle-William* to be inoculated where Dr. GELSTON resides, may apply to Dr. LLOYD, at his House near the King's Chapel, who will provide them a Passage to the *Castle*.

Dr. Gelston was a physician of Nantucket, and had previously managed a small-pox hospital at Martha's Vineyard, where he had successfully inoculated eighty-one persons. There were at this time several private establishments in the town, at which inoculation was carried on.[1]

It is said that many came to Boston from all parts of the province and from other colonies to be treated in these hospitals. During a period of five weeks after they were first opened, it is estimated that more than three thousand people received the disease, and not a fatal case among them. The *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, April 16, 1764, is my authority for the statement.

It was during this epidemic that the library of Harvard College was burned, on the night of Jan. 24, 1764. The fire occurred in vacation time, and while the building was used by the General Court, which was then

[1] [The files of the city clerk show at this time a petition of William Tudor and others to the selectmen, to warn a town-meeting to see if they will prevent "four physicians and a foreigner" building a house within the town to inoculate in, May, 1764. The same files show an elaborate chirographical effort of John Vinal, the town's writing-master, asking compensation because the small-pox has broken up his school. — ED.]

sitting temporarily in Cambridge, on account of the small-pox in Boston. Among the losses, a contemporaneous account mentions —

"A collection of the most approved medical Authors, chiefly presented by Mr. James of the island of Jamaica, to which Dr. Mead and other Gentlemen have made very considerable additions; Also anatomical cutts and two compleat skeletons of different sexes. This Collection would have been very serviceable to a Professor of Physic and Anatomy, when the revenues of the College should have been sufficient to subsist a gentleman in this character." [1]

The allusion contained in the last paragraph seems to indicate that the question of a medical professorship in the college had been broached before this time. Even in the earliest days of the institution a certain amount of instruction had been given in medicine. Small though it was, it is not for us to despise its influence. Johnson, in his *Wonder-Working Providence* (London, 1654), — written about the year 1650, — describes the college at a period near that time, and says that "some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physick." [2] It is very likely that Cambridge was the place where Giles Firmin taught anatomy, as mentioned in a previous page of this chapter.

The American Revolution had opened a new field for medical investigations, and the establishment of military hospitals furnished increased facilities for the study of practical anatomy. The opportunities for dissection were frequent, and the young and enthusiastic students of medicine were not slow to avail themselves of these advantages. Dr. John Warren had been appointed superintending surgeon of the military hospital in Boston,[3] and his zeal for anatomical and surgical studies soon prompted him to utilize some of the bodies of soldiers who had died without friends to claim for them the last rites of burial. To this end, in the winter of 1780, he began a course of demonstrations at the hospital, situated at the west end of the town, near the site of the Massachusetts General Hospital; and this course of lectures was the forerunner of those now given at the Harvard Medical School. These demonstrations were carried on with great secrecy, and attended only by a few physicans and medical students. During the next winter another course was given, which was more public; and these two courses laid the foundation of the present Harvard School. Dr. Warren was encouraged in the undertaking by the help he received from the Boston Medical Society, an association organized about that time to pursue anatomical studies. The school began operations in the year 1783; and Dr. Warren was chosen, most naturally, to fill the professorship of anatomy and surgery. At first the lectures were delivered at Cambridge, and were attended not only by the medical students but by the senior

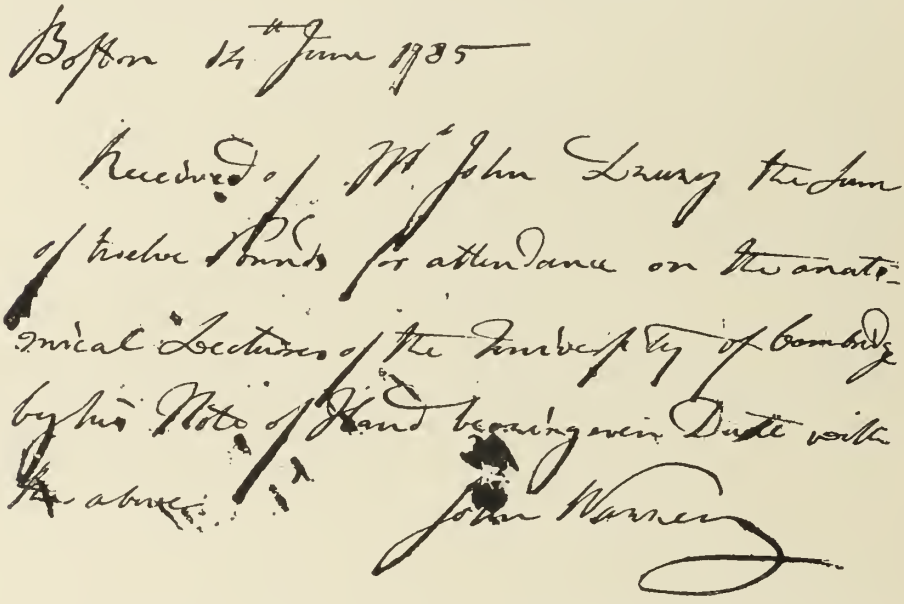
[1] The *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Jan. 30, 1764. [See also Vol. II. p. 432. —Ed.]

[2] P. 165.

[3] [See Vol. III. p. 112. Dr. George B. Loring printed an account of the medical profession in the Revolution, in the *Medical and Surgical Journal*, June 17, 1875; and an account of the physicians of Boston of the same period, by Dr. Ephraim Eliot, is given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1863. — Ed.]

class of the college. Subsequently the whole course of instruction was given in Boston, where there were better opportunities for clinical practice and surgical operations. This change took place in the autumn of 1810, though it had in part been brought about during the preceding year. The removal was followed immediately by a large increase in the number of students.

Dr. Warren held the position from his election, Nov. 22, 1782, until his death, which took place April 4, 1815. He was succeeded by his son, Dr. John Collins Warren, who held the place until the year 1847, when he was followed by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is not a little remarkable that during a period of nearly a century this chair has had but three occupants.


Boston 14th June 1785

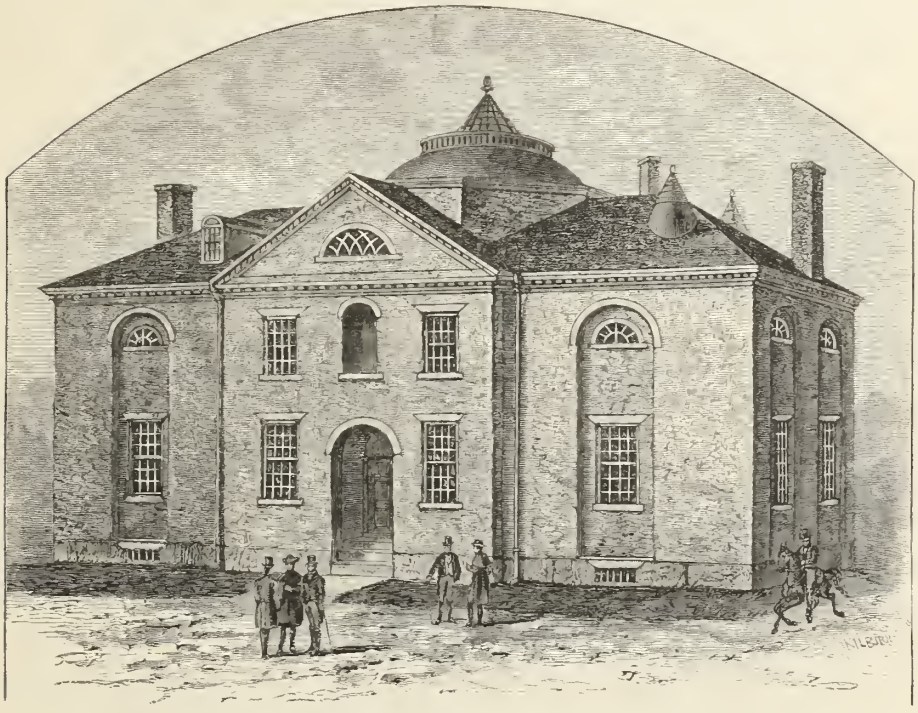
Received of Mr John Lowell the Sum of twelve Pounds for attendance on the anatomical Lectures of the University of Cambridge by his Note of Hand bearing even Date with the above.

John Warren

In the early days of its history the school was not known by its present name, but was called the Medical Institution of Harvard College; though somewhat later it is spoken of as the Medical School of Harvard College, or of Harvard University. Occasionally it is mentioned in the newspapers as the Boston Medical School; and after its removal from Cambridge it is sometimes called the Massachusetts Medical College, — the name given to the building erected in Mason Street for the use of the school. An engraving of this structure may be found in the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, for April, 1816, and is here reproduced. It is only in recent times, — perhaps within twenty-five years, — that the institution has been called the Harvard Medical School. This name has grown up gradually, and now we seldom or never hear any other given to it.

The protective power of vaccination was discovered in England by Edward Jenner, near the end of the last century; and the news of its discovery was soon brought to this country. Among the first persons here,

and perhaps the first whose critical attention was called to its importance, was Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Cambridge. Its introduction, like that of variolous inoculation, was destined to meet with many difficulties and obstacles; and Dr. Waterhouse was to be the champion. He wrote much as an advocate of the cause; and, against popular ridicule and prejudice, he succeeded in carrying the day. A communication, signed with his initials and dated at Cambridge, March 12, is found in the *Columbian Centinel* of March 16, 1799. It is headed "*Something curious in the* MEDICAL



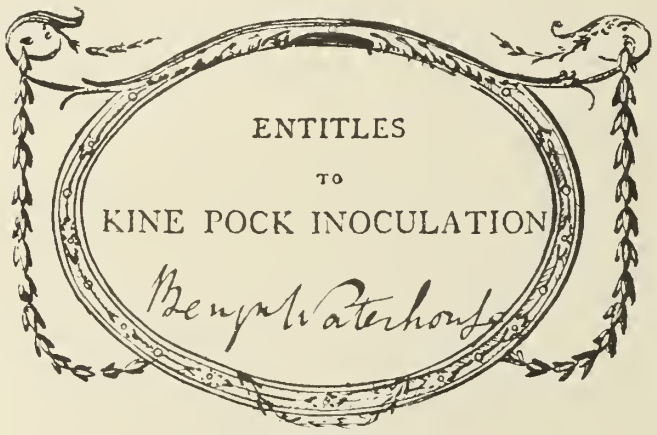
THE MEDICAL COLLEGE IN MASON STREET.[1]

LINE," and is the first account of vaccination that was given to the public in this country. He printed the article in a newspaper in order to excite "the attention of our dairy farmers to such a distemper among their cows," and to inform the profession generally of this security against small-pox.

In the year 1800 he published a tract entitled *A Prospect of Exterminating the Small-pox; being the history of the Variola Vaccina, or Kine-pox*, etc.; and in it he describes the method he used, July 8, 1800, in vaccinating his son, Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, a lad five years of age, who had this disease in a mild way. From the arm of this boy he vaccinated another son, three years old, who had the customary symptoms in a light form; and

[1] It is now an engine-house, the old front facing to the north.

subsequently he "inoculated a servant boy of about 12 years of age, with some of the infected thread from England." This expression furnishes the clew to the method adopted for obtaining the vaccine virus, which came "by a short passage from Bristol," England; though, in the autumn of 1802, Dr. Waterhouse speaks of receiving quill-points, or "tooth picks," charged with virus. Before he had finished the practice in his own family, he had vaccinated four of his children and three of his servants, with no serious symptoms or consequences. The faith he had in the efficacy of the operation, prompting him to try it on one of his own children, was of that living kind which always commands attention. In this matter we are reminded of Dr. Boylston's bold act in inoculating his son for small-pox.



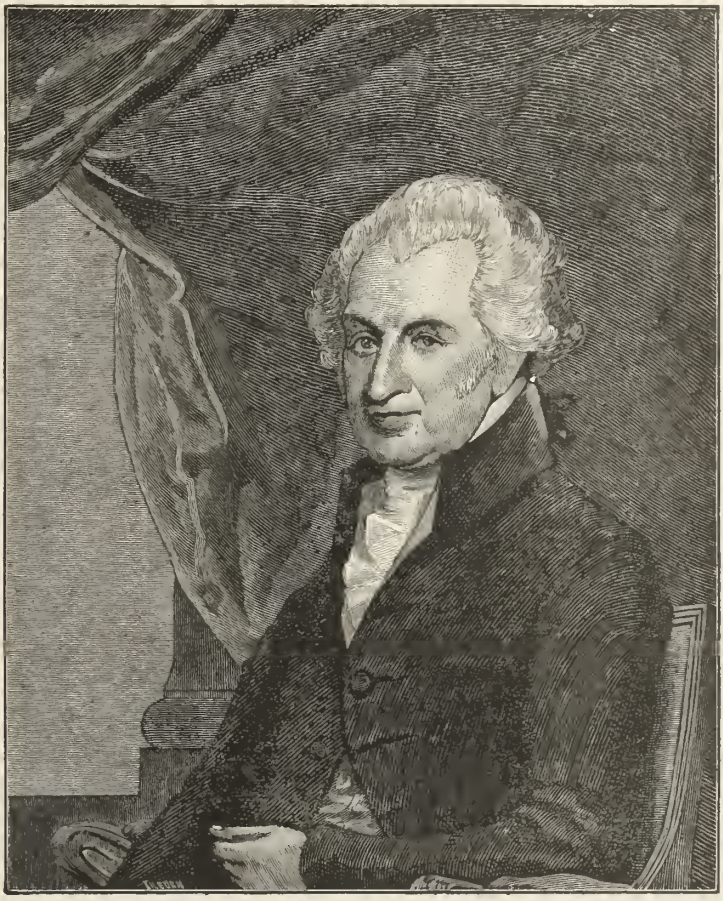
DR. WATERHOUSE'S TICKET.[1]

In the year 1802 Dr. Waterhouse published a work of one hundred and thirty-four pages, which formed Part II. of the previously mentioned tract; and in it he gives a full account of the new inoculation in America. In all his efforts to introduce vaccination, Dr. Waterhouse was warmly seconded by Dr. William Aspinwall, of Brookline, who deserves no small meed of praise in this matter. Dr. Aspinwall had paid much attention to variolous inoculation; and after the death of Dr. Boylston, the first American inoculator in point of time, he erected small-pox hospitals in Brookline, where he treated a large number of patients for the disease, which had been artificially induced. No man in America, probably, ever inoculated so many persons, or enjoyed so wide a reputation for his skill in so doing, as Dr. Aspinwall.

During the summer and autumn of 1802 some interesting experiments were conducted under the direction of the Boston Board of Health, whose unremitting exertions at that time to prevent contagious disease entitle them to the highest praise. The Board fitted up a hospital on Noddle's Island, now known as East Boston, and invited a number of physicians to co-operate with them in an undertaking to diffuse knowledge and dispel prejudice in regard to vaccination. It was here that the trials were made, which fortunately were highly successful. On Aug. 16, 1802, nineteen boys were vaccinated, and all passed through the regular stages of the

[1] This fac-simile, and that of Dr. John Warren's receipt are from originals kindly furnished by John S. H. Fogg, M.D., of South Boston.

cow-pox; and on November 9 twelve of these children, together with a son of Dr. Bartlett, who had previously had the cow-pox, were inoculated for the small-pox with matter taken from a patient in the most infectious state of the disease, and no trouble whatever followed. In order to show the true variolous character of the virus used in this experiment, two lads were inoculated at the same time with the same matter, and in due time a severe eruptive fever followed, with a plenteous crop of variolous pustules. When these two cases were in the right stage, matter was taken from them and



DR. JAMES LLOYD.[1]

inserted, for a second time, in the arms of the twelve children who had been previously inoculated, — and, besides, in the arms of the other seven boys who were absent at the first inoculation. They had, moreover, been exposed to infection, most of them for twenty days, by being in the same room with the two lads who had the small-pox, and all nineteen escaped. These and other facts are given in a report which was made and signed by eleven physicians, — James Lloyd and Benjamin Waterhouse appearing at

[1] [This portrait was painted by Stuart, and now belongs to Miss Alida L. Borland, of Boston. Dr. Lloyd was born at Oyster Bay, Long Island, March 14, 1728, and died March 14, 1810. — ED.]

the head of the list. A full and official account of the whole affair is found in the *Columbian Centinel*, Dec. 18, 1802.

At the beginning of the present century Boston had no hospital for the treatment of general disease, though there were such institutions in New York and Philadelphia. During many years before this time there were various indications in the community that the want of such an establishment was beginning to be felt; and in the summer of 1810 strenuous efforts were made to supply the want, which proved successful. A circular-letter, dated Aug. 20, 1810, was prepared by Dr. James Jackson and Dr. John Collins Warren, and addressed to some of the most influential citizens of Boston and its neighborhood, for the purpose of awakening in their minds an interest in the subject. It was the opinion of Mr. Bowditch, as recorded in his *History of the Massachusetts General Hospital*, that this circular-letter might be regarded as the corner-stone of the institution.

Dr. James Jackson, the first signer, is perhaps the most conspicuous character in the medical annals of Massachusetts. No physician in the State ever exerted so large and lasting an influence over his professional brethren or his patients. Born in Newburyport, Oct. 3, 1777, graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1796, he studied his profession under the venerable Dr. Holyoke, of Salem. In the year 1812 he was appointed to the Hersey Professorship of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, which he continued to hold until 1836. At this time he gave up the active duties of the office, and was chosen Professor *Emeritus*. His writings are numerous, and all his publications show great wisdom as well as literary culture. During a period of more than half a century he was a frequent contributor to the pages of the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, and of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. His death took place on Aug. 27, 1867.[1]

A charter for a hospital was granted by the Legislature, Feb. 25, 1811, containing a liberal gift, made on the condition that $100,000 more should be subscribed by individuals. Besides giving the Province House, the official residence of the Provincial Governors, for this object, the State helped along the matter in various ways. By a special resolve it was provided that the stone for the building should be hammered by the convicts in the State prison at Charlestown. The work thus done is estimated at more than $30,000.[2] The institution was opened in the autumn of 1821; though the McLean Asylum for the treatment of the insane, under the same board of managers, was in operation several years before this time.

The greatest boon to the human race, since the invention of printing, has been unquestionably the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether; and this great fact was first demonstrated to the world at the Massachusetts General Hospital. It was on Oct. 16, 1846, that ether was here

[1] [The *Life of Dr. John C. Warren* contains portraits of Dr. Warren; his father, Dr. John Warren; and of Dr. James Jackson. See also the *History of the Mass. General Hospital*. — ED.]

[2] [Views of the Massachusetts General Hospital are in the *Life of John C. Warren*, p. 208; in the *History* of the hospital; and elsewhere — ED.]

administered, under the immediate supervision of Dr. William Thomas Green Morton, in the presence of the surgeons of the institution. A full account of the affair, together with a detailed statement of the controversy connected with it, is given in Mr. Bowditch's history of the hospital.

The City Hospital, supported entirely by the city, was opened in the year 1864. It is situated in Harrison Avenue, and occupies a square containing nearly seven acres. It consists of a central building and several large pavilions for the treatment of medical or surgical cases. During the past year nearly five thousand patients were treated within the hospital, besides ten thousand six hundred and five out-patients.

The Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital, in the immediate neighborhood of the City Hospital, was opened in the spring of 1876, and is conducted by physicians of the Homœopathic school.

The Carney Hospital, at South Boston, is a large and useful institution; as is also the New England Hospital for Women and Children, situated in Roxbury.

There are numerous other Hospitals and Homes in various parts of the city for the treatment of the sick; notably among them is the Children's Hospital, first opened in the year 1869. A large and commodious building for the use of this institution is now erecting in Huntington Avenue, which will be finished during the coming year.

Samuel A. Green

ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA.

I. Changes of Conditions and Habits affecting the Public and the Profession. — To write of "Medicine in Boston" is not unlike writing of the tides in Boston Harbor. Boston is a fraction of the civilized world, as its harbor is a part of the ocean. In both we must expect to find general laws and phenomena, modified more or less in their aspects by local influences.

It is safe to say that our descendants who may read these pages will be very much the same kind of human beings that we are, as we are very much like those who have gone before us. Elderly people will talk about "old-fashioned snow-storms" as we do. They will speak of "good old-fashioned constitutions," and bewail the degeneracy of the times to which they have survived. It was so in the days of Nestor; it was so in the days of good Dr. Holyoke. Among the fragments left by that excellent and sensible, but not eminently poetical, old physician was one which embodies a feeling

that doubtless extended to many others of the changes which he had lived to witness: —

> ". . . and smoak'd segars!
> Vile substitute for that white, slender tube
> Our fathers erst enjoy'd, in winter's eve,
> When the facetious jest, or funny pun,
> Or tales of olden time, or Salem witch,
> Or quaint conundrum round the genial fire
> The social hour beguil'd."

There are many changes in the conditions of society, and even in the aspects of Nature, taking place from generation to generation, some for the better, some for the worse; and it is not always easy to strike the balance between the helpful and the harmful ones. The clearing of the forests alters the whole face of the country, — to some extent modifying the climate. The damming of streams necessarily introduces new sources of disease. Look at our Boston as it was in 1630, and as we now see it! Faith, aided by certain material agencies, has said to one of the hills of the Trimountain triplet, "Remove hence to yonder place!" and it has removed, being literally "cast into the sea." The little neck which united Boston to the main land has expanded into a great territory, covered with costly edifices. The old "Mill Pond" has been so long a part of the solid territory that its former existence is only known to a few students of the past. A little brook of fresh water from the hills runs through every street, and waits at every man's door, ready to serve him at an instant's notice. These are changes which might well be expected to affect the health of the citizens, directly or indirectly.

There has always been a prejudice in the minds of some of the old inhabitants against the "made land" of Boston. The territory embracing what was once the Mill Pond is said to have been unfavorable to the health of its inhabitants. Some have felt apprehensive that the creation of the New Boston, as we might almost venture to call it, — the stately city lying west of the Common, — would call a malarious region into existence. So far as our present experience reaches, these apprehensions of timid citizens, — shared, if I remember right, by the late Dr. Buckingham, — have proved groundless. Dr. Edward H. Clarke said to me, some time before his death in 1877, that, up to that date, he had never had a case of typhoid fever in the newly-peopled quarter, where he found a large proportion of his patients. Dr. Charles F. Folsom, late Secretary of the State Board of Health, writes me (Oct. 18, 1881), in answer to my question on the matter, as follows: —

> "As to the Back Bay land, there is no evidence of any conditions unfavorable to health which can amount to proof. If there is any injurious emanation through the gravel from the filth below that, it must be very difficult to prove the fact. There is so much space and sunshine that, on the whole, the mortality is the lowest in the city, — perhaps largely due to the character of the population."

Dr. Folsom says also: —

"There seems to be pretty clear evidence that typhoid fever diminished in Boston after the introduction of Cochituate water, the evidence being chiefly from the statements of physicians. (See *Second Report of the State Board of Health*, pp. 125 *et seq.*) I know of no way of ascertaining its effect on the general death-rate."

The question as to the former and recent origination of fever and ague in this section of the United States is of late years assuming a new interest. On this subject I can speak with some authority. In the year 1837 the Boylston Prize Committee proposed the following question: "To what extent and in what places has intermittent fever been indigenous in New England?" This question I answered to the best of my ability, with the aid of letters from distinguished physicians all over New England in answer to my inquiries. My dissertation, published with other essays in 1838, is accompanied by a map of New England, in which every locality where the disease could be shown to have originated is marked by an asterisk. Of the twenty-nine marked localities fifteen were in Massachusetts. Among these the town of Boston had its place, by the testimony of the earlier writers and on the strength of a single case given by me as related to me by Dr. James Jackson. The patient was a lady, under the care of the late Dr. Dixwell. She had lived in Essex Street for a year or two, and had not been travelling for some time previous, if for many years. "This is the only case," Dr. Jackson says, "I have ever known of intermittent fever in Boston, so far as I am acquainted with that vicinity; nor have I heard on any good authority of a case of this disease in my day within these limits." Even this case he considered questionable. All my inquiries in 1837 failed to bring out evidence of any other indigenous cases. Neither have I been much more fortunate, or unfortunate, in finding proof of the existence of the disease as native here in these later years. Dr. Folsom writes, in the letter above-mentioned: —

"I have never heard of any recent case of intermittent fever in the vicinity of Boston, except three cases near Fresh Pond, in Cambridge, this autumn. I think there were a few in Chelsea some years ago. Dr. Walcott [the successor of Dr. Folsom] tells me that he has no further information. Doubtless you know that there has been a great prevalence of the fever in Western Massachusetts, Eastern New York, and Rhode Island for a few years."

I have recently made inquiries of several of our leading practitioners, but no one of them had seen, in the course of a long practice, a single case undisputedly originating in Boston. My record of more than forty years ago is confirmed by that of to-day. Boston has been, for several generations at least, almost if not absolutely free from that form of malaria which produces fever and ague. That it was not so in the early periods of the settlement is rendered probable by the facts cited from old authorities by Dr. Green, as well as those collected by myself in the dissertation referred to. That it may not be so in the future is rendered, I do not like to say

probable, but certainly not very unlikely, by the facts referred to, which have been observed within the last few years. The *Medical Record* for Oct. 8, 1881, makes the following statement: —

"It is, we believe, about five years since it [*malaria*, — meaning fever and ague, its effect] began to travel up the Connecticut and along the sea-coast. It has now reached some of the river towns in lower Vermont, and has been quite prevalent at several points in western Massachusetts, along the Connecticut River Valley. Cases also occurred at Providence, R. I., and in the vicinity of Boston. According to the Connecticut Board of Health, the malarial wave is gradually extending over that State. The only rule which seems to be observed is that it follows up the river valleys, spreading on either side. It also travels along the coast line, extending thence inland. Local causes do not apparently develop the disease, although marshy ground, newly-turned soil, etc., have in some cases increased the amount or modified its character."

The disease has appeared in the vicinity of New Haven, of Hartford, and of Springfield, at Greenfield, Lenox, and North Adams.

Whether the early experience of Boston and its neighborhood is to be repeated in coming years we can only conjecture; but there is reasonable ground for apprehension in the encroachments on New England territory which have occurred of late years.[1]

Since writing the above paragraph, the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for Oct. 27, 1881, contains a statement, borrowed from the Report of the city registrar of Providence, that there are more than a hundred cases of fever and ague in that city at this time. In the same number of the *Journal* it is stated that the malarial wave has extended up the Blackstone River as far as Lonsdale, where eight cases had been observed by the physician making this statement. Another physician reported thirty cases at Cranston during the present season. I must, therefore, confess that what I claimed for New England in verse so long ago as 1846 cannot be affirmed in truth-telling prose in 1881: —

"Cold are thy skies, but ever fresh and clear,
No rank malaria stains thine atmosphere."

As yet, however, it is true of Boston, and we may hope, rather than confidently trust, will remain so in the coming centuries.

With the swarming in of a new population of poor foreigners, new sources of disease have naturally come into being. The month of June is commonly the least sickly one of the year in Boston. As the hot weather

[1] See an important paper by Dr. J. F. A. Adams of Pittsfield, Mass., in the supplement to the *Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity*, Boston, 1881. The disease secured a foothold in Massachusetts, "at Sheffield in 1877; but previous to this, a few cases had appeared in three localities: namely, in Springfield since 1870, New Marlborough since 1874, and Holyoke since 1875. In 1878 the disease appeared at Agawam and New Lenox; and in 1879 and 1880 it made a rapid advance, invading a considerable number of towns."

[Dr. Holmes himself was one of the earliest to treat this subject, in his Boylston Prize Essay, 1836. — Ed.]

comes on, the better residences in the newer parts of the city are gradually left for the country, until the broad avenues of our Westminster and the adjacent streets are silent and lonely as Tadmor in the Desert. In July the ravages of the destroying endemic, *cholera infantum*, begin to be formidable, and they continue until the cooler days and nights bring with them typhoid fevers and dysenteries. The large death-rate of Boston is in great measure due to the fearful mortality among children in the crowded streets and poorer dwellings of the city. The malaria of filth and overcrowding takes the place of the marsh miasms which afflict other parts of the country. Why our city should so long have enjoyed exemption from these also it is not easy to say. It has suffered from cholera, from diphtheria, from the ordinary eruptive fevers; in the earlier part of the century from slight inroads of imported yellow fever: but while it has shared the diseases which belong to the whole country and the whole world, and felt the usual effects of crowding common to great cities, it has never known any destructive local pestilence like the plague of London, or the yellow fever of New Orleans or of Philadelphia. A source of anxiety at the present time is the condition of the water supply, which, though abundant, is so far from being satisfactory in quality that spring water is as much an article of commerce as ale or wine; and many families no more think of drinking the Cochituate infusion of organic matters than they would of drinking the salt water of the Charles.

The question as to a change of constitution in the American from the Old-World type and habit is under active discussion at the present time. Long before another century shall be completed, we may trust that a thorough investigation will have taken the place of vague impressions and partial statistics. The Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, sometime President of the College of New Jersey, maintained, as others have since his time, that the white man in America was becoming assimilated to the Indian in physical character. It has been generally believed that the American, as compared with the Englishman, is leaner, paler, more nervous; that his teeth are more liable to decay; that the young women, though singularly handsome in early life, fade much sooner than do their English sisters. All this was attributed to such causes as the climate, which is thought to be drying and stimulating; to the common food, which is accused of being indigestible and badly cooked; to the eager activity of the people in the pursuit of gain, with also a neglect of exercise and athletic amusements. On the other hand, I once heard it maintained by a well known writer that the American is "an Englishman reinforced." In a recent article, founded on long and careful observation in both countries, the characteristic American and English types, as seen in ordinary representations, are said to be found as well marked in one country as in the other. There is at this time a rather common belief that the new generation in this city is breeding up to a higher standard than that of its ancestors. The prevalence of a pleasing *embonpoint* among our young women of higher social condition is

spoken of as quite equal to that observed in England. We are beginning to export beauty with other live products.

Two obvious causes tend to improve the development of the new generation. The first is the prolonged residence in the country of all who can afford it during the hot season. Man, but more especially woman, is a hot-house fruit in our inclement climate. To make up for long confinement under glass, free exposure, so far as the seasons permit, is essential. The second obvious cause of physical improvement is found in the great attention now given to out-of-door exercises. Base-ball and cricket, lawn-tennis and croquet, football, lacrosse, boating, running matches, fencing, sparring, — all these have become serious pursuits, under the name of amusements. Training for athletic contests has been better than sermons in enforcing the connection between perfect health and temperate habits. Wholesome food, abstinence from alcoholic stimulants and narcotic nerve-poisoners have proved their value, or rather their necessity, as conditions of success in the rowing match and foot-race.

We have seen families, long resident among us, run down and die out. We have seen others breed up, showing a physical constitution far superior to that of their progenitors. The question of acclimation cannot be considered fully worked out as yet. But we do know that, under proper influences, vital capital may be accumulated here as well as any other and less valuable property. Daniel Webster and Jeremiah Mason strode in upon us from the hungry hillsides of New Hampshire. Two of the most athletic young men I have known traced their lineage backward through four or more generations to invalids of our city and its immediate neighborhood. How many centuries it may take to mould the true American type, or whether there will be one or many gradually taking shape on the Western Continent, we must leave it to the future to decide. This at least we know, that the fancies of Buffon and the whims of such ethnologists as the late Dr. Knox, of Edinburgh, are already rendered ridiculous by the history of many successive generations, represented at this day by men and women not a few of whom are far above the average European in bodily and mental vigor; while the beauty of American young women is generally recognized as a national characteristic. The causes of improvement and deterioration in the race will vary with time and circumstances; but we have a right to anticipate a constantly growing adaptation of the settlers of the New World to their atmospheric and other natural environments, so that we can hardly guess what physical and mental standard our descendants may reach after a thousand years of ancestral acclimation.

The death-rate among the poorer classes in a crowded city must always, it may be feared, remain large. But there are many circumstances favorable to health in well-built, and especially in well-paved, cities; and we have a right to hope that our city will, by replacing its unwholesome tenements by habitable dwellings, the improvement of its drainage and, we must add, of its water supply, diminish a ratio of mortality now larger than it should be in a town so situated.

II. Medical Practice as it was and is. — Our forefathers appear to have given more thought, a great deal, to the salvation of their souls than to the care of their bodies. Disease itself, the offspring of sin and penalty of a poisoned nature, was for them a theological entity rather than a disturbed physiological process. The superstitions of the clergy were naturally, to some extent, reflected in the practice of the physicians. How far this was the case we have scanty means of knowing, for very little is recorded of the practitioners of medicine as compared with the abundant memoirs of the preachers. One curious fact hints at a difference of opinion and feeling in the two professions, which was probably more extensive and deeper than any record can show. In the endemic mania at Salem the Swinnerton family are said to have been all along opposed to Mr. Parris, and to have kept remarkably clear from the witchcraft delusion. Dr. John Swinnerton, who died just before the reign of ghostly terror prevailed, was the chief medical practitioner of Salem; and we can hardly doubt that his influence had much to do with the attitude taken by the family with reference to the all absorbing question. But notwithstanding the proverbial freedom of thought characterizing the medical profession, we could hardly expect the earlier physicians to have been much in advance of their age; and we can conjecture what must have been the state of medical belief and treatment among the colonists, by recalling the contemporary conditions of medical science and art in the Old World.

If one of the earliest settlers, or of the next generation, had gone to England with a scrofulous child, Richard Wiseman, the distinguished author of *Chirurgicall Treatises*, member of the Honorable Company of Barber Surgeons, would have commended him to the touch of his royal master, as being the divinely appointed cure of the "King's Evill." If the traveller had been fortunate enough to carry an introduction to the Hon. Robert Boyle, one of the most illustrious philosophers of his age, that distinguished gentleman might have handed him a little book which the great man himself had put forth, in which he would find the ashes of the "Sole of an Old Shoe worn by some Man that walks much," or the powdered warts from the leg of a horse, recommended for different affections, — the last for internal use. Mr. Boyle would have very probably advised him to consult Mr. Valentine Greatrakes, the touch-doctor, or to procure some of the "Powder of Sympathy" of Sir Kenelm Digby, wherewith to anoint the *weapon*, not the patient, if one had been wounded. If the colonist had passed over to the Continent he might probably have sought the counsel of the world-renowned Van Helmont, the successor in some respects of Paracelsus, who would have explained to him the mysteries of the *Archæus*, the ruler of the living body, who was to be humored and coaxed or driven into good behavior; perhaps have commended him to his Irish friend, Butler, who would have tried the virtues of his famous pebble upon him. Not much could be expected of medical science in the New World if such was its condition in the Old. Physic was a lucrative calling,

in which the desire of gain, joined to the benevolent purpose of relieving suffering, — aided also by the natural vanity which leads men to overestimate their own powers and performances, — conspired to attribute a much larger share in the movements of disease to medication than really belonged to it. Mr. Ward, the Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon from 1648 to 1679, who might have told us so much, and has told us so little, about Shakespeare, quotes a lively description of the doctors quite as damaging to their patients as to them: "There are several sorts of physicians, said one; first, those that can talk but doe nothing; secondly, some that can doe but not talk; third, some that can both doe and talk; fourthly, some that can neither doe nor talk, — *and these get most monie.*"

I had the privilege of examining and reporting to the Massachusetts Historical Society on a paper of medical directions placed in my hands by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the president of the society. It is headed, "For my worthy friend, Mr. Wintrop," and signed "Ed. Stafford." Its date is 1643; and I was not able to decide whether it was intended for our Governor John Winthrop, or for his son, the Governor of Connecticut. The list of remedies is made up principally of simples, or vegetable substances. St. John's wort, black hellebore, great bryony root, the four great cold seeds, maiden-hair, fennel, parsley, witch-hazel, elder, clown's all-heal (*stachys palustris*), saffron, foxglove, jalap, scammony, snakeroot, are among these, many of them inert, some dangerous, if not carefully handled. Caranna and tacamahacca, — two gums, of which it used to be said, "Whatever the tacamahacca has not cured the caranna will," — and Burgundy pitch are also enumerated. Of mineral substances, lime-water, salt, saltpetre, *crocus metallorum* (sulphuretted oxide of antimony) are mentioned. "A Wilde Catt's skin on y^e^ place grieved" is recommended for pains in the heart or limbs. More formidable to the imagination than any of these is "My black powder against y^e^ plague, small-pox, purples, all sorts of feavers, poyson, either by way of prevention or after infections." This is made by burning toads to charcoal, and reducing this to powder. It belongs to that list of abominations which disgraced the old pharmacopias, but which have disappeared from the armamentarium of regular practitioners. As late, however, as the year 1789, Cullen had to censure Vogel for allowing burnt toads and swallow chicks to remain on his list of remedies.

The Winthrops, — to one of whom Dr. or Mr. Stafford's directions were given, — assisted their fellow-citizens with medical counsel as well as in many other ways. The Governor of Connecticut, John Winthrop, treated a great number of medical cases in Hartford, and left a record of his practice extending from 1657 to 1669. This manuscript was also intrusted to me. I examined it very carefully, and reported upon it in the lecture before the Massachusetts Historical Society to which I have already referred. From it we may get an idea of what was likely to be the kind of treatment to which our Boston predecessors would be submitted. The excellent Governor seems to have been consulted by great numbers of persons, — to

have had a wider circle of practice, it may be suspected, than many or any of those who called themselves doctors. The common diseases of all ages and both sexes appear to have come under his care. Measles and their consequences are at first most prominent, and fever and ague had often to be treated. He used the ordinary simples dear to mothers and nurses, — elecampane, elder, wormwood, anise, and the rest; and besides these certain mineral remedies. Of these, nitre (saltpetre) was his favorite. Another favorite prescription was spermaceti, which, like Hotspur's fop, he seems to have considered "the sovereign'st thing on earth" for inward bruises, and often prescribes after falls and similar injuries. Other remedies were antimony, now and then a little iron or sulphur or calomel, rhubarb, jalap, horseradish (which I remember Cullen recommends for hoarseness), guaiacum, and the old mithridate or farrago which, like so many foolish mixtures, owed all its real virtue to opium. He amused his patients with doses of coral and of amber, and sometimes gave them (let us hope without their knowing it) some of those unmentionable articles which insulted the senses and the stomachs of seventeenth and eighteenth century patients. One medicine which he very often prescribes he calls *rubila*. After long search I found that this consisted of four grains of diaphoretic antimony, with twenty grains of nitre, and a little salt of tin. I do not remember that the Governor ever mentions bleeding or blistering. Whether busy practitioners found time to bleed their patients as readily as those who had little else to do might be questioned. One of my old friends told me that the Philadelphia doctors used to order blood-letting more frequently than the Boston ones, because there was in that city a set of professional bleeders.

Among my old books I found a small manuscript volume of Dr. James Oliver, a famous physician, who graduated at Harvard College in 1680, and died in 1703. It contains an account of the medicines he purchased and prescribed. The usual simples are mentioned, with certain warming elixirs and cordials; and also iron and mercury.

By the kindness of the late librarian of the American Antiquarian Society I had placed in my hands a manuscript of Cotton Mather, entitled "The Angel of Bethesda: an Essay upon the *Common Maladies of Mankind*, offering, first, the sentiments of Piety," etc., and "a Collection of plain but *Potent* and *Approved* REMEDIES for the Maladies." His starting point is, of course, theological. "Sickness is, in Fact, *Flagellum Dei pro peccatis mundi*." The treatise is full of pedantry, superstition, declamation, and miscellaneous folly. Yet Cotton Mather's drag-net is always worth looking through. He prescribes euphrasia, eye-bright, in recognition of the absurd old doctrine of signatures. For the scattering of wens "the efficacy of a Dead Hand has been out of measure wonderful." He apostrophizes the millipede, "Poor sowbug!" and then proclaims its healing virtues. We are to take "half a pound, putt 'em alive into a quart or two of wine," with saffron and other drugs, and of this tincture the patient

is to take two ounces twice a day. He speaks of some of the old remedies thus: —

"Among the plants of our soyl Sir William Temple singles out Five [six] as being of the greatest virtue and most friendly to health; and his favorite plants, Sage, Rue, Saffron, Alehoof, Garlick, and Elder.

"But these *Five* [six] *plants* may admit of some competitors. The QUINQUINA, — How celebrated! Immoderately, Hyperbolically celebrated!"

Of Ipecacuanha he says: —

"This is now in its reign; the most fashionable vomit. . . . I am not sorry that antimonial emetics begin to be disused."

Again: —

"Mercury, we know thee! but we are afraid thou wilt kill us too, if we employ thee to kill them that kill us.

"And yet for the cleansing of the small Blood Vessels, and making way for the free circulation of the Blood and Lymph, there is nothing like Mercurial Deobstruents."

How far Cotton Mather represented the practice of the Boston physicians of his time I have not the means of determining.

In the year 1718 William Douglass, M. D., settled in Boston as a practising physician. He was of Scotch birth, and educated partly in Paris, partly in Leyden. He is said to have been at one time the only practitioner in the town who had a regular degree. He was a man of learning and ability, eminently given to dispute, — a good instance of the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*. He at first opposed Dr. Boylston and Cotton Mather in their efforts to introduce the practice of inoculation, but afterward pronounced himself in its favor.

I suspect that medicine in Boston owed the reform of its *Materia Medica* largely to William Douglass. He mentions four remedies as the most important ones in the hands of the physicians of his time. This was in the dedication of his quarrelsome treatise on inoculation, in the year 1730. Nearly seventy years after this Dr. Holyoke, who had then been in practice for half a century, took a student just beginning his medical education with him, — young James Jackson, — into the room where he kept his medicines. Pointing to the drawers and bottles ranged around the room, he said to the young man: "I seem to have here a great number and variety of medicines; but I may name four which are of more importance than all the rest put together; namely, Mercury, Antimony, Opium, and Peruvian Bark." Dr. Jackson gives these four remedies the same prominent place which his "old master" assigned them. Now these are the four remedies which Dr. William Douglass, practising a century before Dr. Jackson, considered to be the most important articles of the *Materia Medica*. Dr. Danforth substituted ipecacuanha for antimony, retaining the other three articles

with this as his chief reliance. We shall see presently what rank they hold in the practice of to-day. If Molière had restated the prevalent method of practice in acute diseases, as it was within my own memory, it would be *saignare, purgare, et blisterizare.* The object of these measures, aided by rest and low diet, was to subdue inflammatory action, and thus avert its destructive consequences. But as a series of restorative processes involves a sustained effort on the part of the living powers, and as these are liable to fail if not properly supported, and the patient to die of exhaustion, the fear of debility comes in to balance the fear of over-excitement. Medical practice, therefore, always tends to vibrate between depleting and sustaining measures. The doctors have most commonly been for bleeding and starving, the old women for feeding and stimulating "to keep up the strength," in such diseases as fevers and inflammation of the lungs. Dr. Fuller, who came with the Pilgrims of the "Mayflower," says, in 1630, "I have been to Matapan [now Dorchester] and let some twenty of those people blood." Dr. Benjamin Rush bled his patients like so many calves. Forty years ago, or later, a physician carried a lancet-case in his pocket almost as a matter of course. Still there were those who never used that little instrument. Our Boston Dr. Danforth was opposed to venesection. Dr. William Tully, of Connecticut, said, "The lancet is a weapon which annually slays more than the sword."

The old women have got the upper hand. Patients are fed diligently through the whole course of acute diseases. Blood-letting, as one of my friends in active practice tells me, "is almost getting to be a lost art." "My assistant," he says, "in the last year of his studies had never seen venesection performed, and did not know how to do it." I remember being told by a former medical student, who had been long a resident in the Bellevue Hospital of New York, that he had never seen a patient bled. Still it is advocated by Dr. Barker and others in puerperal convulsions; and I have seen a recent discussion in which it was maintained by some of the disputants that it was useful in some cases of pneumonia. The essay of Louis on the effect of blood-letting in this disease did much to weaken the confidence long felt in its efficacy.

In order to know what drugs are most frequently prescribed at the present time, I applied to four physicians for a list of their favorite remedies, and to three apothecaries for the names of the medicines which they most frequently put up for regular practitioners. Opium and quinia were oftenest mentioned, being named by all of the seven gentlemen consulted. Next came bromide of potassium, mentioned by six of the whole number; iodine, etc., by five; ipecacuanha, mercury, bismuth, salicylic acid and salicylates, and iron, by four; pepsin, rhubarb, and chlorate of potass, by three; arsenic, guarana, and phosphates, by two. Among the other remedies in the list I find ergot, chloral, strychnine, belladonna, pilocarpine, glycerine, podophyllin, coca, and the familiar old medicines, castor oil, squills, and nitre.

The following list of the remedies most used at the Massachusetts General Hospital was kindly furnished to me by Dr. Whittemore, the Superintendent of that Institution: Opium, iron, quinia, iodide and bromide of potassium, salicylic acid, subnitrate of bismuth, chloral hydrate, mercury (in specific disease). The cathartics most employed are sulphate of magnesia, castor oil, podophyllin, compound cathartic pill, aloes, compound colocynth pill, compound liquorice powder, various cathartic waters. "Listerism" is almost universally employed in surgical cases. Subcutaneous injections of morphia are extensively used, also of ether and alcohol when stimulation is demanded: apomorphia is employed in the same way to produce immediate vomiting. Venesection is rarely practised; not a single case of it for medical disease during five years is remembered. Leeches are applied for contusions; cupping ordered once in a great while; blisters rather more frequently, but not very often.

Externally, I am told that ointments are much less used than formerly. Carbolic acid, as all know, is employed to a great extent. Liniments of opium, aconite, and chloroform are employed; also tincture of iodine. "Vaseline" and "cosmoline" are much used in place of the old ointments. It may be interesting by and by to note which of these various remedies passes out of general employment, and what others take their places. Leeching and blistering seem to share in some measure the disfavor of venesection. I have not spoken of the various anæsthetics, among which ether has from the first been preferred in Boston. Next to these in silencing pain is the practice of subcutaneous injection of morphia, now commonly employed and of great and speedy efficacy.

The most remarkable historical occurrences in the medical annals of Boston are these: —

The first introduction into America of inoculation for small-pox, by Zabdiel Boylston, in 1721.

The first introduction of vaccination into America, by Benjamin Waterhouse, in 1800.

The first introduction into the world of ethereal anæsthesia, by William Thomas Green Morton, in 1846.

The most important local events are: —

The founding of the Boston Dispensary (1796) and of the Massachusetts General Hospital (1811). The establishment of the City Hospital (1864) and that of the Eye and Ear Infirmary (1826), and other medical charities. The removal to Boston of the Medical School of Harvard University and the erection of the Massachusetts Medical College (1815), followed by that of the building in North Grove Street, and of the noble edifice now in course of construction at the corner of Boylston and Exeter streets. The formation of the Boston Medical Association (1806), of the Suffolk District Medical Society (1849), of the Societies for Medical Improvement (1839), for Medical Observation (1835 and 1846), of Medical Sciences (1869), and others.

The most notable change in the conditions of the Profession is its subdivision into specialties. We have not only Oculists, Aurists, and Dentists, but Gynæcologists, Dermatologists, Laryngologists, Orthopedists, practitioners devoted to nervous diseases, Alienists, and the guardians of public health, — Sanitarians.

Among the remarkable improvements of the present century, which have been taught and made practical here as elsewhere are the following: The introduction and perfection of instruments of research, — the stethoscope, the medical thermometer, the sphygmometer, the ophthalmoscope, the laryngoscope; all showing us the condition of parts beyond the reach of the earlier and unaided methods of observation.

Our knowledge of the intimate organic changes connected with disease has been acquired to a great extent within the last half century by that signal improvement in the compound microscope which rendered it a trustworthy instrument. The almost entirely new science of Histology, or General Anatomy, — the broad idea of which is still to be found in the original work of Bichat, — owes its present condition entirely to the microscope, which is to the biologist what the telescope is to the astronomer. Out of its teachings have grown not only a new anatomy, but a new physiology and a new pathology.

In the mean time chemistry has not merely aided in the analysis of the material elements of the organism, but it has succeeded in eliminating great numbers of powerful principles from the compounds in which they were disguised by nature. Quinia, morphia, strychnia, and aconitia are examples of isolated organic elements which have the essential virtues of the plants from which they were derived. Nor are we to forget our obligations to the pharmaceutists who have divested medicine of its horrors to such an extent that we no longer shudder as we see the physician writing his prescriptions.

It is but a fractional power that the physician has over disease, and a comparatively small fraction over the issues of life and death. But he can avoid the errors of the past, which over drugged the sick in the belief that whatever was loathsome to the senses and perturbing to the functions was likely to be useful in disease. Nor is the healing art to rest contented with simple expectation. The discovery of the efficacy of the bromide of potassium in epilepsy and other nervous affections, of salicylic acid and its salts in rheumatism, show us what may be expected before another half century has passed into history.

Of the triumphs of modern surgery, — Listerism and the rest, — of advances in the treatment of deformities and of various local diseases, I have not spoken. After what we have seen accomplished in the removal of abdominal tumors, we hardly know what limits to put to the happy audacity of the skilful operator. We ought not to forget here the important contributions made by one of our own townsmen, — Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, — to the successful treatment of dislocations of the hip, and to

the improvement of the operation of lithotrity. The greatest of all improvements since the first operator took a knife in his hand is unquestionably the discovery of the art of painless surgery at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

III. Medical Authorship. — Boston has not been so prolific of medical publications as some other of our great cities, especially Philadelphia. A large part of our medical authorship has been in the form of contributions to the publications of the Massachusetts Medical Society and to the two or three Medical Journals which have been published in Boston from the year 1812 to the present time. The principal writers of the first half of the present century were Dr. James Jackson, Dr. J. C. Warren, Dr. Bigelow, Dr. John Ware, Dr. Channing, Dr. Hayward, Dr. J. B. S. Jackson. The writers of the last thirty years have been very numerous, and are most of them still living and active. Of these I should make honorable mention if their names were ready for a place upon a public monument. Of those no longer living I will only name Dr. J. Mason Warren and Dr. Edward Hammond Clarke. An essay by Dr. Clarke, — *Sex in Education*, — was very widely read, and gave rise to a prolonged and animated discussion by various advocates and opponents of its doctrines.

I think it may be fairly claimed for the publications of Boston physicians that while they have not included many text-books and compilations, or been largely given to theoretical speculation, they have contributed in fair proportion to the practical knowledge of the profession; and especially that the reports of cases, with the comments upon them which have been published in our local periodicals and in the catalogues of our museums, have a real and permanent value.

IV. Personal recollections of noted Physicians. — The artist who paints a group of portraits often leaves some figures in the background in shadow, or half averted, or at any rate too indistinct for easy recognition. He sometimes takes the liberty in painting an historical picture of introducing one or more personages whose right to be there might be disputed.

I claim a privilege like that of the artist in introducing the first personage of those I shall mention. Once only did my eyes fall upon the figure of the most venerable Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, who passed the greater portion of his life in Salem, but belonged in part to us as President of the Massachusetts Medical Society, to the whole community by his talents and virtues, and more singularly as one of the few centenarians whose age was so much a matter of public record that it could not be questioned by the most sceptical. He survives only as a shadowy silhouette in my memory, like the well known figure which a paper-cutting has preserved of him. His portrait at the ages of forty-five and of one hundred may be found in the memoir of him by his townsman, the late Dr. A. L. Pearson. *Stat*

nominis umbra in my pages; but it pleases me to tell my reader that I remember the good and wise old patriarch who was born within the twelvemonth in which Cotton Mather died, and who must have met in his daily walks many old persons who as children had witnessed the hanging of the witches.

My personal recollections of Boston physicians go back to Dr. John Jeffries, who died in 1819. He came, probably, to administer the professional *coup de grace* to an aged relative of my own, who had been given up by his attending physician, and only awaited the final word of a skilled and ancient expert to authorize his departing in peace. Dr. Jeffries was accompanied by his son "the young doctor," whom I lived to know as "the old doctor," and who died in 1876. I have very little to say of the impression which the father made upon me, a boy eight years old, to whom an old physician was an object of personal dread and antipathy. Dr. Jeffries, or "Jeffers" as the old ladies used to call him, was always remembered in connection with his famous balloon ascent. It is not so generally known that he had the signal distinction of being recognized as a medical theorist by one of the best known of modern professional writers, Broussais, who devotes some pages to him in his *Examen des Doctrines Médicales*. The late Dr. Jacob Bigelow, in his last years, entertained me with personal anecdotes of the old Doctor which showed that he had his whims and peculiarities as well as his virtues and talents. This recollection is hardly worth preserving; still it was something to have seen the man who first crossed the British Channel, not by water but by air; who walked among the dead of Bunker's hill battle and pointed out the body of Joseph Warren to those who were searching for it in the heaps of slain; and who helped to deprovincialize the medical science of Boston.

I might well have seen Dr. Samuel Danforth, — "Danfurt" as the common speech would have it, — who died ten years after the time when I looked upon Dr. Jeffries. I used often to hear him spoken of as being asked in "consultation," as the extreme unction of the healing art is called. If "old Dr. Danfurt" or "old Dr. Jeffers" was seen entering a sick man's door, it was very likely to mean nothing more or less than a *nunc dimittis*. Dr. Danforth's handsome features are well known to us in the fine portrait painted by Stuart and lithographed in Thacher's *American Medical Biography*. It is a pity that we do not know more about him. He was very positive, somewhat passionate; swore like our army in Flanders, and did not care much for other people's beliefs. Of course he was an interesting personage; but he has special claims to professional remembrance as having anticipated the practitioners of our own time in entirely giving up blood-letting. His *materia medica* was very limited, having as its leading articles the same four remedies which, as has been mentioned, were most relied upon by Dr. Holyoke and his pupil Dr. James Jackson. These he supplemented by rubbing, blistering, and the warm bath. He quarrelled with Dr. James Jackson, with whom it was very hard to quarrel, and must, *a fortiori*, have

had difficulty with others of the profession, for he could not bear opposition. But he was a great favorite with his patients, and commanded their entire confidence.

Still in the background, and a little at one side, — for they were not Boston physicians, but lived on the other shore of the river at Cambridge, — are three figures belonging to three physicians, each of whom is a typical representative of a class; all distinct images in my memory.

Benjamin Waterhouse, whose name stands on his title-pages over an inverted pyramid of titles of great dimensions, studied in London, Edinburgh, and Leyden, at the last of which places he took his medical degree in the year 1780, — the same in which died the learned Professor Gaubius, a pupil of the world-renowned Boerhaave. He was a relative of the excellent Dr. Fothergill of London, with whom he used, as he tells us, to drive upon his rounds of medical visits. He will be long and deservedly remembered as having introduced vaccination into the Western world. He was for some years Professor of Theory and Practice in Harvard University. He speaks of himself as Director of the Military Department comprehending the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. He may have voluntarily relinquished practice; but whether this were so or not, I never remember hearing of any patient under his care. He had however vaccinated great numbers of persons, myself among the rest. He probably liked to write and lecture and talk about medicine better than to practise it. A brisk, dapper old gentleman, with hair tied in a ribbon behind and I think powdered, marching smartly about with his gold-headed cane, with a look of questioning sagacity, and an utterance of oracular gravity, — the good people of Cambridge listened to his learned talk when they were well, and sent for one of the other two doctors when they were sick. Two brief extracts from an essay of his will sufficiently show his way of thinking and prescribing: —

"As to planetary influence, mentioned by Boerhaave and Mead, — the various aspects of the sun and moon; their accessions, recessions, perpendicular or oblique irradiations, conjunctions, and oppositions; and their effects on us through the medium of our atmosphere, — we are not prepared to express a decided opinion. . . . Millipedes have been given with good effect in whooping cough. . . . Physicians in the last century thought they could not practise without millipedes; while too many in this day believe them good for nothing."

All this was rather too mediæval for Cambridge in the nineteenth century.

While Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was walking about with his gold-headed cane, like a London physician *minus* his chariot and his patients, Dr. William Gamage was riding round on a rhubarb-colored horse with his saddlebags behind him, and stopping at door after door. Grim, taciturn, rough in aspect, his visits to the household were the nightmare of the nursery. He would look at the tongue, feel of the pulse, and shake from one of his phials a horrible mound of powdered ipecac, or a revolting heap of rhubarb, —

good stirring remedies that meant business, but left a flavor behind them which embittered the recollections of childhood. This was the kind of practice many patients preferred in those days; they liked to know they had taken something energetic and active, — of which fact they were soon satisfied after one of Dr. Gamage's prescriptions.

While Dr. Waterhouse was airing his erudition on foot and Dr. Gamage was jogging round on horseback with his saddlebags, Dr. Timothy L. Jennison was driving about in an ancient chaise drawn by a venerable nag, chiefly, it may be suspected, to exercise the quadruped and get the benefit of the fresh air for himself, — for his practice could hardly have been considerable, though I do remember hearing that he was employed by one family. I believe he was the safest practitioner of the three, for he was accused of over fondness for old womens' harmless vegetable prescriptions, — which means that he gave Nature a fairer chance than she is apt to have in the hands of learned theorists and heroic routinists.

The young man whom Dr. Danforth found it hard to get along with was his successor in public esteem as a practitioner. Family connection gave me the opportunity of knowing him well. He was my revered friend as well as my instructor, and my longer and fuller acquaintance with him enables me to confirm all that Dr. Green says in his praise.

Dr. James Jackson was one of three brothers who became eminent, each in his several pursuit. Charles, the eldest, as a lawyer; Patrick, the youngest, as a manufacturer and man of business; and James, as a physician. He was long recognized as the head of the profession in its medical department, — as his friend and contemporary, Dr. John Collins Warren, was the first among Boston surgeons. Dr. Jackson studied with Dr. Holyoke in Salem, and afterward attended the hospitals in London. The name of Mr. Cline, the distinguished surgeon, is the one I have oftenest heard him mention among those of the teachers he followed through the wards of their hospitals. He soon found that it was best to restrict himself to medical practice, leaving surgery to his friend and contemporary Dr. Warren. Side by side, in a city of moderate dimension, they labored during their long lives, without any jar or collision to disturb their friendly relations.

Dr. Jackson had the happy union of mental and moral qualities which was seen in his "old master," as he always called him, — the venerable and well remembered centenarian, Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke. Of serenely cheerful aspect, pleasant, inspiriting manner, always neatly and plainly dressed, exact in all his habits, punctual as the morning sun, searching in his inquiries and examinations, precise to minuteness in his directions, full of the sober wisdom of experience, but always open to new conviction, incapable of any unworthy effort to obtain public favor, it came to him in virtue of his talents, his entire devotion to his profession, and the confidence inspired by a pure and noble character. It was not only the public which looked up to him as an honor to his calling, but he was reverenced by his professional brethren as a model as near perfection for sound mental

and exalted moral qualities as human nature was like to furnish, — something in the way that Hermann Boerhaave was regarded in his day and generation, and has been since remembered. A sounder nature to the very heart of its being it would be hard to find in life or in books. What his relations with his fellow-practitioners were may be judged by the "Prefatory and Dedicatory" Epistle to Dr. John C. Warren prefixed to his "Letters to a young Physician." Medical theories and medical practice may change, but the spirit which animates that dedication to his old rival and friend cannot lose its virtue with the lapse of years. It is not unworthy of taking a place on the next page to that which holds the Oath of Hippocrates. The medical profession in Boston has long felt and still feels the influence of a man above all jealousies, whose whole life was an illustration of what the physician should be as a student of nature, as a helper by his art, as a fellow-worker with others in his beneficent occupation.

Dr. John Collins Warren, the great Boston surgeon of his time, has just been referred to as the most prominent contemporary of Dr. Jackson. In the Dedication above cited Dr. Jackson says to him: —

"You and I began our active lives in this city nearly at the same time. . . . We were so circumstanced as to be peculiarly rivals. Our business led us across each other's paths every day for a long series of years. What one gained the other seemed to lose. . . . We do not resemble each other in temperament, and cannot see all things alike. From this cause, and not always looking at objects from the same point of view, we often differed in opinion. But we have always agreed to differ. . . . And thus it is, that being now, as regards age, in the front rank in our profession, we have continued to this day on terms of intimacy and friendship. This is something to rejoice in, and something for which we may properly thank God; and I know you will join me in giving thanks reverently."

Dr. John Collins Warren was indeed very different in temperament from Dr. James Jackson. A spare man, with strongly marked features, of austere expression, authoritative manners, sometimes careless, occasionally aiming at elegance in personal presentment, devout, but far from deficient in that wisdom which belongs to the children of this world in their generation, — he commanded allegiance and obedience where Dr. Jackson inspired love and confidence. As a surgeon he was supreme among his fellows, and deservedly so. He was one of the best educated medical men of his generation among us. He had a good intellect, a sure hand, an imperturbable spirit, a strenuous ambition, a persevering industry, and an entire surrender of all his faculties to his professional duties. He performed a great number of difficult operations; always deliberate, always cool, with a grim smile in sudden emergencies where weaker men would have looked perplexed and wiped their foreheads, — for he had the stuff in him which carried his uncle Joseph Warren to Bunker Hill and left him there, slain among the last in retreat. He was for more than forty years a teacher of anatomy, physiology, and surgery in the medical department of Harvard University, to which he be-

queathed his large collection of anatomical and pathological specimens, with a handsome provision for its preservation and increase. He left one valuable work as his record, *A Treatise on Tumors*, and many papers on practical and scientific subjects. He took part with Dr. James Jackson in the measures which led to the founding of the Massachusetts General Hospital. He will be long remembered in the annals of American surgery, as well as in our local medical history; but he was one of those men who by the force of their personality exercise an influence on their own generation not wholly to be explained by what they leave after them for posterity.

Dr. Jacob Bigelow came into practice some ten years later than Drs. Warren and Jackson. A man of great natural endowments and varied acquisitions, he was prominent for more than half a century before our community, and was recognized as the head of the profession in Boston after Dr. Jackson had ceased from his labors. Dr. Jackson once said to me: "If there is one grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff, nobody will find it so quick as Dr. Bigelow." Sagacity, — an instinct for the pith of a question like that of the ferret for the spinal cord of its victim, — this was one of Dr. Bigelow's remarkable characteristics, but one among many. He was more widely accomplished than any member of the medical profession we have had in Boston, probably than any medical man we have had in this country. Grave of aspect, he was yet a man of infinite humor. A busy practitioner, he found time for a wide range of studies and important services to the community. He was one of the earliest of our native botanists, and published two valuable works on the subject, — the *American Medical Botany* and the *Florula Bostoniensis*. He studied the useful and ornamental arts and lectured in Harvard University upon them, under the general name "Technology," which he first used, and applied to the work he published on these arts. He also published a brief, perspicuous, sensible work on *Materia Medica*. In 1835 he delivered a lecture on self-limited diseases, which has probably had more influence than any single medical essay ever published in New England, to say the least. He was an ardent lover of the classics and an excellent Latin scholar. He gave much time to the study of architecture, and made with his own hands beautiful models of some of the most famous edifices of antiquity. In his later years he entered with great interest into the question of the place which the classics ought to hold in education. His essays on this and various other subjects were published in two volumes. Besides these he published, anonymously, a volume of pleasant verse, in which some of his friends found themselves ingeniously parodied without being aggrieved by harsh handling. But of all his extra-professional services the most important was the leading part which he took in the creation of rural cemeteries. Mount Auburn owes its inception as a cemetery more to him than to any other man; and this was the first of numerous attractive suburban burial-places which have sprung up all over the land.

Dr. Bigelow was a man of very quiet and unassuming manners, grave in counsel, lively in conversation, patient in waiting until others had had their say, and then expressing his own opinion with judicial precision and sententiousness. Calm, cool, cheerful, always busy, yet never seeming hurried, his very long and useful life was also a singularly happy one. Nothing could subdue his equanimity. He became blind in his later years; but as the loss of sight gradually stole upon him, he seemed to take the pleasure of a child in teaching his hands to work without the aid of vision. At last, hardly able to distinguish light from darkness, his hearing much impaired, his limbs disabled so that he was confined to his bed, he still kept his pleasant smile and hearty welcome for his friends, delighted in telling of the noted persons and scenes he remembered, tasked his memory for passages from the classics and from English poetry, — oftenest perhaps from Byron, especially *Childe Harold*, — and after long lingering in painless but utterly helpless dependence upon the kind ministration of others, at the age of ninety-two, faded away from a life which had come to be but the name of living.

Dr. John Ware deserves to be named with the best of those I have mentioned. His name was almost of itself a guarantee of excellence; but his personal merits would have commended him to the confidence of any community where he might have appeared as a stranger. Very gentle, very amiable, very conscientious, his natural modesty kept him from challenging public attention as emphatically as his ability and knowledge might have entitled him to do. Two essays, however, the results of close observation and careful study, gave him a high reputation, — his papers on Croup and Delirium Tremens. He followed Dr. James Jackson in the chair of Theory and Practice in the medical school of Harvard University, and proved himself a worthy successor of that admirable and revered teacher.

A few years only have elapsed since the death of Dr. John Barnard Swett Jackson, nephew of Dr. James Jackson, and in his own sphere not less entitled to honorable remembrance. He was never in large practice, and was comparatively little known to the general public; but his labors in the field of pathological anatomy made an era in the medical history of Boston. Never before had the effects of disease upon the organs been so patiently and faithfully studied in this part of the country, at least, as after he began his labors in connection with the Society for Medical Improvement. He was the life of that society for a whole generation, laying before its members the results of the examinations which for many years he made for his professional brethren, almost to the exclusion of others who were thankful to commit a delicate and often repulsive task to his always willing hands. He it was chiefly who built up the select but most valuable pathological museum of that society. As Professor of Pathological Anatomy in the medical school of Harvard University, and Curator of the Warren Anatomical Museum, he classified and arranged the specimens in that collection, and greatly increased its value by his own constant additions.

His two catalogues, large octavo volumes, are of far more significance than the name catalogue would imply, being not merely a guide to the specimens, but containing a great amount of important practical information, — brief histories of the essential symptoms of cases, often of rare diseases, with a lucid and entirely trustworthy account of the organic changes observed after death. Dr. John B. S. Jackson was too sensitive for eminent success as a practitioner. He followed the wise guidance of instinct in choosing the scientific rather than the immediately practical part of medicine. He served the profession, and through that the public. His professional brothers repaid him with their gratitude and respect. It was at the request of many among them that he sat for the portrait painted by William M. Hunt, which at the present time is deposited in the hall of the Boston Medical Library Association.

All these of whom I have spoken lived to be old men, and thus imprinted their personal qualities deeply on their fellow-townsmen. Many others of our deceased practitioners are held in well defined remembrance, and would receive their due tribute in a more extended memoir. Several family names have become associated with eminence and success in the practice of medicine; and where the names have been lost, the blood has asserted its hereditary predilections for the medical profession. There has hardly been a year for more than a century in which "Dr. Warren" or "Dr. Jeffries" could not be called upon by his Boston fellow-citizens for his services as surgeon or physician. Dr. Jackson is represented by his grandchildren and other blood relations; Dr. Bigelow, Dr. Hayward, Dr. Channing, Dr. Putnam, Dr. Shattuck, Dr. Homans, are names as familiar to the young people of to-day as they were to their parents and grandparents. The memories of the past yet survive in our two honored medical brethren, — the venerable Dr. Edward Reynolds, and the indefatigable Dr. David Humphreys Storer, who still attends to his professional duties as he did in the youthful period of the century.

The true value of a good physician is not to be measured by the fame he acquires or the name he bequeaths to posterity. Many men have become known all over the world, and received the honors of stately biographies, who have really done less good to mankind than the faithful practitioners who have lived unknown beyond their own narrow circle, and died unremembered beyond their own generation. The most famous of American physicians is undoubtedly the excellent and versatile Dr. Benjamin Rush. A biographer says of him: "His name is a brilliant star in the galaxy of American worthies. His fame associates with the renown of Howard, Sydenham, Cullen, Boyle, Davies, and Washington. His memory, like their memories, will endure until time shall be immersed in the ocean of eternity." After language like this, and much more like it, let the reader turn to the judgment passed upon one of his legacies to the profession by Dr. Elisha Bartlett: "Dr. Rush had also a special doctrine or theory of fever, to which he seems to have attached much importance, and which he seems to

have regarded as very sound, logical, and philosophical. It may be safely said, I think, that in the whole compass of medical literature there cannot be found an equal number of pages containing a greater amount and variety of utter nonsense and unqualified absurdity, a more heterogeneous and ill-adjusted an assemblage, not merely of unsupported, but of unintelligible and preposterous assertions, than are embodied in his exposition of this theory." Compare this severe judgment with the same writer's estimate of Dr. Rush's brother physican, Dr. William Currie: "Dr. Currie was a contemporary of Dr. Rush, and a practitioner in the same city. His general descriptions of disease are quite as good, to say the least, as those of his distinguished fellow-citizen, and his medical philosophy infinitely sounder and more rational." Yet in the same biographical dictionaries where we find the flaming praises of Dr. Rush, the name of Dr. William Currie is not even mentioned. A medical theorist, with a gift of fluent expression, will go down to posterity in a triumphal chariot of eulogy, while a quiet, sensible practitioner, whose life has been spent in useful service, is hardly remembered at all by the generation which comes after him.

Many such men as this have lived and labored and died among us, — too many to be mentioned in this brief article. They did not seek for fame in the broad highway of ambition, but were content to follow the narrow path of duty. If there were a Day of all Saints for the departed worthies of the Medical Profession, for every name that I have spoken of there would be a score to claim a place upon the roll of memory. I have thought that the few shadowy reminiscences I have given might gather interest by the lapse of years, when the personages to whom they relate shall be to our descendants but vague and indistinct images, as William Douglass and Zabdiel Boylston and William Aspinwall are to us of the present generation.

Oliver Wendell Holmes

CHAPTER XI.

THE BENCH AND BAR IN BOSTON.

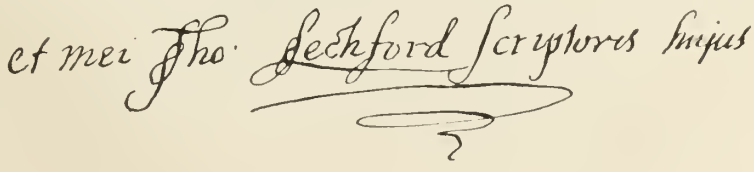
BY JOHN T. MORSE, JR.,

Editor of the International Review.

WHEREVER Englishmen inhabit, courts and litigation prevail. Even the New England fathers, whose chief object in life was the cultivation of virtue, sinned, quarrelled, and over-reached each other sufficiently to render tribunals of justice a necessity at a very early day. Indeed, they indulged in such a multiplicity of courts and magistrates as now appears quite confusing; and how so many judges, justices, and commissioners could find occupation in a small and poor community is a very perplexing question. One forum, however, they had which has since disappeared, and which might have been well worth preserving. This was the strangers' or merchants' court, established for the speedy determination of questions in which temporary sojourners in our seaports were interested, who could thus obtain justice without over costly delay. In 1651, also, another special court of seven Commissioners was found necessary for Boston, as was said, by reason of the concourse of people and the increase of crime in the Puritan town; but some jealousy of this tribunal was manifested, and at the end of the year, for which it was first established, it was not continued.

Yet though there was thus early not only a Bench, but many Benches, and divers supplementary and inferior courts besides, it was long before there was any Bar.[1] For many years there was no distinct class of attorneys; and when, in 1701, attorneys were recognized as officers of the court, and were required to take an oath before practising, still no term of study was required, and apparently no examination was had, so that the way was broad enough for any one to enter. Occasionally some one who had had a professional education in England found his way to

[1] [Thomas Lechford seems to have been the earliest Boston lawyer. See Vol. I., p. 503. — Ed.]



the colony; but, as may be imagined, the sparse wanderers failed to have much influence upon the general customs and practice. As a rule every one was supposed, alike by himself and by others, to be abundantly able to plead his own cause; and even so late as 1746 it was observed that the people were especially "addicted to quirks of the law, . . . "so that a very ordinary countryman in New England is almost qualified for a country attorney in England." Even when it naturally befell that some individuals, gifted beyond their fellows in art or eloquence, were occasionally engaged to represent their less shrewd and eloquent neighbors, we find them for a long time to have had other regular callings in life. For example, one favorite attorney was by customary occupation a tailor; others were merchants. Bullivant, whose "knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of attorney-general," which he filled apparently with credit to himself, was an apothecary and medical practitioner, and withal an active politician.[1] It was rarely that even the judges had had the advantages of a legal education. Judge Lynde[2] took his seat on the Bench of the Superior Court in 1712, and was the first judge of that court who had been regularly trained to the profession. Afterward came also Chief-Justice Joseph Dudley,[3] son of the first Governor Dudley, and himself the father of Paul Dudley, who was likewise Chief-Justice of Massachusetts from 1748 to 1751. But a very short list of incumbents really trained in the calling fills the rather uninteresting professional record of the eighteenth century.

For a long time the governors were *ex officio* judges presiding in the Court of Assistants, the assistants being officers of the corporation chosen annually by the freemen at the meeting of the General Court in Easter Term. It might sometimes happen that there was not an educated lawyer among them; though some of the governors were not ill-qualified for the judicial function. John Winthrop, for example, had been educated for the Bar in England; so also had Governor Bellingham, who, however, it may be supposed, was more willing to enforce the observance of the laws by others than to abide by them at all times himself. A droll story is told of his courtship, a foil to the popular tale concerning Miles Standish and John Alden. A friend of his, who lodged at his house, was engaged to be married, and the wedding-day was at hand; when the governor, upon a sudden finding himself enamored of the lady, "treated with her, and obtained her for himself." The affair was speedily brought to a conclusion "by the governor's marrying himself, without first publishing the banns, as required by law." A Puritan grand jury, however, could not be expected to be a respecter of persons, and the governor was accordingly presented for his unlawful action. The secretary summoned him "to answer the prosecution;" but in his singular combination of characters, — governor, chief-justice, and culprit, — he dodged justice with admirable skill. He declined

[1] [See Vol. II., ch. i. — Ed.]

[2] [See his portrait in Vol. II., p. 558. — Ed.]

[3] [See his portrait in Vol. II., p. 334. — Ed.]

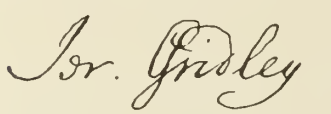
to leave his place on the bench in order to take a position in the dock, and thus "escaped both trial and punishment."[1] The outsiders, however, who meddled most with the law's administration were clergymen; nor was their interference always creditable to their sense of justice. Thus an action, apparently in the nature of slander, brought by a minister against a layman, was about to come on for trial, when the Rev. Mr. Barnard, sitting at dinner with the judges, stated to them that, when the cause should be tried, he would like to make a few remarks. Accordingly so soon as the plaintiff's counsel had opened the case, the reverend gentleman began interrogating the plaintiff. Not until he had concluded were the more regular proceedings continued. But at the close of the argument for the defendant, which was larded — rather ungratefully, as it appears — with "many fleers upon the ministry and our churches," the chief-justice gave the clergyman another chance; and he thereupon "paid his respects to the court and delivered his speech," and begged the magistrates to dismiss the action, which they forthwith did, glad to "get rid of so dirty an affair."

This is only a specimen of the prevailing condition of practice. Thus we hear of an instance where one juror, who was standing out against the eleven others, was called out by the attorney-general and obligingly directed as to what he should do. But when the refractory wretch refused to yield his opinion under such civil entreatment, he was starved into compliance, while his fellows received meat and drink; it being properly enough remarked that it was better that one man should be destroyed than eleven. Verdicts were sometimes rendered to the effect that there were strong grounds of suspicion, though falling short of proof; whereupon the court would sentence the defendant for such crime as it appeared probable that he had committed, though it had not been alleged in the indictment, nor perhaps even found by the jury. For example, a defendant indicted for forgery, which could not be proved, was reported by the jury to be a "cheat," and had to stand upon the court-house steps for half an hour at midday, having pinned upon his breast the forged bond and the label "cheat" in large letters. It was a rough but substantial justice, and had its advantages over more technical and less efficient systems. Appropriate to such crude and rough-hewn notions were also the manners of the judges, which are represented as execrably bad. They bullied and browbeat the counsel after the old-time English fashion, and promoted their own views rather than impartial justice. But, on the other hand, they themselves were liable to be treated with singular disrespect by members of the Bar who felt able to venture on such behavior. For example, one day when a miserable old woman came hobbling into court and could find no seat, the lawyer who had summoned her told her to go up on the judges' bench, which the old crone at once innocently proceeded to do. The wrath of the court was aroused: "How came you to do this?" said the judge, angrily addressing the lawyer. "I — I — really thought the place was made for old women," stammered the

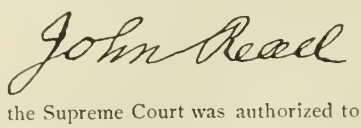
[1] [See Vol. I., p. 575. — Ed.]

impudent counsel; and the judges thought it wise to let the matter drop. A yet more serious feature was the multiplicity of grossly inconsistent offices, which were often held by one and the same person; and at the present day we learn with surprise that Hutchinson was allowed to combine the positions of lieutenant-governor and of chief-justice, besides which he was also commander of the Castle, a member of the council, and judge of probate. Yet many instances as bad, or worse, can be given of a custom productive of infinite and obvious mischief. But miserable as was this farrago of ignorance, of demoralizing customs, and of evil principles, amid it all there were forming the elements of a courageous, independent, and learned Bar;[1] and when in time the days of trial came, we shall see that men who were both able and willing to vindicate in the courts the cause of the people were found to have gained all the needful training.

Jeremiah — or, as it was the fashion of the time to call him, Jeremy — Gridley has often been called the "Father of the Boston Bar;" and unquestionably he well deserved the name, though little can now be learned about him.[2] He was born "about 1705," says the *Biographical Dictionary*, which devotes four lines to his name; while the *Catalogue of Harvard College* shows that he graduated there in 1725. It is the pen of that true gossip, John Adams, which chiefly has rescued from oblivion the memory of this very estimable man. It was some little time before he found his real vocation in the world. He taught for a while in a grammar school in Boston, and occasionally also appeared in the pulpit. In 1732 he started a newspaper called *The Rehearsal*, which, however, only lived for a year. In time he came to the Bar. Apparently it was his influence, aided, perhaps, by that of Edmund Trowbridge, which gave the first impetus in Massachusetts in the direction of profound legal learning and a high professional spirit. "Pursue the study of the law," he said, "rather than the gain of it. Pursue the gain of it enough to keep out of the briers; but give your main attention to the study of it." This was a kind of advice quite novel in those days. In 1765 — less than three years before his death — the industrious old man formed a project of a "law club or sodality" for the purpose of reading and discussing works upon the civil law, and upon oratory. He had to seek his associates in the younger generation, where it was largely due to the effect of his own example that such a



[1] [One of the earliest to give character to the Bar was John Read (H. C. 1697), and the breaking up of the prejudice against lawyers was largely owing to his character. See his *Life* by George B. Reed, privately printed, 1879; see also Vol. II. p. 427. The title of "barrister" seems first to have been used in our courts by Thomas Newton, who came here in 1688 (see Vol. II., p. 155); and was occasionally used by the elders of the Bar without any rule till 1761, when the Superior Court determined that three years' probation in a lower court was necessary to become a barrister, and this term was extended in 1766. In



1782 the Supreme Court was authorized to confer the degree of barrister-at-law; they never did so, however, after 1784. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1877, p. 207. — ED.]

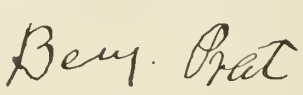
[2] [See Vol. II. p. 427. — ED.]

scheme could find favor. John Adams, one of this club, delighted to call Gridley his "master," though he was not so in the strict sense of the phrase.

Adams's account in his Diary of his own early life at the Bar is the best sketch extant of the professional circle then living in Boston and the vicinity. He rode into town in 1758 with the intention of being admitted to practice; walked into the court-house, "and sat down by Mr. Paine at the lawyers' table. "I felt shy," he says, "under awe and concern; for Mr. Gridley, Mr. Prat, Mr. Otis, Mr. Kent, and Mr. Thacher were all present and looked sour. I had no acquaintance with anybody but Paine and Quincy, and they took but little notice." It would seem that business was not so abundant or so lucrative at that time as to permit those who divided it among themselves to welcome any increase of their numbers. Yet when Mr. Adams called on Mr. Gridley on the following day, he found himself kindly received. Gridley examined him as to his accomplishments, and gave him much good advice concerning his professional career, especially that he should not marry early, since an early marriage would "*obstruct improvement*," besides involving him in expense. Gridley made light of the fact that Mr. Adams had not brought with him the customary formal certificate from the gentleman with whom he had been reading. But Benjamin Prat, whom also Mr. Adams visited, in compliance with a custom requiring applicants for admission to the Bar to make the round of at least the more distinguished practising barristers and obtain their concurrence, thought the want of the certificate a more serious matter, justly suggesting that no one knew anything definite as to the young man's character and acquirements, to which some testimony should be adduced in the usual way. Thereupon Mr. Adams — who even at this early age dealt out his esteem or dislike wholly with reference to the behavior of the special individual toward himself — delivers a eulogy upon Gridley, and assails Prat with a vehemence which the impartial reader must regard as undeserved. Somewhat later, indeed, as if to keep the scales even, Gridley, having appeared a trifle too arrogant and vain in the presence of Mr. Adams, comes in for his share of that sensitive and peppery gentleman's abuse. Mr. Adams continued upon his canvassing tour in propitiation of the great lawyers, till he further visited James Otis and Oxenbridge Thacher, and being well received by them, appears to have rested content. When the day for admission came, Gridley "rose up, and bowed to his right hand and said, 'Mr. Quincy,' when Quincy (Samuel) rose up; then he bowed to me, 'Mr. Adams,' when I walked out." Then Mr. Gridley made a little speech in commendation of the accomplishments and character of the two young men; Mr. Prat followed with a few words; the oath was administered; the neophytes shook hands with the members of the Bar, "received their congratulations, and invited them over to Stone's to drink some punch, where the most of us resorted and had a very cheerful chat."

Though we have seen John Adams come away "full of wrath" from his interview with Benjamin Prat, and hasten to stigmatize him in his Diary as

at best an ill-natured man, yet there is no reason to doubt that Prat is entitled to rank with the best lawyers of the colony in his day and generation.



He was a man of extensive accomplishments and of very high standing, and certainly did wiser things in his life than when he wounded John Adams's vanity. "He was," says Hutchinson, "of the first character in his profession." About the time of the argument concerning the Writs of Assistance he was appointed Chief-Justice of New York, and removed thither, where about two years afterward he died, at the early age of fifty-two. While so many more interesting and important facts concerning him have been forgotten, it is carefully recorded that he was lame. Long after the grave had closed over the poor gentleman, and the memory of him was lapsing into meagre tradition, we find Mr. Adams speak in somewhat laudatory language of Prat. In 1817, when sixty years had softened the asperities which had found expression in the Diary of 1758, he wrote a few pages concerning the case of the Writs of Assistance. "In a corner of the room," he then said, "must be placed, as a spectator and an auditor, wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning, and immense reading, hanging by the shoulders on two crutches, covered with a great cloth coat, in the person of Mr. Prat, who had been solicited upon both sides, but would engage on neither, being, as Chief-Justice of New York, about to leave Boston forever."[1] This was, so far as can now be judged, a fair picture.

When the Stamp Act set the colony a-flame it had at least one effect which frivolous scoffers at the legal fraternity might say went far to counteract all its many other evil qualities. It put a stop to litigation. The people, finding they could have only stamped writs, would have none at all. With that exquisite lack of perspective which he never failed to manifest whenever his own figure entered into the picture, Mr. Adams abuses the "execrable project," which he believes to have been "set on foot for my ruin as well as that of America in general, and of Great Britain." But his fellow-citizens came to the rescue of Mr. Adams as well as to that of America in general; and in order to be sure of doing this wisely and effectually, they voted unanimously in town-meeting that Jeremiah Gridley, James Otis, and John Adams, Esquires, be "applied to as counsel to appear before His Excellency the Governor in council, in support of their memorial praying that the courts of law in this province may be opened." A few days later these three gentlemen were privately heard, but obtained nothing better than a tolerably civil dismissal. For some little time afterward they appear to have acted as advising counsel for their townsfolk in those troublous days, when rendering legal service to the patriots was a matter not only

[1] [John Adams's *Works*, x. 245; Washburn, *Judicial History of Massachusetts*, p. 225, refers to an address from the Bar to Prat on his leaving for New York, as evidence of the high esteem in which he was held. This address was printed in the newspapers. Prat's office was on the west side of the present Washington Street, just north of Court Street. — ED.]

of professional difficulty, but of political and possibly even of personal danger.

Too many of the gentlemen who really adorned the Bar at this time have left little save their names to posterity; yet, as we peer into the dim obscurity of the past wherein their scarcely distinguishable shades flit through the streets of old Boston, they look to us very picturesque and interesting personages, and it is sad to find that they will not disclose themselves to us in more distinct outline. Besides those whom we have already mentioned, it is right, if we can do little more, at least to name Robert Auchmuty, a

AUTOGRAPHS OF FATHER AND SON.[1]

gentleman who seems to have stood much higher in the general estimation than in that of Mr. Adams, in whose pages it is his misfortune now chiefly to live. For a time he was regarded by many persons as at the head of the Bar. He was appointed a judge of the Special Court of Admiralty, upon which Bench sat, among others, Governor Bernard and Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, to whom, if Adams may be trusted, Auchmuty behaved with an ignoble servility. Two years earlier Adams wrote of him: —

"Auchmuty is employed in sessions and everywhere; the same heavy, dull, insipid way of arguing everywhere; as many repetitions as a Presbyterian parson in his prayer. . . . Such nauseous eloquence always puts my patience to the torture. In what is this man conspicuous? . . . in confidence, in dogmatism, etc. His wit is flat. his humor is affected and dull. To have this man represented as the first at the Bar is a libel upon it, a reproach and disgrace to it."

Adams's abuse always makes lively reading, but, as in this instance, is apt to represent a single and often also a singular opinion.

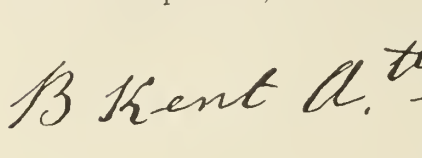
Richard Dana, — or Justice Dana, as he was commonly called, — a little older than Auchmuty, was the founder of the well-known Dana family. He it was who in the presence of a great assemblage of the angry townspeople, standing under the Liberty Tree, administered to Mr. Secretary Oliver the oath[2] that he had not distributed, and that he would take no measures for distributing, the odious stamps, nor for enforcing the hateful act of the British Parliament.

Benjamin Kent began life as a clergyman, — a calling so utterly out of keeping with his disposition that he soon left the pulpit for the bar. He

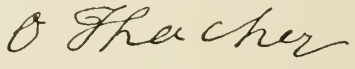
[1] [The elder died in 1750, the younger in 1788. The younger at one time lived in School Street. The Auchmuty House in Roxbury, often the resort of Auchmuty's Tory friends, is engraved in Vol. II. p. 343. A sister of the younger Auchmuty was the wife of Benjamin Prat. — Drake's *Roxbury*, p. 209. — Ed.]

[2] [See fac-simile in Vol. III., ch. i. — Ed.]

was a humorist, not sufficiently reverent of things divine to please his strait-laced contemporaries; he was "for fun, drollery, humor, flouts, jeers, contempt. He has an irregular, unmethodical head, but his thoughts are often good, and his expressions happy." At a merry dinner of the brethren of the Bar we find Kent, doubtless with a very excellent satire for those times, presenting a project for an Act of Parliament against devils. His theory of life and religion was that this existence was only one — and perhaps not the first one — of an unending series of periods of probation and so of advancement; not so bad a notion in itself, perhaps, but too original and devoid of Biblical authority to please the Bostonians of that day. When the troubles between the colonies and the mother country came to a head, Kent went to Halifax, thereby giving currency to the opinion that he was a Loyalist refugee, though there seems some reason to doubt the propriety of thus ranking him.[1]



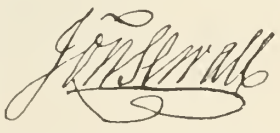
Oxenbridge Thacher seems, from what insufficient glimpses we get of him, to have been a man of charming character, having the cultivation of a gentleman and the knowledge of a profound and ingenious lawyer. He was a silvery-tongued and persuasive speaker, happily combining subtilety and clearness in his arguments. His father, a colonel and a deacon, was "a very holy man," supposably "not well pleased with his son's preferring the law," rather wishing that he should be a deacon; though why the position of deacon should have been more incompatible with the legal than with the military profession, does not clearly appear. Probably it was due to his father's influence that Mr. Thacher, after graduating at Harvard College in 1738, studied divinity and became a clergyman; and perhaps it was natural distaste for this calling which induced him to abandon it, on the odd ground that his voice was too weak, and to adopt a vocation for which doubtless he was better fitted, but for which a feeble voice has never been considered a peculiar qualification. At one time, when James Otis was apparently wavering in his attachment to the cause of the colonies, and the suspicion had gone widely abroad that he had fallen a victim to the bribes and blandishments of Governor Hutchinson, it was attributed to the influence of Thacher, strongly exerted with his friend, that Otis was brought back and strengthened in his patriotic faith and attachments. Thacher himself was a sound patriot, greatly to the disgust of the king's party in the province, for he was a man who had gained for himself both love and respect. When Hutchinson had the audacity to make himself chief-justice for an obvious political purpose, Thacher spoke with



[1] [Sabine, *American Loyalists*. Washburn classes him as a Loyalist. He died in Halifax in 1788. — Ed.]

great freedom and indignation of the indefensible proceeding. It was impossible to bribe or silence him, and equally impossible to defame his character or actions. He won, therefore, the distinction of an exceptional animosity. The Tories "hated him," says John Adams, "worse than they did James Otis or Samuel Adams; and they feared him more, because they had no revenge for a father's disappointment of a seat on the Superior Bench to impute to him, as they did to Otis." Mr. Thacher died in 1765, of a pulmonary complaint, which was believed to have been aggravated by his extreme anxiety concerning public affairs. He was but little abroad among men during his latter days, by reason of his ill-health, and he was greatly concerned lest his countrymen were not showing a sufficiently high and quick spirit in resenting the royal encroachments, — a needless alarm, indeed, but highly honorable to him who, in his sick chamber, cherished so independent and courageous a temper.[1]

Stephen Sewall, whose father also had been a lawyer, belonged to a family which has given many distinguished names to the history of Massachusetts. He "stood very high in public esteem for his honor, integrity, moderation, and great benevolence." He was made Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, and held that position when the application was made for the granting of a Writ of Assistance. He "expressed great doubt of the legality of such a writ, and of the authority of the court to grant it." But within a month after the application, and before the hearing in the cause, he died, greatly to the chagrin of the patriot party. As ill fortune would have it, his estate proved insufficient to pay his debts; and his nephew, Jonathan Sewall, acting as administrator, petitioned the Legislature for a grant of money to enable him to satisfy the creditors. The ground taken was that the chief-justice had been rendered insolvent by reason of his public spirit in serving upon an inadequate salary. Jonathan Sewall[2] was himself a member of the Bar in excellent repute as a lawyer, and very popular as a man, and thus far in his career had leaned to the popular side in the various disputes with Great Britain. But in the matter of this petition he encountered the successful opposition of Colonel Otis, and of his son, the famous James Otis. This angered Sewall greatly, and Governors Bernard and Hutchinson, and Judge Trowbridge, were sedulous in their efforts to make this resentment a cause of political separation. Calling also to their aid the seductions of official position, they achieved an unfortunate success in their schemes, and thereafter Jonathan Sewall was to be ranked as a stanch Tory. He had his reward in the several places of solicitor-general, attorney-general, advocate-general, and judge of admiralty "with six thousands a year;" but he does



[1] [Thacher's office was opposite the south door of the Old State House. — Ed.]

[2] [Sewall lived at one time in the house, now greatly changed, on the westerly corner of Brattle and Sparks streets in Cambridge. He was mobbed here in September, 1774, and fled into Boston. General Riedesel occupied this house in 1777–78. — Ed.]

not hold that position in the memory of posterity which his abilities would have insured to him had he been steadfast in his earlier political faith.

A nephew of Jeremiah Gridley was Benjamin Gridley, who also was called to the Bar; but though apparently he had sufficiently good abilities, he turned out nothing better than a lazy wag. "He has no business of any kind; lies abed till 10 o'clock; drinks, laughs, and frolics, but neither studies nor practises his profession."

Edmund Trowbridge, born in 1709, an eminent lawyer and admirable man, was made Attorney-General of the Province in 1749, and was afterward de-

servedly raised to the post of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Unfortunately, however, his Tory predilections led him to consort with Governors Bernard and Hutchinson, and he became in time very unpopular with the people at large, though his kindness of disposition served to preserve most of his personal friendships. In 1772 he resigned his seat upon the Bench, and retired to the little village of Byfield, where he long remained.[1] His ostensible excuse was that he wished to escape the small-pox, then epidemic in Boston; but it was shrewdly surmised that he was more afraid of the patriots than of disease. In Byfield he instructed Theophilus Parsons in the law.[2] He had the finest law library then in the Province, a rare and valuable possession in those days. He had also another less harmless possession, being a large full-length portrait of Governor Hutchinson, in a handsome frame, which he kept in his parlor, to the alarm of his family, who dreaded that it might induce a foray from the lawless Sons of Liberty. Accordingly, one day, when Trowbridge was away from home, they cut out and burned the canvass, and put in its place a portrait, by Copley, of Justice Richard Dana. Trowbridge died in Cambridge in 1793, at the ripe age of ninety-four, leaving a high reputation for professional learning, to which Chief-Justice Parsons and Chancellor Kent afterward bore willing testimony. It is an odd circumstance that at different times he had two names, and appears during a part of his life, at least, to have been known by them both indifferently. He was the adopted child and heir of Colonel Edmund Goffe, and took the name of Goffe in early youth; but afterward, toward the time of the Revolution, he reassumed his original name of Trowbridge. It has been suggested in explanation of this, that Colonel Goffe was a connection of the regicide judge, and that the Tory proclivities of Trowbridge made him unwilling in such times of revolt to bear the disloyal name. But this theory is a mere surmise, resting on no sufficient authority.[3]

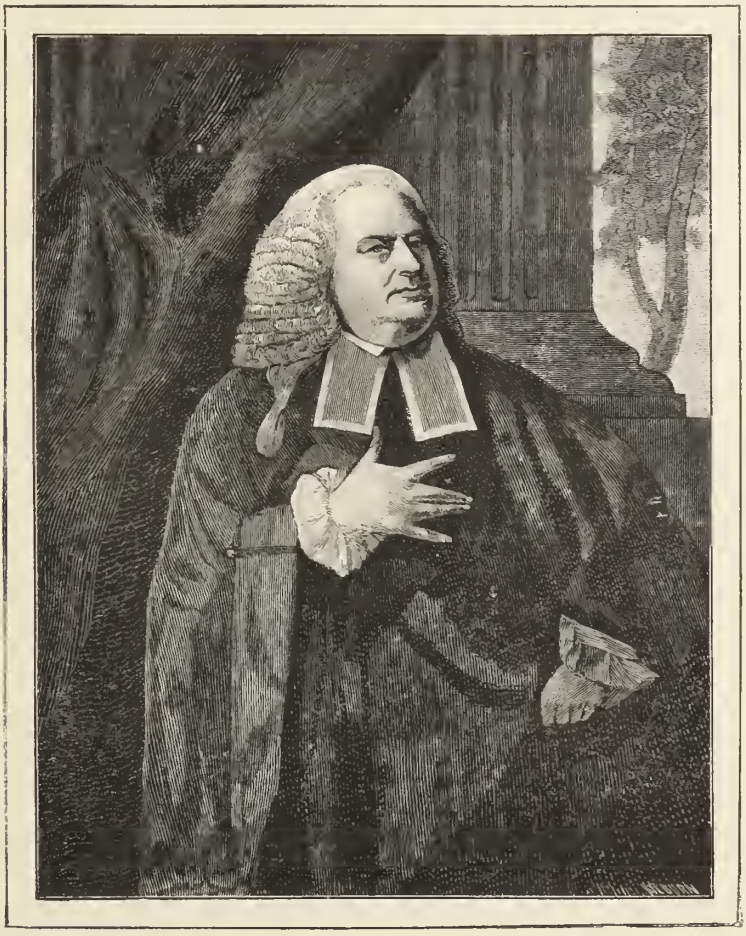
No adequate sketch of the Bar of Boston in this pre-Revolutionary period could be complete, without a narrative of one of the most important

[1] [His home in Cambridge, to which he returned, was a mansion which stood where now the meeting-house of the first parish stands. — ED.]

[2] [There are some glimpses of Trowbridge in the *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, by his son. — ED.]

[3] Peter Oliver, Dudley, Fitch, and perhaps a few more might be mentioned; but unfortunately tradition preserves little more besides their names, and it is impossible to reproduce them, as they were, with any approach to accuracy or vividness.

causes ever tried in this country; but it has fallen to the writer[1] of another chapter to recall the events which induced a resort on the part of the Government to Writs of Assistance, resulting in a decision of the court sustain-



R. Dana[2]

ing them. Later on, Hutchinson, who was the presiding justice, when seeking from the home Government reparation for the sacking of his house and destruction of his furniture at the time of the Stamp-Act riot, enlarged

[1] [The Rev. E. G. Porter, Vol. III. ch. i.—Ed.]

[2] [This cut follows the portrait by Copley, named in the text, now owned by Richard H. Dana, of the third generation. The picture measures $4\frac{2}{12} \times 3\frac{2}{12}$ feet. Richard Dana was born in Cambridge, Aug. 7, 1699, and died in Boston, May 17, 1772. A duplicate is owned by his descendants in England. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 50. The *Massachusetts Gazette*, June 1, contains his obituary, copied into Frothingham's *Warren*, 195. See further in Vol. II. of this History, pp. 324, 373. — Ed.]

upon his services on this memorable occasion, and claimed that the decision made in the cause was due to his personal influence exerted upon reluctant associates. Under all the circumstances, what Hutchinson claimed as a glory must, even from a Tory standpoint, be regarded as a disgrace. In the long run the triumph lay with James Otis, who had argued against the writs, and who from this time became the principal leader of the malcontents or patriots. They needed just such a one as he, and his ardent and zealous temper would not let him refuse their urgent summons. His private business was neglected and went to ruin, while he attended more and more exclusively to public affairs. He was elected to the General Court, and there continued his exertions. Still, however, he occasionally practised, and after the soldiery had been sent over to overawe the colonists, when the Superior Court, on coming together in the council chamber, found a guard posted and cannon ranged before the building, and troops quartered within it, Otis arose, and "with a significant expression of loathing and scorn" moved the adjournment of the court to Faneuil Hall, observing that "the stench occasioned by the presence of the troops might prove infectious, and that it was utterly derogatory to the court to administer justice at the points of bayonets and mouths of cannon."

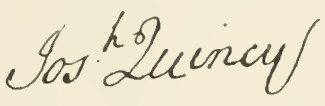
Unfortunately the career of this daring and brilliant advocate was destined to an untimely end. Early in 1768 Hutchinson wrote, "We have now and then flashes from our firebrand. I wish I could think them presages of his extinction;" and again, "Otis, like an enraged demon, ran about the house;" and soon after, Otis "behaved in the house like a madman." In sad truth the clouds of insanity were rapidly gathering athwart that glorious intellect, and tendencies of Nature were accelerated by human agency. Otis fell a victim, as Mr. C. F. Adams has said, to his own irregularities and the vindictiveness of his enemies. He was violently assaulted and beaten over the head with a cane one evening in a coffee-house,[1] by one of the Royal Commissioners. Subsequently, in an action which he brought against his assailant, he recovered the sum, then a large one, of £2,000 in damages; but he magnanimously remitted payment upon receiving from his adversary a written acknowledgment of fault and request for pardon. The effect, however, upon the brain of Otis, already predisposed to disorder, could not be cured by money or apology, and the madness which rapidly advanced was doubtless hastened, though probably not wholly caused, by this disaster. On May 23, 1778, he was leaning against the post of an open door of the house in Andover in which he lived, telling a story to several other inmates, when a sudden flash of lightning struck him instantly dead. Singular as the death was, it was remembered with astonishment by his friends that he had often expressed a wish that he might die in this manner; and it was not without a certain awe that it was recalled that he had written to his sister, "I hope when God Almighty, in his righteous Providence, shall take me

[1] [This was the British Coffee-house in King (now State) Street, a place much frequented by royal officers, on the spot where since the Massachusetts Bank stood. — ED.]

out of time into eternity, that it will be by a flash of lightning." It was indeed a fitting end for a brilliant and meteoric genius.[1]

One other cause occurring in the ante-Revolutionary period deserves mention, and this is the trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers upon a charge of murder for the famous Boston Massacre. It is needless to recapitulate the details of that well-known occurrence, or to dilate upon the excited state of popular feeling.[2] When the accused sought the services of John Adams and of Josiah Quincy, Jr., as counsel, they preferred no ordinary request. Adams had been slowly making his way at the Bar for twelve years; Quincy was nine years his junior. Both were well known to be strong friends of the Colonial cause. They might well consider it unfair that they should be called upon to undertake a defence of persons whose very presence on the soil they reprobated, — a defence which, if conducted with due zeal and thoroughness, might destroy their popularity, reputation, and usefulness with their own townspeople, and ruin their business prospects. It was supposed to be a shrewd artifice on the part of the culprits, designed at once to help themselves and to injure their defenders; yet professional ethics seemed unquestionably to demand that the lawyers should accept the duty, and they both courageously and promptly engaged to do so. One would think, indeed, that both of them had given sufficient proof of ardent attachment to the popular cause to escape misapprehension in this matter; yet it is of record that many patriots, unable to appreciate their motives, were greatly offended with them. A striking letter to Mr. Quincy from his father, together with the just and spirited answer of the son, are preserved in the *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Junior.* The old gentleman wrote: —

"I have been told that you have actually engaged for Captain Preston; and I have heard the severest reflections made upon the occasion by men who had just before manifested the highest esteem for you, as one destined to be a savior of your country. I must own to you it has filled the bosom of your aged and infirm parent with anxiety and distress, lest it should not only prove true, but destructive of your reputation and interest; and, I repeat, I will not believe it unless it be confirmed by your own mouth, or under your own hand."



The letter was signed, — "Your anxious and distressed parent, Josiah Quincy."

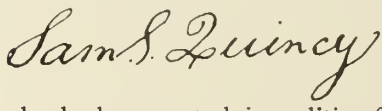
In an admirably independent and sound reply to this painful appeal, the young lawyer wrote, condemning the lack of feeling of those who had traduced him unheard to his venerable father: —

"Let such be told, sir, that those criminals, charged with murder, are *not yet legally proved guilty*, and therefore, however criminal, are entitled by the laws of God and man to all legal counsel and aid; that my duty as a man obliged me to undertake; that my duty as a lawyer strengthened the obligation; that, from abundant

[1] [See portrait of Otis, etc., in Vol. III. ch. i. — Ed.] [2] See Vol. III. ch. i.

caution, I at first declined being engaged; that, after the best advice and most mature deliberation had determined my judgment, I waited on Captain Preston and told him that I would afford him my assistance; but prior to this, in presence of two of his friends, I made the most explicit declaration to him of my real opinion on the contests (as I expressed it to him) of the times, and that my heart and hand were indissolubly attached to the cause of my country; and finally, that I refused all engagement until advised and urged to undertake it by an Adams, a Hancock, a Molineux, a Cushing, a Henshaw, a Pemberton, a Warren, a Cooper, and a Phillips. This and much more might be told with great truth; and I dare affirm that you and the whole people will one day rejoice that I became an advocate for the aforesaid criminals, *charged* with the murder of our fellow-citizens."

The trial of Captain Preston began Oct. 24, 1770, and was brought to an end on the sixth day thereafter by his acquittal. The trial of the soldiers followed, resulting in the conviction of two of them of manslaughter, and in the acquittal of the remaining six. It is an odd circumstance that



the prosecution was conducted on behalf of the Crown by Samuel Quincy,[1] Solicitor-General, a brother of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who had separated in politics from the rest of his family, and espoused the so-called Loyalist side. The trials were not in themselves especially noteworthy, save for the moral traits which they developed; and in this respect they were certainly remarkable. Not only Adams and Quincy, but the jurors also, won high honor by their conduct; and even the people at large, having a little time given them for reflection, so thoroughly appreciated the honorable motives which had actuated the reluctant counsel, that they hastened to elect John Adams a representative to the General Court. There is no nobler record in the annals of the country. It seems scarcely credible that after thirty years had elapsed, and John Adams had become President of the United States, an ignoble newspaper writer actually descended, in aspersing him as being under "British influence," to cite this trial in proof of his proclivities. Whoever else won honor in this matter, the English captain certainly did not, for he instantly disappeared from the neighborhood without even so much as saying "thank you" to those who had perilled so much and acted so courageously by him. The two convicted soldiers were branded in the hand by the sheriff, while the tears poured down their cheeks from shame and indignation at what they deemed an unmerited disgrace.

Soon after the trial of this cause, ill-health compelled Mr. Quincy to abandon a profession in which he could not have failed to achieve a brilliant success, unless, indeed, as is probable, he had been drawn from it into public affairs. He went abroad, in hopes of overcoming certain pulmonary symptoms, but unfortunately failed to do so, and died at sea on his way home, at the early age of thirty-one. John Adams also, during the exciting years which led up to the Revolution, found himself constantly more

[1] [Some of his letters are appended to *Curwen's Journal*, edited by Ward. — Ed.]

engrossed by public affairs, which seemed imperiously to demand his energies, and to draw him away from the active practice of his profession. Yet he was still called upon from time to time thereafter to perform services for which his early legal training was supposed peculiarly to fit him. In 1820, when Maine was set off from Massachusetts as a separate State, he was a prominent member of the convention chosen to prepare the new constitution for the latter. He was then well advanced in years, and most of his coadjutors belonged to the next generation; among them were Joseph Story and Daniel Webster. His son, John Quincy Adams, was also bred to the Bar, and had an office in Boston at various intervals during his long life; but he likewise was absorbed by the rapid succession of public offices which he was called upon to fill, and perhaps for this reason never showed any great measure of legal aptitude. Yet in 1810, being then in Russia, he was tendered by Mr. Madison a seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court. He wisely declined, for though he would have made a respectable and industrious judge, he would hardly have achieved a higher distinction.

The Revolutionary period, and the unsettled years which closely followed it, are ornamented by few names of distinction in the law. Francis Dana, — son of Justice Richard Dana, already mentioned, — having been sent as minister to Russia during the war, was afterward made Chief-Justice of Massachusetts. He had the reputation of being an able lawyer and a forcible speaker, and filled a large space in his day and generation. But except in this meagre statement and the tradition which Sullivan preserves for us of his magnificent white corduroy surtout, lined with fur, and his Russian muff, his life and characteristics have passed into oblivion.[1] He was, however, the progenitor of an able race, who keep the name famous to our own time. His son, Richard H. Dana, was in his day a writer of some note in the literary circles of Boston; and, in the next generation, Hon. Richard H. Dana, Jr., has been in our own times one of the most distinguished jurists and eloquent advocates of Massachusetts.[2]

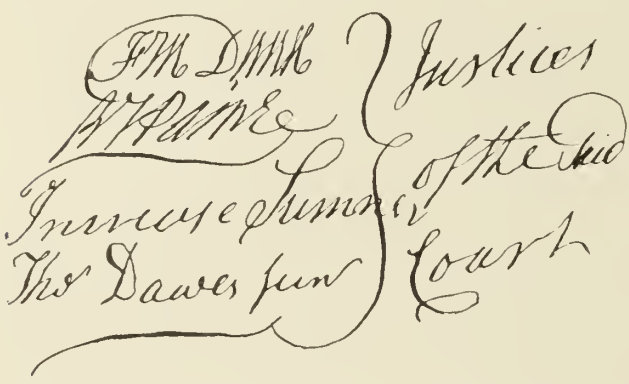
Not less famous than the name of Dana, in the legal annals of Massachusetts, is that of Lowell. The first John Lowell was a prominent adviser of the patriot merchants in the days of the war, and won reputation especially in prize causes. Upon the organization of the United States courts, he was very appropriately selected as the first incumbent upon the Bench of the same District Court upon which his

[1] [His portrait, by Brackett, is owned by Richard H. Dana, the second of the name, who prepared a brief memoir of him in 1876, which was printed in the *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, i. 86. He was born June 13, 1743, and bore distinguished service during the Revolution. He returned to Boston from his mission to St. Petersburg in December, 1783, to be made a delegate to Congress, which office he again left, in 1785, for a seat on the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts, of which he became the chief in November, 1791, a position he resigned in 1800. He died in Cambridge in 1811. One of his daughters married Washington Allston. — ED.]

[2] [Descendants of Richard Dana, of Cambridge, said to include all of the name, are traced in *Memoranda of Some of the Descendants, etc.*, by the Rev. J. J. Dana, Boston, 1865. — ED.]

great-grandson has since sat. He remained there until the Federalists passed their bill creating the short-lived Circuit Court, of which Lowell was made the judge; only, however, to be displaced when, in the following year, the vindictive Democrats, coming into power, abolished the tribunal. John Lowell enjoyed a great and deserved reputation equally in respect of his professional ability and of his high character.[1] He had a son, a lawyer of great promise and high public spirit, but whose health was too poor to enable him to achieve the success to which he was entitled. The present judge, now also on the Circuit bench, has succeeded to his ancestor's rare legal faculty, as well as to his public functions. Such striking examples of heredity as are presented in the Dana and Lowell families are certainly rare.

Upon the Bench with Francis Dana was Robert Treat Paine, a hot-tempered, black-eyed gentleman, a good lawyer, and fearless patriot, who had signed the Declaration of Independence.[2] He fell in easily with the prevailing habits of the Bench in those days,—habits which can hardly be admired, in point of good breeding or suavity, since the judges were wont to use their authority in a very harsh and offensive manner. But in 1800 an amelioration was fortunately effected in this regard by the appointment of Theodore Sedgwick as an associate justice. He was a courteous gentleman as well as a good lawyer; and his influence and example worked a reform in the manners of his associates which has continued down to the present day substantially unbroken, save during the reign of Chief-Justice Parsons.



The men who were coming forward at the Bar during the latter years of the eighteenth century have left behind them names deservedly famous.[3]

[1] [Judge Lowell bought, in 1785, an estate in Roxbury, which he made his residence after he had retired from active duties, and of which there is an account in Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, 394. — Ed.]

[2] [Robert Treat Paine lived on the west corner of Milk and Federal streets, in a large gambrel-roofed house, with gardens in the rear. He died here May 11, 1814. — Ed.]

[3] [Fisher Ames thus characterizes them in 1802 (*Works*, i. 300): "Parsons stands first; but he is grown older, less industrious, and wealth or the hypo may stop his practice. Otis is eager in the chase of fame and wealth, and, with a great deal of eloquence, is really a good lawyer, and improving. . . . Dexter is very able, and will be an Ajax at the bar as long as he stays. You know [addressed to Gore] that his aversion to reading and to practice are avowed. Sullivan, who seems immortal, is admonished of his decay by a fit every three months. . . . I know of no very dashing young men coming forward." — Ed.]

They were a brilliant and able coterie. There were Christopher Gore, Samuel Dexter, — the father of Franklin Dexter, who was only less able than his great progenitor, — Harrison Gray Otis, Benjamin Austin, James Sullivan, and Samuel Sewall. It is melancholy to find how little knowledge remains concerning any of these men beyond the naked fact of a great reputation. No name is more familiar in Boston than that of Harrison Gray Otis, and yet except for the tradition of his silvery voice, his graceful elocution, and persuasive oratory, how little is there to be learned about his life and doings! He was a nephew of the famous James Otis, and was scarcely less prominent in public affairs. In the stirring times of 1812, and thereabout, he was the favorite speaker in Faneuil Hall, which was always crowded when he was to be heard.[1]

Benjamin Austin was, during his life, esteemed as a lawyer much more highly than any persons, save antiquarians, are now aware. Indeed, it is probable that he would to-day be altogether forgotten, were it not for the unfortunate celebrity which he acquired in connection with one of the most noted trials which have ever occurred in Boston. In the middle of the day, on Aug. 4, 1806, his son was shot dead by Thomas O. Selfridge in State Street. The act created the greatest excitement. It was at a period when party feeling was running very high, and there had been a quarrel growing out of political hostility between Mr. Austin, Sr., and Mr. Selfridge. On the Fourth of July in that year the Republicans of Boston had gotten up a procession, and a grand banquet in a tent on Copp's Hill. The presence of the Tunisian Ambassador caused such a rush of the curious populace into the tent that the ticket-taker could not do his duty; the receipts fell short, and the landlord of the Jefferson Tavern,[2] who had been caterer for the feast, was paid by the committee only so much as they had collected. He employed Selfridge to enforce payment of the balance by suit against the committee as individuals. Austin, who was at the head of the committee, being one day rallied in an insurance office about the suit, replied that it had been instigated by the Federal lawyer who brought it. Afterward, upon proof that he was in error in his statement, he retracted it, though not in a sufficiently public manner to satisfy Mr. Selfridge, who forthwith published him in the *Gazette* as a coward, a liar, and a scoundrel. Austin also published a counter-statement. Charles Austin, the young man who was killed, was a student in Harvard College, eighteen years of age. Upon the trial of Selfridge the defence was, that young Austin had espoused his father's side in the controversy, and that he had meditated inflicting chastisement upon Selfridge; that accordingly, as he saw Selfridge crossing State Street, he himself advanced rapidly and threateningly from

[1] [Of the eloquence of Harrison Gray Otis, see the *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, p. 183. His law office at one time was in the building now (1881) standing on the lower corner of Court and Tremont streets, where later Daniel Webster had an office. — Ed.]

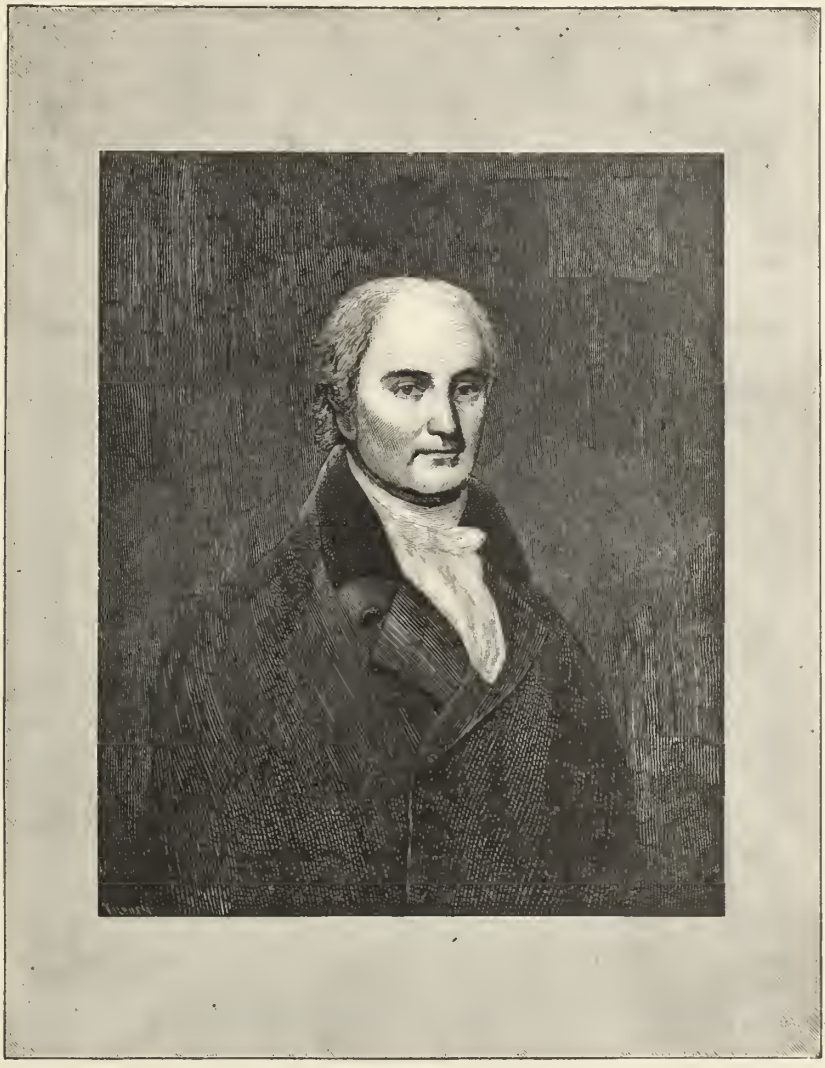
[2] [This noted resort stood on the present Salem Street, and was for some time the headquarters of the Republicans. There is a note on the origin of it in Amory's *James Sullivan*, ii. 163.]

the side-walk towards Selfridge, armed with a heavy cane, and began striking at Selfridge's head; that Selfridge, thus assailed, and being a man of feeble physique and quite unable to defend himself by force, drew his pistol and shot his assailant dead. The case was tried before Judge Parker; James Sullivan, Attorney-General, and Daniel Davis, Solicitor-General, appeared for the prosecution. Samuel Dexter, Christopher Gore, Harrison Gray Otis, and Charles Jackson were for the defence. The case was admirably tried, as can be learned from a full report of it, which fortunately still exists. There was less petty technical squabbling over unimportant points than is customary in our own time, but every particle of evidence was clearly brought out; the counsel made arguments which it would be difficult for any lawyer of our day to improve upon, and no jury ever had a man's life or liberty in their hands with better opportunity for meting out strict justice. The verdict was "not guilty." How far it may have been affected by the political predilections of the jurors it is hard to say. It was well understood at the time that the case took on a strong political complexion, and it is hardly to be supposed that a panel of sound Jeffersonians would have been brought to this conclusion even by the eloquence of Gore and Dexter. Certainly these gentlemen did their best for their fellow-laborer in the Federalist vineyard, and greatly distinguished themselves.[1]

Samuel Dexter has left a great name. He was a gentleman of varied and liberal acquirements, and very distinguished as a lawyer. Mr. Justice Story, before whom he practised, was wont to speak of him in terms of the highest praise, ranking him indeed as inferior to William Pinkney, — the leader, in Story's estimation, among all the counsel who practised at the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, — but second to none else. From the judge's description of the two men, it may be doubted whether the taste of the present day would not cause his preference to be reversed. Pinkney had a fiery, impetuous style of oratory, which seemed to lift his auditors from their feet, and bear them along whithersoever the flood of his eloquence was directed; but Dexter was more even, tranquil, and dispassionate, seeking to convince his hearers, not overwhelming their cool reason, but rather leaving it free for the better comprehension of his lucid argument. He was not, however, devoid of the faculty of passionate oratory, and upon the rare occasions when he was excited to it the effect is said to have been very great. Yet all this is only tradition; scarcely anything of his has been preserved, excepting a eulogy which he delivered upon Fisher Ames. His greatest effort was before the Supreme Court of the United States, made at the time when the merchants of Boston, ruined by the Embargo, undertook to establish the unconstitutionality of the law. Mr. Dexter appeared on

[1] Thomas Handasyd Perkins was foreman of the grand jury which found the indictment, and Paul Revere was foreman of the petit jury which rendered the verdict. Portraits of both are given elsewhere in this History. [The newspapers of the day, and a separate publication, contained the report of this trial, the indictment being for manslaughter, — not for murder. See also Parson's *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 250; Amory's *James Sullivan*, ii. 167. — Ed.]

their behalf; and though he lost his case, — which indeed was intrinsically hopeless, — yet he reaped great honor from his conduct of it. It is a mis-



C. GORE[4]

fortune for history no less than for law in the United States, that not even an outline of his profound and able argument in a cause of such weighty

[4] [This cut follows a likeness painted by J. Trumbull, and given in 1838 to Harvard College by Wm. E. Payne, a nephew of Gore, and now hanging in Memorial Hall. The descent of Governor Gore is traced by Wm. H. Whitmore, in his *Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families*, printed in the *Mass. His. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, and also as a publication of the Prince Society. — Ed.]

public import is extant. For a time Mr. Dexter was much in public life; beginning in the State Legislature he went thence to Congress, and was both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. In the administration of John Adams he was first Secretary of War, and then Secretary of the Treasury. But with the advent of Jefferson he retired from public life, and thereafter devoted himself exclusively to the law. He died untimely in his fifty-fifth year, May 4, 1816, from an acute difficulty in the throat. Dexter during most of his life was, as became a gentleman of his position in Boston in those days, a stanch Federalist; but in his later years his opinions upon the questions resulting in the war of 1812 induced him to abandon the party and join the Republicans, greatly to the regret of his friends.[1]

Dexter's compeer, friend, and rival was Christopher Gore, who was even more largely engaged in public life. For eight years he remained in England as Commissioner on behalf of the United States, busied with the settlement of claims for British spoliations under Jay's treaty; upon his return he was three years in the State Senate. In 1809 he was elected Governor, and in 1814 he was chosen United States Senator from Massachusetts. Amid such numerous and exacting public functions, it is surprising that he could find time to attend much to the practice of the law. Yet it is certain that so long as he lived he was considered to stand high in the first rank of his profession. He was the first United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts. In private practice his specialty was commercial law, of which he was a master; but his speech in the Selfridge case shows that he might have excelled also in the more showy and oratorical departments, had he been so minded. Except this, it may be said that absolutely nothing remains to show what he could do. He was a high-bred, courtly gentleman of the old school. His habits and appearance partook largely of that aristocratic element which then distinguished the prominent Federalists throughout the country, and nowhere to a greater degree than in Boston. He had a magnificent house at Waltham, in the neighborhood of Boston, with marble floors, a deer-park, and like expensive and luxurious appointments. He drove in a coach-and-four, with outriders in livery. Indeed it is said that the loss of his election to a second term of the governorship was largely due to these over-gorgeous habits. He had an ample fortune, a liberal portion of which he bequeathed to Harvard College. Gore Hall, used for the library, was built with this fund, and named for him.

For many years about this same period James Sullivan filled a large space before the eyes not only of the people of Boston,[2] but of the whole

[1] [We much need a life of Dexter. A little volume, consisting of some friendly recollections, communicated to the *Boston Evening Transcript* by Lucius Manlius Sargent, his law pupil, and afterward printed separately as *Reminiscences of Samuel Dexter*, 1857, is the chief record we have. To this should be added an essay by Judge Story in his *Miscellaneous Writings*, and a glance here and there in the biographies of his contemporaries. He lived in the Beacon Street side of the house on the corner of Beacon and Park streets. — Ed].

[2] [In the autumn of 1782 James Sullivan moved to Boston, and occupied a house on Bowdoin Square. In the first chapter of the second volume of his *Life*, by T. C. Amory, we have an

Commonwealth. Of Irish descent, he had the courage, activity, eloquence, and hospitality which distinguish the best of that race. He was born in Berwick, Maine, April 22, 1744, the fourth son in a numerous family, many of whom acquired distinction in public life. An accident which befell him in early years, in cutting down a tree, rendered him lame and prevented his entering the army, as he had intended. He was able, however, as a civilian — once also in a military way — to render essential service during the Revolutionary war. At the time of the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, Sullivan was on the Bench of the Supreme Court with Cushing, Sargent, and Sewall. But in 1782, out of regard to the general poverty, the Legislature established his salary at only £300, and reduced him to the necessity of resigning. For several years, he said, he had received from the Government barely enough to pay his travelling expenses upon circuit. He had, however, as he frankly acknowledged, a strong fancy for a public career, and the intervals when he was not filling some office of public trust and service were few and brief. It is seldom that we encounter the record of a busier life; he was not only a lawyer in large practice, but a writer and a man of affairs both in business and in politics. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, and again a delegate from Massachusetts in 1783; a judge, at different times, of the Admiralty, Probate, Superior, and Supreme Courts; a representative in the State Legislature; a member of the Executive Council; a member of sundry public commissions; for seventeen years attorney-general, for two years governor, and finally a member of all sorts of societies, quasi-public and private, notably of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders, and for many years the president, until displaced by political opponents.[1] He was the promoter of the famous Middlesex Canal, and by his energy carried that great labor to a successful consummation. He was engaged in many other business undertakings. He wrote law books, — especially his learned work on land titles, — and some able political tracts. He was also a constant and liberal contributor to the newspapers, in all the numerous and exacting political and personal controversies of the times, following the fashion of the public men of that day in using this channel to reach the people and influence popular opinion. Add to all this the exactions of a large private professional practice, and the time devoted to social intercourse with an unusually numerous circle of friends, — for he was a very popular man, — and it is evident that Governor Sullivan could have had few idle moments. When, in 1790, he was made attorney-general, he insisted that a salary should be annexed to the office in place of the previous system of payment by fees. The change was to his own pecuniary disadvantage; but he was resolved that his emoluments should not be dependent upon the number of prosecutions which he could institute or carry through. This was of a piece with the upright and just temper which marked him throughout life. The Self-

estimate of him as a lawyer, and of the condition of practice in his day. — Ed.]

[1] [See Amory's *Life of James Sullivan*, ii. 133; Austin's *Life of Gerry*. — Ed.]

ridge case was the most famous which it fell to him to conduct during his long term of office; but only second to it was the still-remembered trial of Jason Fairbanks for the murder of Miss Fales. She was the village belle at Dedham, and perhaps a trifle prone to flirtation. Fairbanks was a sickly and unattractive youth, one of her admirers, to whom she seemed rather unaccountably kind. One day he met her in a meadow, and, having in vain attempted to dishonor her, he stabbed or rather hacked her to death with a knife, with circumstances of extreme barbarity. Intense excitement prevailed. The trial took place in the Dedham church, Chief-Justice Dana presiding in the pulpit, associates Paine, Strong, and Davis sitting in the desk below him, and the jury occupying the neighboring pews. John Lowell and Harrison Gray Otis appeared for Fairbanks, and surprised every one by the force and ingenuity of their defence. It is said that Lowell was then, and ever after remained, convinced of his client's innocence. Sullivan however, in closing, made a superb address, and won a well-merited verdict of "guilty."[1] Strange to say, the wretched prisoner found sympathizers sufficiently enterprising to rescue him from his confinement and run him off towards Canada. By good fortune, however, he was recaptured when almost upon the very border, was brought back, and — since fortunately the days of sentimentality for brutal criminals had not yet arrived — he met his just deserts upon the gallows.

In the Selfridge trial Sullivan labored under severe disadvantages. He had been hard pushed with other causes during the term; he was in ill-health, and within a few days he had lost, by sudden death in his own house, one of his sons. Gore wrote out his argument carefully for the report of the case; but Sullivan trusted to the ordinary reporter's notes. Yet even under all these disadvantages the speech appears to have been a fine one, though it was not generally considered that he was at his best in it. He was always a very fluent and ready speaker, quick in expedient and never disconcerted, with a surprising ability for carrying on other business, even to the writing of his law books and political tracts during the conduct of a cause, without ever losing the thread of his opponent's case. In spite of his lameness he is said to have had an excellent personal presence.[2]

Sullivan was one of the few gentlemen of position and prominence in Massachusetts who belonged to the Republican party. Such, however, was the respect felt for his character that he was well liked even by Federalists. Most of his personal friends were almost inevitably, as Boston society was then constituted, of the Federal persuasion, and it is much to his and to their credit that, at a time when personal animosity was freely imported into political life, such friendships were warmly maintained. But it must be said that he was a very high-spirited and independent man in political as well as in all other matters, and more than once gave offence to his party.

[1] [This address is given in part in Amory's *Sullivan*. — Ed.]

[2] [This is apparent from his portrait given in Amory's *Life* of him, and in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, i. The original is by Gilbert Stuart. — Ed.]

They could not, however, get along without him in Massachusetts, and forgave perforce his occasional derelictions. He was several times their candidate for Governor, narrowly missing success, until in 1807 he was elected, and again in 1808 was re-elected, dying in that year before his term of office had expired. Democrat though he was, he had lived handsomely, and was opposed in the gubernatorial campaign, as Gore was soon afterward, on the ground that he was too much of an aristocrat. The personal charges brought against him in the canvass were very discreditable to his opponents, but are now in a certain sense agreeable reading, as showing that falsehood and calumny were at least as freely used in political warfare in those days as in our own. Few men, near the close of so long and active a life, could have been found so invulnerable to just reproach as was Governor Sullivan.

Theophilus Parsons was a student in the office of Judge Trowbridge. When admitted to practice at the bar he opened his office in Newburyport, and there did a thriving business for the merchants and ship-captains who then gave an air of liveliness and enterprise to the streets of that now tranquil and sleepy old town. He became a master of prize and admiralty law, then a lucrative branch of practice, and divided the business in these departments with John Lowell and Governor Sullivan. Clients who are making money fast are usually welcome to the lawyer's office, and such were the kind who came to Parsons. One of them, a master of a privateer, one day threw into the lap of Mrs. Parsons —as she sat, after the simple, pleasant fashion of the day, in her husband's office — a dozen heavy silver-gilt spoons, with the remark that "the squire had not charged him half enough." Another, one day, said that in praying the Lord to make him rich he believed he must have prayed too hard, for it seemed that now the Almighty "meant to drown him out." Parsons came to Boston in 1806 with a high reputation. It was remarked that he never used a brief, trusting with perfect confidence to a memory of extraordinary tenacity. He addressed jurors and judges alike with brevity, simplicity, and force, and achieved brilliant successes. Chief-Justice Parker has left a description of him in argument: "He put one foot on his chair, and, with an elbow on his knee, leaned over and began to talk about the case as a man might talk to a neighbor at his fireside." A juror once said of him: "He is not much of a lawyer, and he don't talk or look as if he would ever be one; but he seems a real good sort of a man." He had an eccentric habit of declining ever to take a fee from a widow or a clergyman.

Parsons was appointed by Governor Strong to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief-Justice Dana. The promotion was made over the head, as it were, of the senior Associate Justice, Theodore Sedgwick, at the private intercession of Judges Isaac Parker and Samuel E. Sewall. The truth was, that Sedgwick was a courteous and amiable gentleman, who could not be expected to make any reform in the extreme and mischievous laxity which then disfigured the administration of justice; but Parsons was a man of

different temper. No sooner had he taken his seat upon the bench than the whole air of the court-room seemed charged with a terrible energy. No excuse was listened to, no delay was admitted. Counsel might try in their turn, or they must submit to the inexorable non-suit or default. The dropsical dockets rapidly shrunk when gashed by the unsparing lancet of the new Chief. The lawyers at first grumbled much; but suitors were better pleased, and the great improvement effected soon reconciled all persons to the new system. Yet it cannot be denied that Parsons often carried his autocratic spirit too far. It was not only that his manners were rough; but he was too apt to take the case into his own hands, to lead or drive the jury according to his own notions, and not unfrequently even to refuse to hear the arguments of counsel. In spite of his perfect honesty and his shrewd intelligence, this was over-doing the judicial authority. Samuel Dexter, once smarting beneath one of these arbitrary interruptions, said with some temper, "Your honor did not argue your own cases in the way you require of us." "Certainly not," replied Parsons; "but that was the judge's fault, not mine." He had a quick and trenchant tongue, and was almost as proud of his reputation for wit as of his standing as a lawyer; so that it was dangerous for counsel to tilt with him, especially when he had the authority of office at his back. Yet sometimes he got as good as he gave. For example, once, when he was in Hampshire on circuit, Elijah H. Mills, afterward a distinguished lawyer and politician of Northampton, then very young at the bar, was compelled to take charge of the cases of an old lawyer who had been taken suddenly ill. Mills called upon the chief-justice with a letter of introduction, stated the embarrassing position in which he found himself, and asked for advice as to whom he should employ as senior counsel in the emergency. "I think on the whole," said Parsons, "that you had better employ nobody; you and I can do the business about as well as any one." It was hardly to be wondered at that these allies made a brilliant campaign through the session. At its close, one of the old country lawyers visited the chief-justice, and, as he rose to take leave, Parsons said to him, "Well, Mr.——, I shall expect to see you at the next term." "I'm not so sure of that, judge," retorted the other; "I think some of sending my office-boy with my papers; you and he together will do the business full as well as I can."

Parsons was a sound Federalist; but unlike his rivals of that political creed, he was far from being an aristocrat in manners or appearance. He was slouching in figure, and careless to the point of being actually slatternly and unclean in his dress and person. Once when he was going on circuit, his wife put six clean shirts in his valise, with strict injunctions that he should be sure to put on a fresh shirt every day. On his return at the end of the week, no shirt was to be found in his valise; he vowed solemnly that he could not account for it, that he had put on a fresh shirt every morning. It turned out that he had indeed done so; but he had never taken off a shirt during the time: he had put one on over another to the end of the supply!

He died in 1813, at the age of sixty-three, of some trouble in the head. As his mind wandered towards the end, his last words were: "Gentlemen of the jury, the case is closed, and in your hands; you will please retire, and agree upon your verdict." [1]

In casting about to determine which law office in Boston he should enter, Daniel Webster found none so well suited to his taste as that of Governor Gore. It was with no small diffidence that the lad from the country, unknown and unfriended, ventured to approach the famous and aristocratic lawyer whose office then was in "Scollay's Building," where now stands the statue of Winthrop. But Mr. Gore received him with great kindliness, and readily gave him all the opportunities which he wished. A warm friendship grew up and endured between them during the remaining years of the ex-governor's life, and Webster always held his memory, both as a man and as a lawyer, in great veneration. It was while in Mr. Gore's office that Mr. Webster had the offer of the clerkship of a court of common pleas in New Hampshire, with a salary of one thousand five hundred dollars per annum. It seems astonishing now to think that his first impulse was to accept this position, and it is curious to speculate upon what would have been his career had he done so. Fortunately, however, Mr. Gore threw his influence so vigorously and authoritatively into the opposite scale that Webster changed his mind, refused the office, — to the extreme disappointment of his aged father, — and was saved to his country and his profession. Soon afterward, in 1805, in the Court of Common Pleas in Boston, Mr. Gore moved the admission of Mr. Webster to the Bar, and according to the custom of the day he made a short speech concerning his pupil. "It is a well-known tradition," says Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, "that on this occasion Mr. Gore predicted the future eminence of his young friend. What he said has not been preserved; but that he said what Mr. Webster never forgot, that it was distinctly a prediction, and that it excited in him a resolve that it should not go unfulfilled, we have upon his own authority, although he appears to have been unwilling to repeat the words of Mr. Gore's address." After this ceremony Mr. Webster returned to New Hampshire; but a principle of gravitation too strong to be resisted drew him back towards Boston, of which place he became permanently a citizen in August, 1816. There he not only found congenial friends and devoted admirers, but was often able to make more money in a single case than he had been able to gather in twelve

[1] [We fortunately have a filial record of Judge Parsons's life in a *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, by his son of the same name, written over fifty years after the judge's death, and when but a small portion of his manuscripts remained in the family hands. An unfinished portrait by Stuart, painted after Judge Parsons's death, but regarded "as an admirable likeness," is prefixed to the volume. It is said in Mason's *Stuart*, p. 236, that the artist Alexander painted in the eyes in the unfinished picture, before it was engraved. After coming to Boston, he lived for a year on the southerly side of Bromfield Street, but in 1801 he bought a house with a large garden on the eastern side of Pearl Street, and there died. Judge Parsons's library was for his day a very large one, — between five and six thousand volumes. After his death in 1813, it was sold for more than its original cost with interest. "Such a sale was then without precedent, and has not occurred since, that I know of," says his son. *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, p. 263. — Ed.]

months in New Hampshire, where his practice, we are told, had never been worth more than two thousand dollars a year, and was scarcely susceptible

DANIEL WEBSTER.[1]

of possible increase beyond that paltry sum. Mr. Webster's fame as a statesman far overshadows his reputation as a lawyer; yet in the argument of a

[1] [This cut follows an unfinished picture by Stuart, who only completed the head. It was painted at the time when Webster first moved to Boston from Portsmouth. It is owned by Mr. Henry Parkman, of Boston. On the terrace in front of the State House stands a statue of him by Powers, which met with such adverse criticism that Mr. Everett, who delivered in 1859 an oration at its dedication, felt called upon to defend it. — *Works*, iv. 146, 186. An excellent engraving of Powers's bust, which was made from life before Webster was fifty, adorns the second volume of *Webster's Works* as edited by Mr. Everett. A report of the reasons urged by Mr. George T. Curtis and Mr. J. T. Stevenson, against accepting the statue as an adequate representation of Mr. Webster, will be found in full in the *Boston Courier*, July 8, 1859. The model which was

constitutional question he has never had a superior. He can hardly, however, be regarded as peculiarly associated with Boston in his professional career; for though he often practised in the State courts, and had many steady clients in this city, his chief business was in the Supreme Court at Washington, and it was before that tribunal that all his greatest efforts were made. Among his professional achievements, by far the most popularly known are his great speeches in the Knapp cases at Salem. It may be doubted whether a more effective harangue was ever uttered in a court-room, than that famous and familiar speech which contains the now proverbial words: "There was no escape from confession but suicide; and suicide is confession." In the earlier trial Franklin Dexter, who had the arduous task of defending the accused not only against a terrible weight of adverse testimony, but also against the superb eloquence of Webster, complained to

preferred by many was that made by Thomas Ball, upon which, with some changes, that artist moulded the statue which in 1876 was erected in Central Park, New York, when the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and others delivered addresses. The proceedings of the occasion were issued in a sumptuous quarto, with a large engraving of the statue, and another is given in Harvey's *Reminiscences of Webster*.

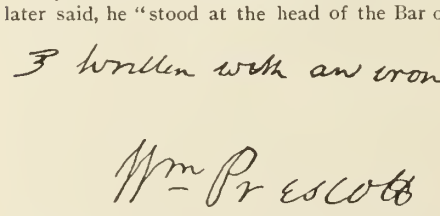
The engraved portraits of Mr. Webster are numerous; but the following will show the gradual change in his appearance, of which Mr. Everett speaks in his defence of Powers's statue: a miniature, painted at twenty-two, and engraved on the title of Harvey's *Reminiscences;* by Miss Goodrich, a miniature, painted in 1820, in the *Private Correspondence*, i.; by Healy, in 1843, in Curtis's *Life of Webster*, i.; by Chester Harding, engraved by Schoff, in *Works*, i., and in the *Boston Memorial:* and another, in 1849, in Curtis's *Life*, ii., engraved by Jackman after Whipple's daguerreotype; by J. Ames in 1852, with slouched hat and fishing costume, a full length in Harvey's *Reminiscences;* and a similar head by Ames, in *Private Correspondence*, ii.

Mr. Webster's fame is so closely connected with the Federalist town and the Whig city, that it may be well to indicate the chief contributions to an understanding of his character and career. The two most authentic accounts of him are the Memoir which Mr. Everett prefixed to *Webster's Works*, in their author's lifetime, and the extended *Life* prepared by his executor, George Ticknor Curtis, published in 1869; many of the papers on which it was based are now in the collection of Charles P. Greenough, Esq. Mr. Curtis subsequently, in 1878, issued in explanation of Webster's later political views a little monograph on *The Last Years of Webster*. Webster's son, Fletcher, published the *Private Correspondence* in two volumes in 1857, with which was an autobiographical fragment ending with 1817, and some recollections of his schooldays by his mates. Charles Hale gave a paper on his literary work in college in *Old and New*, July, 1873. It is noteworthy that Webster's first Latin lesson at Exeter was recited to Joseph Stevens Buckminster, the subsequent Boston pulpit orator. Books dealing more or less with his personal character are Charles Lanman's *Private Life of Daniel Webster*, 1856, and Peter Harvey's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Webster*, 1877. March's *Reminiscences of Congress* deal largely with Webster up to 1835; and the lives of his political contemporaries all throw side-lights. Joel Parker delivered an address treating him as a jurist. Edwin P. Whipple has measured him in his *Essays*, i. 172, and lately in an Essay presenting Webster as a master of English style in *Webster's Great Speeches*, 1879. At his death in 1852, the Eulogies in Congress were printed in a volume; George S. Hillard delivered an oration before the Government of Boston, which, with other memorials, made up a commemorative volume issued by the city. Other addresses of a like character were delivered by Mr. Everett (in his *Works*); and another, by Rufus Choate, was spoken at Dartmouth, the alma mater of both, and the manuscript of this is now in the Public Library, as well as other interesting memorials, — namely, the short-hand report made by Joseph Gales of Webster's reply to Hayne, Jan. 26, 1830, and the copy which the author prepared from it for the press, and the silver vase given to him in 1835 by various Boston gentlemen. It should be remembered that the city also owns Healy's large picture of Webster replying to Hayne, which hangs in Faneuil Hall. Party feeling, or that judgment which came from such as kept aloof from his admirers, sometimes took issue with the estimates commonly made of him; and some of these antagonistic views can be found in Theodore Parker's *Historic Americans*, James Parton's *Famous Americans*, and in Wendell Phillips's *Speeches*. — ED.]

the panel that this gentleman had been brought into the case "to hurry the jury against the law, and beyond the evidence." In the succeeding trial opposition was made, under a statute, to Mr. Webster's taking part at all. The objection was, however, overruled; unfortunately perhaps for the prisoner, but very fortunately for all lovers of noble specimens of professional oratory. Only less interesting was the Kenniston case. But far in advance of these Nisi Prius causes looms the great Dartmouth College case, which may perhaps be justly esteemed the most important cause ever tried in this country. Mr. Webster appeared for the college, and had the pleasure and glory of triumph. Whether his eloquence warped the court from a sound decision is a problem which the profession have not yet succeeded in solving beyond dispute; and the two factions still divide the Bar of the country, remaining, like two political parties, forever incapable of agreement.

Older than Daniel Webster, but in the memory of New England lawyers inseparably associated with him, was Jeremiah Mason. He also was born in New Hampshire, but as early as 1768, so that he was fourteen years Mr. Webster's senior. He did not, however, remove to Boston until 1832,[1] so that when Mr. Webster came to the New Hampshire Bar, he found Mr. Mason reigning there almost supreme. It was not long ere the two were regarded as not unequal opponents, and were constantly pitted against each other; but they were, and ever continued to be, the best of friends. Mr. Mason was a man of strongly marked individuality, with great independence and courage, a clear, strong, and keen mind, a trenchant wit, and a brusque, not to say a rough, manner. Long before he came to Boston he had served with distinction in the Senate of the United States from New Hampshire, and his practice had carried him not only all over New England, but often also to Washington. He was the intimate friend of Rufus King and Christopher Gore, and a valuable correspondence between him and them has fortunately been preserved. He shared with Mr. Webster the honor of winning the Dartmouth College case. He had some claim to be what is called a "character;" and his shrewd, witty, often sarcastic, and sometimes rough retorts were, to judge from tradition, the frequent provocation to merriment in his lifetime. It is sad, however, to find how singularly few

[1] [William Prescott had retired from the bar four years before this, when, as Mr. Webster later said, he "stood at the head of the Bar of Massachusetts for legal learning and attainments." Judge Prescott did not die till November, 1843. It is significant of his linking a new era with the old that, in the autograph which is here copied (1831), he marks as a departure from the old ways that he had laid aside the quill, temporarily at least. An account of him will be found in the appendix to Mr. Ticknor's *Life of William H. Prescott*, his son. A portrait of him, by Stuart, is owned by his daughter, the widow of Franklin Dexter, a son of Samuel Dexter; and another by the estate of the late James Lawrence, who married a daughter of the historian. Judge Story, in his autobiography, pays Judge Prescott a high tribute. *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, i. 97. — ED.]



of the "good stories" to which his sharp-edged tongue gave rise have been preserved. Perhaps the best and most familiar is this: A judge before whom he was conducting a case put a question to an important witness. In an instant Mr. Mason was on his feet, and checked the witness's reply. "May it please your Honor," he said, "I should like to inquire on whose side you asked that question? If it is on our side, we do not want it put; and if it is on the other side, the answer would not be legal evidence." As may be supposed, his forte lay in cross-examination, which, as he managed it, was a species of vivisection beneath which many a dishonest witness, and perchance occasionally also an honest one, writhed in pitiable suffering. One of his clients one day said to him, just before going in to trial, "We shall win the case; I am sure of it, for in a dream last night I had information from the Angel Gabriel." "Aha!" cried Mr. Mason, "we must subpœna him at once." Mr. Webster says that when he came to the Bar he observed that Mr. Mason was a "cause-getting" man. "He had a habit of standing quite near to the jury, so that he might have laid his finger on the foreman's nose; and then he talked to them in a plain conversational way, in short sentences, and using no word that was not level to the comprehension of the least educated man on the panel. This led me to examine my own style; and I set about reforming it altogether." There certainly was not much artificiality or polish about Mr. Mason's rhetoric; but it was full of a rugged vigor, which prevailed mightily with a jury, and of a logical clearness not less formidable before the judges *in banc*.[1]

An intimate friend of Mr. Mason was Mr. Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States. This gentleman was born at Marblehead, Sept. 18, 1779. He became one of the greatest jurists whom this country has ever produced. Appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States by Mr. Madison, in 1810, he imbibed the spirit of Chief-Justice Marshall, for whom he had a warm affection, as well as a high esteem. His long services and eminent ability pointed him out as the natural successor to the distinguished position which Marshall left vacant in 1835; and he would undoubtedly have enjoyed the well-merited honor had it not been for the narrow prejudices and rancorous hostility of President Jackson, who openly avowed his antipathy to the "school of Kent and Story," and passed by this latter gentleman to appoint Roger B. Taney, — a sufficiently good lawyer, but who really owed his office to an act of political servility. This unjust treatment, however, cannot dim the lustre of Story's fame. He played a great part in framing both the constitutional and the commercial law of this country, at a period when both these depart-

[1] [The only authoritative life of Mr. Mason is one written by George S. Hillard, in 1873, from material furnished by the late Robert M. Mason, Esq., his son, and privately printed. It is only the last chapter of this book which covers his Boston career, and Mr. Hillard was fortunate in knowing him from his coming. Mr. Mason died in October, 1848, aged a little over eighty. In Mr. Hillard's opinion, Mr. Mason "was perhaps the greatest lawyer that ever practised at the Bar in New England." — ED.]

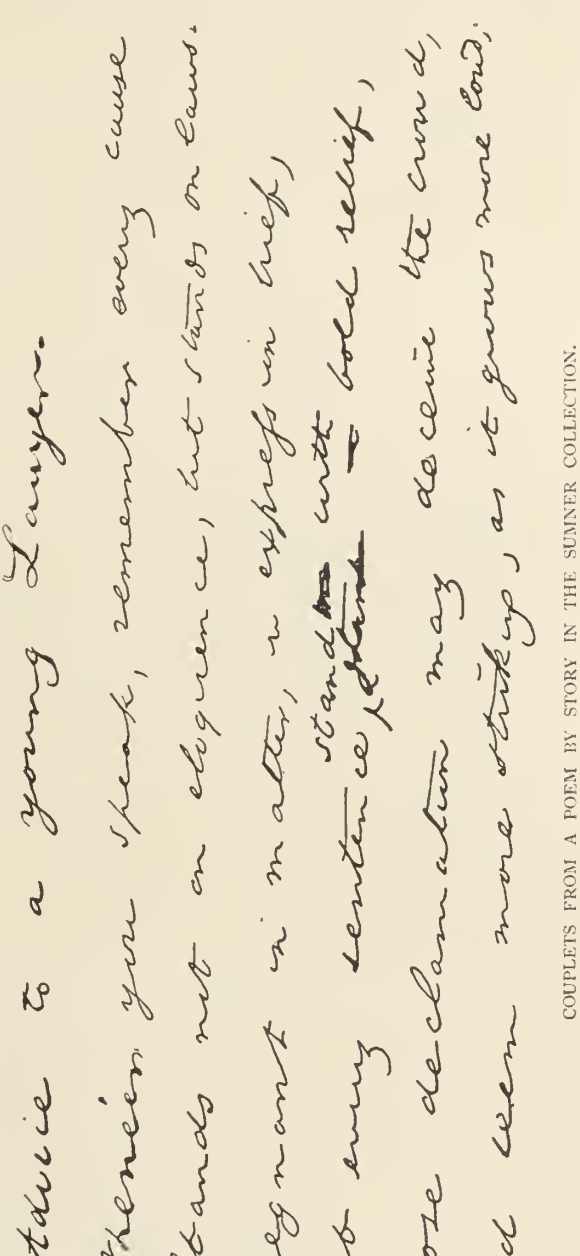
ments were in a plastic state; and the War of 1812 devolved upon him the duty of almost creating the American doctrines of admiralty and prize law. His capacity for labor was immense; he acquired easily, and poured forth his knowledge with wonderful fluency. As Judge of the Supreme Court,

JOSEPH STORY.[1]

Professor in the Dane Law School at Harvard College, and the writer of a small library of treatises upon legal topics, — all which functions he combined through many years of his busy career, — he seemed almost to live

[1] [This cut follows a likeness by Gilbert Stuart, painted in 1819, and bequeathed by the judge to Harvard College, where it now hangs in Memorial Hall. See Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, p. 260. A statue of Story, sitting, by his son W. W. Story, is in the chapel at Mount Auburn; and a bust of him (1846) by the same is in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. This same son published the authoritative *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* in 1851. The likeness in this book follows a crayon by his son, drawn after Story's death; and in Vol. II. p. 555, there is a list of the likenesses of him. An autobiography is contained in his *Miscellaneous Works*, 1852. Charles Sumner paid a tribute to him, which is printed in his *Speeches;* and in Pierce's *Life of Sumner* there is much light thrown on their friendly intercourse. George S. Hillard printed a memoir in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1868. Mr. Webster's estimate, pronounced before the Bar on the day of Story's funeral, will be found in his *Works*, ii. 297. — ED.]

a triple existence. Yet whatever he took in hand he carried through with surpassing thoroughness. Elaboration was his chief characteristic. He achieved exuberance generally without redundancy, and displayed an enormous range of learning without often exposing himself to the charge of pedantry. Although appointed by Madison, Judge Story took the Federalist view concerning the proper method of interpreting the Constitution; and fortunately his powerful influence was thrown always in happy unison with that of Marshall, in favor of broad and liberal construction. This was the natural habit of his mind, and rapidly wore out some youthful predilections which he had entertained for the fanciful and alluring, but unsound and impracticable, tenets of the Jeffersonian school of legists. Wit and humor were hardly traits of Judge Story. He could enjoy a joke well enough, but seldom endeavored to make one. He was as genial and kindly as he was learned, with a wise, benevolent face, but of a serious nature. Fortunately he had the good sense, or happy instinct, to understand his own gifts, and never to undertake anything which he could not do well. The nearest approach to a good story which is told of him is this: He loved to lie late in his bed, but



COUPLETS FROM A POEM BY STORY IN THE SUMNER COLLECTION.

boasted of being always wide awake so long as he was out of it. President Quincy, of Harvard College, and John Quincy Adams, on the contrary, were gravely "addicted to the vice of intemperate early rising." One day these two gentlemen made a sort of complimentary visit, to attend one of Judge Story's lectures at the law school. But ere long they both fell sound asleep, to the no small amusement of the students. Story, not at all discomfited, stopped short, pointed to the slumberers and said: "Gentlemen, you see before you a melancholy example of the evil effects of early rising." The burst of laughter which followed quickly broke the dreams of the worthy old sleepers.

Contemporary, friend, and professional rival of Webster was Rufus Choate, whose name still awakens in those who knew him memories more stirring and vivid than can be aroused by the mention of any lawyer of any age or any country. He was the magician of the Bar; about whom everything that any one remembers or has heard seems weird, strange, and wonderful. No definition of the word genius could be drawn so narrow as to exclude his brilliant, singular, fascinating, powerful mind. Not without distinction in public life, a scholar steeped in the literature of ancient and modern days, an able lawyer in arguments to the judges *in banc*, yet his pre-eminent distinction was as an advocate. His power over a jury was as masterful as his method of obtaining and exercising it was peculiar. His classical allusions, his extravagant and often grotesque imagery, his wild, impossible fancies, his excitable manner, his fervid, impetuous rush of speech, would have seemed to one judging *a priori* to be far removed from the uncultivated mind and dull intelligence of the average panel. Beautiful and noble as were his more labored productions, much of what he said in court, when put into print and read quietly at the fireside, seems not only lacking in persuasive or convincing qualities, but almost meaningless, and sometimes even absolutely ridiculous. But criticism is paralyzed before the compelling facts which repeated themselves week after week through his many long years of active professional life. His sway was not less complete over his educated fellow-citizens than over rustic jurors, who presumably did not fairly comprehend one sentence in ten. The test of success, the glory of victory, were his. His tactics in trying a case were often said to be Napoleonic; he left no precaution uncared for to secure success, and then fought with an intensity, an energy, an *élan* which seemed to render such precautions superfluous. He was never discouraged; he never ceased to struggle. Not till the sheriff had the execution in hand, did Mr. Choate ever regard a case as hopelessly lost. Not unnaturally, he was a more distinguished counsel in weak than in strong cases. A desperate chance roused all his faculties; but a plethora of strength in his case seemed to confuse him. So long as he practised in Essex County, not a client of his was ever convicted in criminal proceedings. People began to say that he was the scourge of society; that behind his ægis crime could flourish uncontrolled. In the famous Tirrell cases, which he

tried in Boston, and in which, it will be remembered, the famous defence of somnambulism was set up, he even exasperated many respectable and intelligent citizens by his success in securing the acquittal of a debased

Rufus Choate[1]

fellow, of whose guilt, in the specific offences charged upon him, the whole community was satisfied.

A famous instance of Mr. Choate's reckless extravagance of suggestion, — effective at the time, but seeming almost absurd afterward, — was fur-

[1] [This cut follows an engraving after Southworth & Hawes's photograph, which is given in Brown's *Life of Choate*, where it is called the best likeness of him *in repose;* but credit is given to Ames's likeness, now at Dartmouth College, for its representation of him in action; and to Brackett's bust for "spirit," and to Ball's bust for "dignity, force, and truthfulness." Parker's *Reminiscences* has a striking full-face portrait of Choate, following also a photograph by Southworth & Hawes.

Mr. Choate's literary productions were published, with a memoir by Professor S. G. Brown, in 1862, three years after his death, and the *Memoir*, with additions, was separately issued in 1869. This is the authoritative account, having the sanction of the family, and being based on his private papers. The full picture of his wonderful

nished in the earlier of these cases. After the defence had all been put in, the Government were permitted to call a witness whom they had then just laid hands upon. Commenting upon this, Mr. Choate said: —

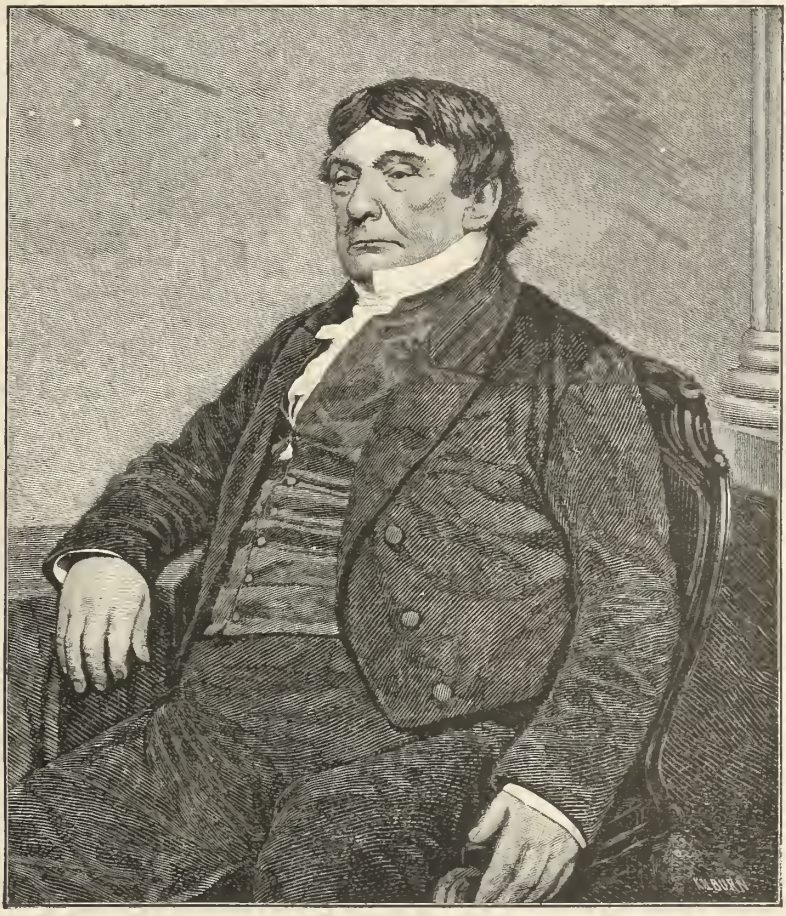
"Where was this tardy and belated witness, that he comes here to tell us all he knows and all he doesn't know, forty-eight hours after the evidence for the defence is closed? Is the case so obscure, that he has never heard of it? Was he ill, or in custody? Was he in Europe, Asia, or Africa? Was he on the Red Sea, or the Yellow Sea, or the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean Sea? Was he at Land's End, or John O'Groat's house? Was he with commissioners on our north-eastern boundary, drawing and defining that much vexed boundary line? or was he with General Taylor and his army at Chihuahua, or wherever the fleeting south-western boundary-line of our country may at this moment be? No, gentlemen! he was at none of these places, comparatively easy of access; but — and I will call your attention, Mr. Foreman, to the fact, and urge it upon your consideration — he was at that more remote, more inaccessible region, whence so few travellers return, — Roxbury!"

Mr. Choate's reputation for success in assisting criminals to escape from the just punishment of their crimes once put him in an embarrassing position. He was cross-examining a government witness, a seaman who was testifying against his comrades, charged with stealing money. He had said that Mr. Choate's client instigated the theft. "What did he say?" asked Mr. Choate; "tell me how and what he spoke to you." "Oh," replied the sailor, "he told us there was a man in Boston named Choate, who would get us off even if we were caught with the money in our boots." This was discomfiting; the court-room echoed with the roar of laughter. Mr. Choate alone showed no sign either of amusement or of displeasure, but continued with even tranquillity, as if nothing peculiar had occurred. It will always be a source of regret that Mr. Choate did not appear in the trial of Professor Webster, for the murder of Dr. Parkman, the most famous criminal cause ever tried in New England. The story goes that he was solicited to undertake the defence, but refused to do so; that Franklin Dexter went to see him, hoping to persuade him to change his mind, and spent a whole afternoon in his library laying the case before him, and urging him. Choate paced up and down the room. Finally he turned to Mr. Dexter, and put to him one question. What it was is not known, but it touched a vital point. The reply was such that no further inducements could shake his fixed resolution.

The name of Choate acts like a talisman upon those who knew him; the word brings light into their eyes, and they think and talk of him without

personality can be made out only by gleanings from the recollections of many persons, some of the most important of which are the following: Edward G. Parker, *Reminiscences of Rufus Choate*, 1860; Edward Everett, address, in *Works*, iv. 178; George S Hillard, in *New American Cyclopædia;* George Lunt, *Three Eras of New England*, etc. (as a lecturer); *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1861 (his lineage); Edwin P. Whipple, in *American Review*, 1847, or, *Essays and Reviews*, ii. (critical), and *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1878, also separately (recollections); *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1860, January, 1863; *North American Review*, January, 1863; *Hours at Home*, November, 1866; *National Quarterly Review*, 1873; *American Law Review*, October, 1876 (reminiscences); *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, August, 1859. — Ed.]

readily stopping. Biographies, articles, addresses, have perpetuated his memory and fed the flame of curiosity; but no one has ever yet drawn the man, — a task which, perhaps, is as impossible as to describe color or scent



CHIEF-JUSTICE LEMUEL SHAW.[1]

by words. His traits have not been, and cannot be, captured by a biographer and imprisoned in a book; but airy and sprite-like they ever flit away before the advancing pen, and refuse to be caught by it, however

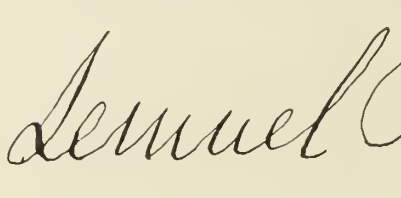
[1] [This cut follows a photograph, taken by Whipple & Black, in 1858. The Editor is indebted to Samuel S. Shaw, Esq., for the following memorandum: —

"There is no likeness of Chief-Justice Shaw of earlier date than the bust by S. H. Clevenger, modelled in 1839, in the possession of the Boston Athenæum, a copy of which fills a niche in the Supreme Court room at Boston. It was taken in his 59th year, and is an admirable portrait. The artist, whose career was cut short by a premature death in 1843, excelled in the fidelity of his likenesses. His residence in Boston was short, and it is probable that he saw the chief-justice only as a sitter in his studio. He has given much of the animation which lighted up his face when conversing on subjects which interested him. A daguerreotype of the four judges who then composed the full bench of the Supreme Court was taken by Litch & Whipple in 1845, from which enlarged photographs have been made. It is chiefly interesting as suggesting his appearance before the arrival of old age.

"A daguerreotype taken by Southworth & Hawes in 1854 has recently been enlarged in photographs, which have

fervidly it may race after them. If one could lay hands upon them, the most charming volume ever yet written would see the light.

One cannot resist speaking a few words of Choate in a paper like this, though it may perhaps seem unfair to single him out almost alone from among his eminent contemporaries. Judge B. R. Curtis, Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw, Judge Peleg Sprague, are but the beginning of a long list of jurists and advocates who adorned the Bench and Bar at Boston during this period. But a mere catalogue would be uninteresting, and to give more than a catalogue within any reasonable limits would be impossible. Moreover, it is not easy, possibly not wise, to undertake to speak freely of persons whose widows and children are still among us, and many of whose rivals and contemporaries, equally worthy of notice, still survive. Therefore it is, perhaps, quite as well that our allotted limit is already reached, or indeed passed.



attracted much attention from the picturesque effects nbtained from a strong vertical light and deep shadows. It is a three-quarters length, faces directly front, and, though somewhat fantastical and removed from reality, is impressive.

"The large photograph by Whipple & Black taken in 1858, the chief-justice being then 77 years old, will probably be more generally recognized as a good portrait by those whn now remember him than any other, Hunt's excepted. In it all the furrows and wrinkles of old age are conspicuous, and their harsh effect is heightened by the dark cnlnr of the hair, which was natural, and remained but slightly changed to the end. The implacable severity of this picture would produce a false impression on those who had no means of correcting it, but it is on the whole very lifelike.

"The great, full-length portrait by Hunt, and its attendant studies and sketches, belong to the history of art in this cnuntry. It was painted in 1859 at the request of the Essex Bar Association, and put in place under the supervision of the artist nn December 22 of that year. He had undertaken the task with enthusiasm, and the result was accepted by the Bar and the public at large as a complete success. The committee, represented by the Hon. Otis P. Lord, reported their satisfaction in having 'a most faithful and true delineation of the form and features of Chief-Justice Shaw,' and attested to posterity its exact 'fidelity.' The justice of this verdict has apparently never been questioned by any critic. In the smaller sketches by Hunt, much esteemed by those who own them, there should be noticed an exaggeratinn of details, especially of the nose, amounting to caricature were it not for the dignity nf the whole figure. The bust by King, in the Boston City Hall, was executed after the decease of the chief-justice from pictures and photngraphs.

"Besides the foregoing, one or two oil portraits of no value and several photographs, single or grouped with others, were taken, which merit no special comment." — Ed.]

CHAPTER XII.

THE HORTICULTURE OF BOSTON AND VICINITY.

BY MARSHALL PINCKNEY WILDER, PH.D.,

President of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

AS to the fruits of this region previous to the coming of the colonists we know but little.[1] Whether Leif and Thorwald, the Scandinavians, did or did not land on our shores in the tenth century, as the Sagas have it, to find grapes so abundant that they gave this land the name of Vinland, we still know that the vine was found on our coast by Champlain six hundred years afterward, and that it prospers through twenty-five degrees of latitude; and should the phylloxera continue its devastations in Europe, our continent may become, literally, the Vineland of the world. No nation possesses such wonderful resources for the culture of fruits; no people have made such rapid progress in the science of pomology; and to Boston and vicinity may be traced primarily the widespread interest in horticulture throughout our continent. Nor has this enterprise declined. Massachusetts retains her renown for her skill in horticultural science, and her interest in its advancement.

The earliest account that we have of the fruits and flowers of New England is given by the Pilgrims at Plymouth, where, in addition to Indian corn and other grains, they also found indigenous fruits and flowers. "Here are grapes," wrote Governor Edward Winslow in 1621, "white and red, and very sweet and strong also; strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries; plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson: abundance of roses, white, red, and damask, single, but very sweet."[2]

The first orchard of which we have any note was that of the Rev. William Blackstone (Blaxton), planted on the west slope of Beacon Hill.[3] In Lonsdale, Rhode Island, whither he removed in 1634, there may still be seen near his favorite resort, "Study Hill," remains of trees planted by him, and from which were disseminated apples, now under cultivation, by the name of Blackstone. The first planting of fruits by the colonists of

[1] [See Dr. Asa Gray's chapter in Vol. I., on "The Flora of Boston and its vicinity." — ED.]

[2] Young's *Chronicle of the Pilgrims*, p. 234.

[3] [See Vol. I. p. 84. — ED.]

Massachusetts Bay, we believe, was the orchard of Governor John Endicott of Salem, about the year 1628. From this nursery we find that as late as 1648 Endicott sold five hundred apple-trees to William Trask, for which he received two hundred and fifty acres of land,—*an acre of land for two apple trees;* a noble illustration of the appreciation in which fruits were held by the colonists at that time. The planting of fruits by the colonists under Governor Winthrop was begun, we presume, soon after their arrival in 1630, for we find that seeds and stones of fruits are particularly mentioned among their outfits.

Next to Blackstone, Governor Winthrop was the most prominent in the horticulture of Boston, having, in addition to his farms at Governor's Island and on the Mystic River, a garden opposite the foot of School Street, and adjoining his house.[1] Winthrop had frequent correspondence with Endicott in regard to fruit-trees, as also had his son John, Governor of Connecticut; and we read of a good store of pippins from Governor Winthrop's garden. The colonial Legislature granted to Governor John Winthrop Conant's Island in Boston Harbor, afterward known as Governor's Island, on condition that he should plant thereon a vineyard, and should pay as rent therefor a hogshead of wine. Whether this vineyard was planted or not we have no means of ascertaining; but the contract was afterward altered to make the rent two bushels of apples a year, — one for the Governor, and one for the General Court.

One of the ancient gardens of Boston of which we have a distinct record is that of Gamaliel Wayte, in Summer Street, — the present site of the store of C. F. Hovey & Co.[2] He came over with Edward Hutchinson, and is called a planter, which probably meant farmer or gardener; the latter most likely, for we find by the *Book of Possessions* that this land is described as Wayte's Garden, and we know that it was noted for the superior excellence of its fruits. This was planted as early as, or before, 1642.[3] Gamaliel seems to have been one of our earliest horticulturists, and long possessed the ability not only to plant but to eat his fruits; for Judge Sewall, in his diary, states

[1] [See Vol. I. pp. 138, 161, 481. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. xxxi, No. 81. — Ed.]

[3] *Letter of the Hon. Thomas C. Amory.* This estate passed into the hands of Leonard Vassall, thence to John Hubbard and Frederick W. Geyer. Here once resided, in the family of Mr. Geyer, Mrs. Maryatt, whose gardens at Wimbledon were at one time the finest in England for their beauty and variety of flowering plants; and we may reasonably conjecture, says Mr. Amory, that "the taste and skill that produce such marvels were nurtured and fostered in her earlier days among the flower-beds of Summer Street." She died in 1855, at the age of eighty-one. This estate passed, in 1800, to Samuel P. Gardner, Esq., the father of our respected merchant and fellow-citizen John L. Gardner; and from him the latter probably inherited his love of those fruits and flowers which for many years have distinguished his conservatories in Brookline, and graced the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Of this estate the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop remarks: "No garden in Boston had finer fruit fifty years ago, and it was cultivated and cared for with the highest intelligence and skill. The best specimens of all the old varieties of pears were to be found there, and Mr. Gardner had a peculiar art of preserving them from decay and bringing them out after the season for them was over." How many of Wayte's trees or plants survived till these grounds came into the possession of Mr. Gardner we know not; but we have a diagram of the garden and the lists of its fruits in 1811, and as late as 1870 there was an old pear tree in the yard which was in a thrifty condition.

that he lived to the age of eighty-seven, and not long before his death was blessed with several new teeth.

Passing over a hundred years, of whose horticultural history little record remains, we find in the *Philosophical Transactions* (London, 1734) a paper communicated to the Royal Society by the Hon. Paul Dudley of Roxbury, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, entitled "Some Observations on the Plants of New England, with Remarkable Instances of the Power of Vegetation," which gives us an account of the size and culture of fruits and vegetables growing in Roxbury in 1726, as follows: —

"The Plants of England, as well as those of the Fields and Orchards as those of the Garden, that have been brought over hither, suit mighty well with our Soil, and grow here to great Perfection.

"Our apples are without Doubt as good as those of England, and much fairer to look to; and so are the Pears, but we have not got all the Sorts.

"Our Peaches do rather excel those of England; and then we have not the Trouble or Expense of Walls for them, for our Peach Trees are all Standards; and I have had in my own Garden seven or eight Hundred fine Peaches of the Rare-ripes growing at a Time on one Tree.

"Our people of late Years have run so much upon Orchards, that in a village near Boston, consisting of about forty Families, they made near three Thousand Barrels of Cyder. This was in the Year 1721. And in another Town, of two Hundred Families, in the same year, I am credibly informed, they made near ten Thousand Barrels. Some of our Apple Trees will make six, some have made seven, Barrels of Cyder, but this is not common; and the Apples will yield from seven to nine Bushels for a Barrel of Cyder.

"A good Apple Tree with us will measure from six to ten Foot in Girt. I have seen a fine Pearmain, at a Foot from the Ground, measure ten Feet aud four inches round. This Tree in one Year has borne thirty-eight Bushels (by Measure) of as fine Pearmains as ever I saw in England. A Kentish Pippin, at three foot from the Ground, seven Foot in Girt; a Golden Rossetin, six Foot round. The largest Apple Tree that I could find was ten Foot and six Inches round; but this was no Graft.

"An Orange Pear Tree grows the largest and yields the fairest Fruit. I know one of them, near forty Foot high, that measures six Foot and six Inches in Girt a Yard from the Ground, and has borne thirty Bushels at a Time. I have a Warden Pear Tree that measures five foot six inches round. One of my Neighbors has a Bergamot Pear Tree, that was brought from England in a Box about the Year 1643, that now measures six Foot about, and has borne twenty-two Bushels of fine Pears in one Year.

"Our Peach Trees are large and fruitful, and bear commonly in three Years from the Stone. I have one in my Garden of twelve Years' Growth, that measures two Foot and an Inch in Girt a Yard from the Ground, which two Years ago bore me near a Bushel of fine Peaches. Our common Cherries are not so good as the Kentish Cherries of England; and we have no Dukes or Heart Cherries, unless in two or three Gardens."

We find in 1730 that apples from Blackstone's orchard were for sale in the Boston market. In 1770 we find the following advertisement in the *Boston Gazette*: —

"To be sold by George Spriggs, Gardener to John Hancock, Esq., a Large Assortment of English Fruit Trees, grafted and inoculated of the best and richest kinds of Cherry Trees, Pear Trees, Plumb Trees, Peach Trees, Apricots, Nectarines, Quinces, Lime Trees, Apple Trees, grafted and ungrafted, and sundry Mulberry Trees which will be fit to transplant the next year, and Medleys."

John Hancock's nursery and pasture were near the site of the present State House,[1] and his garden and orchard surrounded his princely mansion. Governor Hancock's garden is said to have been one of great note, having received constant accessions from England. Miss Eliza Greenleaf Gardner, a distant relative of Mrs. Hancock, who still lives, was for many years an inmate of the Hancock house, and states that —

"The grounds were laid out in ornamental flower-beds, bordered with box; box trees of large size, with a great variety of fruit, among which were several immense mulberry trees, dotted the garden."[2]

Among the prominent gardens which existed in Boston previous to the Revolution was that of Governor Thomas Hutchinson,[3] on Garden Court, extending back to Hanover and Fleet streets.[4] These grounds are said to have been extensive, and, tradition informs us, they were well stocked with the choice fruits and flowers of those days, as were also the gardens of Sir Henry Frankland and others, in that part of the town.[5]

Conspicuous among the gardens in the early part of this century, scattered over Pemberton Hill from Southack's Court, now Howard Street, to Beacon Street and around the Capitol, was that of Dr. James Lloyd, father of our Senator in Congress, running back to Somerset Street, where a house built by his son, the Hon. James Lloyd, is still standing.

On Tremont Street, nearly opposite King's Chapel, was the estate of Lieut.-Governor William Phillips, formerly the residence of Peter Faneuil,[6] whose gardens and grounds are said to have been very fine; and here, it is also said, Andrew, uncle of Peter, built the first greenhouse in New England.

But the most conspicuous, extensive, and elegant garden of those days was that of Gardiner Greene, who also had one of the early greenhouses in Boston. The grounds were terraced, and planted with vines, fruits, ornamental trees, flowering shrubs and plants, and were to me when I visited them, sixty-five years ago, a scene of beauty and enchantment which I shall never forget.[7] Here were growing, in the open air, Black Hamburg and

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xlvi. — Ed.]

[2] Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 339, 340.

[3] Governor Hutchinson had also a residence on Milton Hill, with orchards and a garden. This estate was confiscated, and became successively the residence of James Warren, Barney Smith, Jonathan Russell, and now of Miss Rosalie G. Russell. Hutchinson appears to have been fond of rural life, and was himself a practical cultivator, having grafted by his own hand a tree for Mrs. Jeremy Smith, with the St. Michael pear. This tree, with some of the remains of his orchards, survived until nearly the present time. He also planted the old button-wood trees on the sides of the road on Milton Hill. *Letter of Edmund J. Baker.*

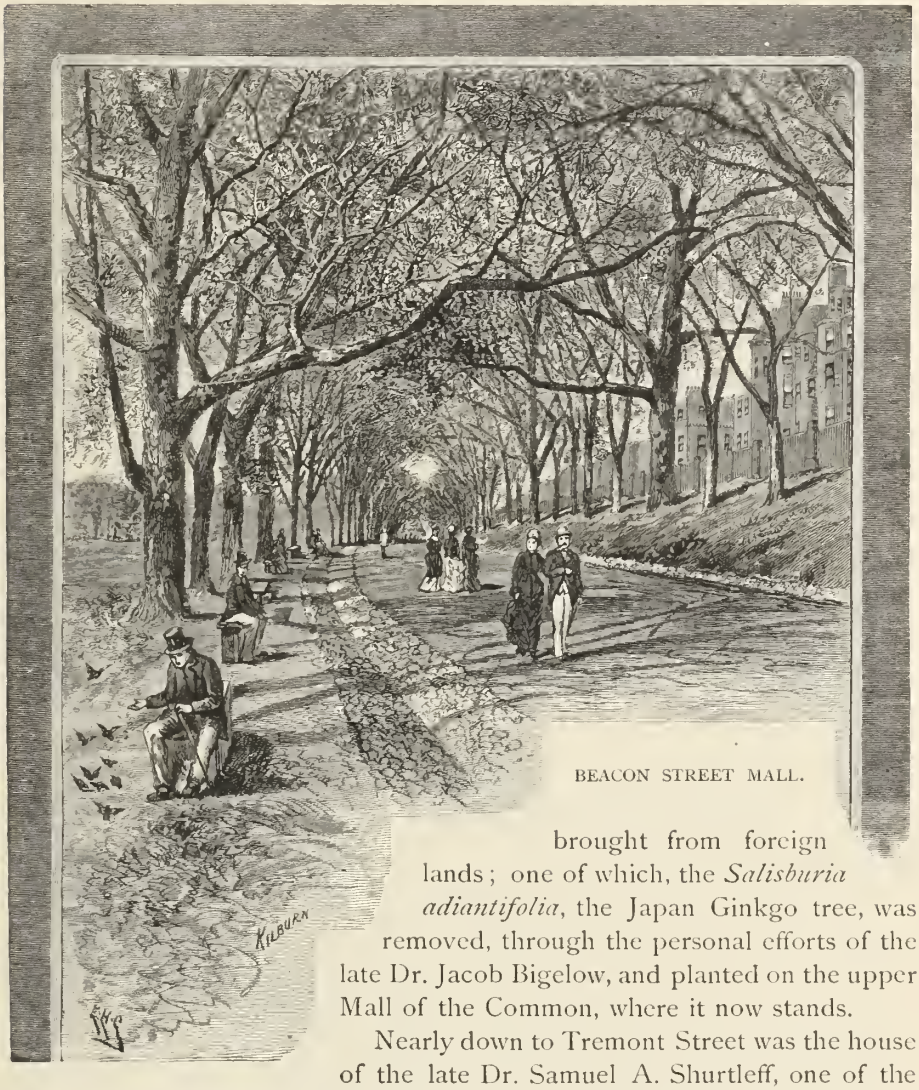
[4] [See Vol. II. p. xi, 526. — Ed.]

[5] Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 166, 167.

[6] [See Vol. II. pp. 259, 523; and the view in the present volume, p. 67. — Ed.]

[7] [See the frontispiece of the present volume. — Ed.]

White Chasselas grapes, apricots, nectarines, peaches, pears, and plums in perfection, presenting a scene which made a deep impression on my mind, and which gave me some of those strong incentives that have governed me in the cultivation of fruits and flowers. Here were many ornamental trees,



BEACON STREET MALL.

brought from foreign lands; one of which, the *Salisburia adiantifolia*, the Japan Ginkgo tree, was removed, through the personal efforts of the late Dr. Jacob Bigelow, and planted on the upper Mall of the Common, where it now stands.

Nearly down to Tremont Street was the house of the late Dr. Samuel A. Shurtleff, one of the early vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in whose garden was originated the Shurtleff grape and other fruits now growing on his estate in Brookline.[1]

One of the largest gardens of that day was that of Governor James Bowdoin. He had a large house and an extensive lot of land on Beacon Street,

[1] Here have been raised from seed the President, General Grant, Admiral Farragut, and other pears, which should be more generally known.

at the corner of Bowdoin Street, reaching quite over the hill to what is now Ashburton Place.[1] There he had a garden abounding in the finest fruits, — pears and peaches, apples and grapes. The Hon. James Bowdoin, his son, lived on Milk Street, in the house where our honored citizen the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was born. It was known as the "Mansion House," and had a garden extending back almost to Franklin Street, which was filled with fruit trees of the best sorts. Here General Henry Dearborn, of Revolutionary memory, who married the widow of Mr. Bowdoin, resided for a while; and his son, General H. A. S. Dearborn the first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, was familiar with that garden, and from it he probably gained some of the zeal which characterized him as a leader in horticulture. Of this garden says Mr. Winthrop: "There were no more delicious Saint Michael, Brown Beurré, Monsieur Jean, or Saint Germain pears to be found anywhere in Boston than I have eaten from those trees." [2]

Another garden, which was spread around the present site of the Revere House, was that of Kirk Boott, an eminent merchant, and one of the founders of Lowell. It was the home of John Wright Boott and William Boott. Here, fifty years ago, were fruit-trees and vines; and foreign grapes and other tender fruits, which now succeed only under glass, grew in the open air. Here was also a greenhouse with a choice collection of plants. Some of these were obtained from the Duke of Bedford and others in England, through the acquaintance which Dr. Francis Boott, a brother and a celebrated botanist in London, had with such growers. The collection of amaryllises and orchids was the best in the country, — the latter having been the first attempt in New England in the culture of this tribe of plants. Here, forty years ago, was a magnificent specimen of the *Phaius grandiflora* (now *Bletia Tankervilleæ*), then a rare plant.[3]

Perrin May, a retired old merchant of Boston, was a skilful cultivator of fruits. His garden was on Washington Street, at the South End, where he produced remarkable specimens of fruits, and especially the pear, whose success he attributed partly to the entrapping of cats and fertilizing the soil with them.

Summer Street was for a long time one of the most delightful in the city, and well merited its name. Here, in the early part of this century, were

[1] [See Vol. II. pp. xlvii, 522. — Ed.]

[2] *Letter of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.* Mr. Bowdoin had also a large farm at Dorchester, now known as Mount Bowdoin, where he had an orchard of apple and pear trees. He also experimented with fruit-trees on Naushon Island, now the property of the Hon. John M. Forbes. His main attention was, however, given to horses, cows, and sheep; the breeding of the latter is still continued. This estate was in the care of the father of Mr. Winthrop, for many years after the death of his uncle, Mr. Bowdoin; and says Mr. Winthrop, "I have worn clothes made of Naushon wool." The cheese from this island was quite celebrated more than half a century ago; and Mr. Winthrop adds: "I doubt if any one in Massachusetts did more for agriculture and horticulture at that period than James Bowdoin, the son of the Governor."

[3] Mr. Boott presented these to the Hon. John A. Lowell, from whence some of the orchids went to the collection of Edward S. Rand of Dedham, and to which he made large additions by importation from Europe, and they were finally given by him and his friend James Lawrence to the Botanic Garden at Cambridge.

the residences of Joseph Barrell,[1] Governor James Sullivan (afterward William Gray's), Benjamin Bussey, Nathaniel Goddard, Henry Hill, and David Ellis (father of the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis), whose gardens were supplied with the fruits and flowers of those days, and in them peaches and foreign grapes, and the old pears of which we have spoken, ripened every year.

Other old gardens on Summer Street and in its vicinity were those of Amory and Salisbury, beside that of Edmund Quincy, which ran back to Bedford Street; Judge Jackson's, on the corner of Bedford and Chauncy streets, where the building of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association now stands, and where the Rowe estate was.[2]

The great event in the progress of our horticulture during the present century was the establishment of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1829. "Its first president was General Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn, whose name will ever be gratefully remembered, and to whom we are more indebted than to any other man, in its early history, for its prestige and popularity both at home and abroad. . . . From its first president down to the present time the Society has been fortunate in securing gentlemen to fill the chair, all of whom have been lovers of rural art. Dearborn, Cook, Vose, Walker, Cabot, Breck, and Stickney have gone before us; but, thanks to a kind Providence, Hovey, Hyde, Strong, Parkman, Gray, Hayes, and the writer are still spared to labor in carrying out the beneficent designs of its noble founders."[3] But perhaps the most beneficial act of the Society was in founding that "Garden of Graves," the Mount Auburn Cemetery, and from this the Society has already received large sums of money, and is entitled to a perpetual share of its income in the future.[4]

[1] [Mr. Barrell drained and made a garden of the swampy ground then existing at the lower part of Franklin Street. — Ed.]

[2] Mr. George W. Lyman's recollections of the gardens and open grounds of Boston are as follows: —

"On Green and Chardon streets was Mr. Samuel Parkman's estate with a large garden; on Green Street that of Mr. Samuel Gore, and one other large estate, owner's name forgotten; on Bowdoin Square and Chardon Street, estate of Governor Gore, garden and land; the estates of Joseph Coolidge, 2d, and Kirk Boott. On Cambridge and Middlecot, now Bowdoin Street, was the large estate of Joseph Coolidge the elder, of Mr. Mackey, and much vacant land on the west; on what is now Tremont Street, the gardens of Dr. Danforth, Dr. Lloyd, Gardiner Greene, and Governor Phillips, extending to high land, and including the Bowdoin estate, and perhaps others. On Beacon Hill was a monument, with a gilt eagle on its top. I regret the destruction of this hill and monument, but it was invaded and destroyed by parties known as improvers; and this healthy gravel and fertile loam, as well as that on Pemberton Hill, were removed and dumped into the filthy Mill Pond. I hope the only remaining classical hill, the Copp's, will be preserved for all time. On Summer Street was the garden of William Gray, who defined 'enough' as 'a little more;' that of Benjamin Bussey, and that of Samuel P. Gardner, which bore some very fine pears not now known. On Beacon Street was the large estate of Governor Hancock, extending to Belknap (changed by Cornelius Coolidge to Joy) Street, and northerly to Mt. Vernon Street; and of Dr. Joy, from Beacon to Mt. Vernon Street. There was south of Walnut Street a large lot of land extending to Charles River, with a small powder-house and a spring of water on the same.*

"You will perceive that the old town of Boston is very much altered from what it was at the date of my memorandum. In my opinion it was a much pleasanter place to reside in than it is at present. I was pleased with your kindly recollection of me, and I hope you will continue to enjoy your fondness for horticulture, flowers, etc., for many years."

[3] Mr. Wilder's *Address at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society*, September, 1879.

[4] Mr. Wilder's *Address at the Laying of the Corner-stone of Horticultural Hall, on School Street.*

* Writes Mr. Lyman, under his own hand: "This lot is now covered with houses and streets." — May 24, 1881.

While we have no space to dwell on our long-preserved Common, with its lawns and fountains, its malls and monument, we must not forget the Public Garden of Boston. The origin of this may be traced to the desire of a few citizens who were interested in horticultural improvements and rural embellishments, but more especially in the establishment of a Botanic or a Public Garden, similar to those of the cities of the Old World. Among

BREWER FOUNTAIN.[1]

these gentlemen was Mr. Horace Gray (father of our Chief-Justice Gray), to whose great enterprise and indomitable perseverance we are, perhaps, more than to any other man indebted for the original idea. Mr. Gray had a small conservatory attached to his town house in Kingston Street, in which was kept a good collection of camellias and other hard-wooded plants, with a general assortment supplied from his greenhouses at Brighton, where he had for the growth of grapes several houses in different styles of construction, but all with curved roofs, — of which he was a great advocate. Mr. Gray, in 1839, with a few associates, obtained from the city a lease of this marginal area

[1] [This fountain on the Common was the gift of the late Gardner Brewer, Esq. — Ed.]

for a Botanic Garden, upon which a greenhouse had been built, while the grounds were partially laid out with a variety of ornamental trees and plants. A company was organized, of which Mr. Gray was chairman, and went zealously to work. A very large circus building situated just back of the corner, west of Beacon and Charles streets, was converted into an immense conservatory for plants and birds. This had four galleries, to each of which plants were assigned according to a proper classification. It became a place of great attraction for the public until the building and the entire collection were destroyed by fire.[1]

The adjacent grounds were filled up and the garden was enlarged by the city, with the provision that it was never to be built on. In 1859 these grounds became our Public Garden,[2] and in 1860 it was remodelled by laying out and planting on a definite and proper plan. This garden embraces about twenty-four acres of land, and contains a choice collection of ornamental trees,[3] shrubs, and plants; and in the summer season ninety thousand bedded plants make it an object of splendor and interest.

The early history of the garden is told in the following letter from Mr. John Cadness, who is now living in Flushing, New York: —

"I was engaged by Dr. Boott of London, through Dr. John Lindley, Secretary of the London Horticultural Society's Gardens at Chiswick. I left England in June, 1839, arriving in the United States in August, and took charge of the Boston Public Garden on the 7th of that month, under a three years' engagement.

"I found a large and, at that time, a very fine collection of plants, especially Camellias, among which were some of the largest plants in the country, notably *Alba plenas*, one of which was said to have been raised from a cutting by the late Dr. Dixwell, of Boston. Also quite a number of grafted standard trees, with fine heads, of all the old varieties, such as Gilesii, Chandleri, Elegans, Floyi, Hume's blush, Duchesse d'Orleans, Donklaerii, with many French varieties, and all imported plants. Among

[1] [The following extract is from a Boston paper of that date, and will give some idea of its character: —

"The Conservatory. — We advise our friends who are as usual seeking amusement during the Christmas holidays not to omit looking in at the Public Conservatory. There are above one thousand Camellia Japonica plants, some of the largest now in full splendor, and others on the point of bursting their beautiful buds. Among them are at least twenty full-grown trees ten to thirty years old. It is well known that the former possessor of this superb collection of Camellias, Marshall P. Wilder, of Dorchester, spared neither pains nor expense to procure the finest plants from the justly celebrated nurseries in Europe, and that his most recent and highly estimated seedling varieties are comprised in it. But it is not too well known that one of his motives for disposing of this collection to the society, at a great pecuniary sacrifice to himself, was the desire that his fellow-citizens might conveniently and frequently enjoy the pleasure of viewing it. It is calculated that during the next five or six weeks several thousand Camellia blossoms will expand; hundreds are now in full bloom, and contrast beautifully with the dark glossy foliage." — Ed.]

Among the plants destroyed was one whose history may be noted. It was a large, double, white camellia, rooted from a cutting by Dr. Dixwell, in his study on Allston Street, and purchased of him by the writer, about fifty years since, for the sum of thirty dollars. This camellia was burned down nearly to its root, but afterward sprouted again. It then went to Mr. Jonathan French of Roxbury, and thence to William E. Baker, Ridge Hill Farm, Wellesley, where it is now in a green old age.

[2] [The annexed view of the Public Garden represents it in its present condition. The tower on the left is that of the Providence Railroad Station. The spire in the middle distance is that of the Arlington Street Church, occupied by the same parish which worshipped in Federal Street under Dr. Channing. On the right the low tower is that of Trinity, of which a full view is given in the chapter on "Architecture." The taller one is of the Congregational Church on Berkeley Street. — Ed.]

[3] The number of trees in this garden is fifteen hundred, and the whole number of trees under city care is twenty-three thousand.

PUBLIC GARDEN.

other greenhouse plants, many of the most showy new Holland plants then in fashion; some varieties of Chinese Azaleas, Ericas, and a variety of tropical plants, — as Strelitzias, Sago Palm, Bananas, Hibiscus, Eugenias (Rose-apple) and a large collection of Cape bulbs and Amaryllis, Pelargoniums, many of Beck's and Cock's (of London) new seedling prize flowers, with the finest set of herbaceous Calceolarias ever seen here.

"The Conservatory and two other houses were erected on land west of Charles Street. The conservatory was a very large structure, and had an imposing appearance; but was in a bad position, being exposed to the cold winds of the Back Bay, and in severe winter weather was difficult to manage. There was also a fine collection of tropical and European singing-birds in the conservatory, of which were some rare specimens.

"The gardens were only partly laid out, from the nature of the land; which being from four to six feet below the street level, and filled in with all sorts of city refuse, was a great part of it subject to the inroads of the tide. However, a fine broad walk was laid from the entrance at the foot of Beacon Street to the end of the Common, with a border planted with ornamental trees, shrubbery, standard roses, herbaceous and other plants, which had a fine appearance. A few large beds, cut out wherever the soil would admit of it, were planted with the Dahlia, of which there was a good collection.

"There was also imported from Groom of Walworth, England, a complete bed of prize tulips, the first ever imported into the United States, valued at $1000, but costing Mr. Gray $1500, and which for a time was a great attraction. Mr. Gray supported the place during the time I had charge of it, and I always understood that he was the leading spirit in its establishment. He devoted much of his time and means to aid in its success, and, in connection with the late Mr. Teschemacher,[1] did more to that end than any other person. The two great difficulties in the case arose, I think, from the nature of the ground, which rendered it impossible to plant the proper kinds of ornamental trees, which in their growth would have improved and changed in a short time the character of the place; also from the want of the conservatory and other glass, which would have been very effective on the place."

Among the most potent agents in the promotion of horticulture at the beginning of the present century was the establishment of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, which has ever exercised a happy influence on horticulture and the knowledge of plants. It had for its early patron the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, which in 1801 gave a liberal subscription to establish a Professorship of Natural History; and this led to the planting of the Botanic Garden,[2] at Harvard University: and this again has exerted a direct influence on the taste which ultimately led to the formation of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.[3]

[1] Professor James E. Teschemacher, afterward corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, who was one of the most eminent botanists and chemists of our day.

[2] *Transactions for the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture*, New Series, vol. i. p. 28.

[3] *History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society*, p. 40. Under the direction of professors Thomas Nuttall, Thaddeus William Harris, Asa Gray, and Charles S. Sargent, it has had a world-wide reputation, and now, under the direction of Professor George L. Goodale, is in a very satisfactory condition. An effort is now making for its permanent endowment.

The Bussey Institution[1] and the Arnold Arboretum at Jamaica Plain, also departments of Harvard University, give promise of great usefulness, not only in promoting Agriculture and Arboriculture, but as prominent agents in advancing the cause of Horticulture and a knowledge of the endless variety of trees and plants, of which, under the direction of Professor Sargent the curator, there are now growing in the Arboretum two thousand five hundred species. The funds for the establishment of the Bussey Institution were derived from the bequest of Benjamin Bussey; and those for the Arboretum from James Arnold of New Bedford, who constituted the late Dr. George B. Emerson and others trustees, with authority to appropriate such funds for this purpose. These institutions are in a prosperous condition, each carrying out the objects for which they were designed.[2]

Our account of suburban gardens and estates, almost entirely the creation of Boston taste and wealth, must be briefer than we could wish. We begin with regions now within our municipality.

In Dorchester were the gardens and orchards of some of the first settlers, and some of the old pear-trees planted by them have survived to the present time. Of those in the present century, which have been more or less noted, we may mention the estates of the Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris,[3] William Clapp, Ebenezer T. Andrews (the partner of Isaiah Thomas), Samuel Downer, Cheever Newhall, Zebedee Cook, Elijah Vose, William Oliver, John Richardson, William R. Austin. From other gardens have gone forth many of the choice fruits which are now in cultivation, such as the Downer cherry, the Andrews, Frederick Clapp, Harris, Clapp's Favorite, and other seedling pears, and we hope the last named may endure even longer than the marble on which its form is engraved in Forest Hills Cemetery;[4] and to these we might add the Dorchester blackberry, the President Wilder strawberry, and just over the borders of Dorchester, in Milton, the Diana grape,

[1] The property of Woodland Hill was given to Harvard College on the following conditions; namely: "That they will establish there a course of instruction in practical agriculture, in useful and ornamental gardening, in botany, and in such other branches of natural sciences as may tend to promote a knowledge of practical agriculture and the various arts subservient thereto and connected therewith, and cause such course of lectures to be delivered there, at such seasons of the year and under such regulations as they may think best adapted to promote the ends designed; and also to furnish gratuitous aid, if they shall think it expedient, to such meritorious persons as may resort there for instruction. The institution so established shall be called the 'Bussey Institution.'" — *Thomas Motley's Letter.*

[2] This place, now called Woodland Hill, on which Thomas Motley, President of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, now lives, by virtue of Mr. Bussey's bequest to Mrs. Motley, was purchased by Mr. Bussey in 1815; and here he afterward planted orchards of various fruits, pears, plums, and peaches, especially of the apple and cherries (largely Mazzard), as Mr. Bussey used to say, for the birds; "for we found they were quite fond of cherries, and took their full share." *Letter of Thomas Motley.*

[3] Dr. Harris was a lover of fine fruit, and once said to the writer: "Your exhibition of pears is grand; but there is one variety that I miss, — the Bon Chrétien (the Good Christian). I shall bring some from my garden to-morrow."

[4] The Massachusetts Agricultural Club, desiring to name this pear for the writer, and to disseminate it for general cultivation, offered Mr. Clapp one thousand dollars for the control of it; but he declined, preferring to give to it the name it now bears. On these grounds have been originated from seed many other fine pears, and from these grounds large quantities of choice fruits are annually sent to market.

raised by Mrs. Diana Crehore.[1] This was brought to notice in 1843, being the first seedling American grape at the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which was deemed worthy of notice.

Zebedee Cook, the second president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, some fifty years since had a large garden opposite the Andrews estate, on the east side of the then turnpike-road, where he successfully grew several kinds of foreign grapes, apricots, peaches, and pears. Among the grapes was a white variety named Horatio, after Mr. Horatio Sprague, Consul at Gibraltar, from whom he received it, — known now as the Nice grape.

Mr. Newhall was a distinguished cultivator, and the first treasurer of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. His orchards were extensive, embracing a large number of varieties, especially of the pear, which he cultivated with success until about three years since, when he died at the age of ninety.[2]

Samuel Downer,[3] one of the founders of the Horticultural Society, had a large orchard, which still remains in good order, and until recently was under the intelligent care of his son, the late Samuel Downer, Jr.[4] He was an early, enterprising, and useful member, and took a deep interest in pomology until his death at eighty years of age. He was especially interested in the origin and character of native fruits, and, as he used to say, he loved to be "mousing" after new varieties, especially such as were of native origin.

Elijah Vose, the third president of the Horticultural Society, had a fine plantation of fruits, and he grew some to great perfection, — especially the Duchesse d'Angoulême pear, which sometimes, for extraordinary specimens, commanded from seventy-five cents to a dollar each.

William Oliver, Vice-president of the Horticultural Society, had a good orchard of pears and other fruits on an estate which, after his death, became the residence of ex-Governor Henry J. Gardner.

Another very old garden in Dorchester, of which our valued citizen Mr. John Richardson has been the occupant and owner for a long course of years, deserves a record. The house[5] was the birthplace of Edward Everett, and is understood to have been built in colonial times by Governor Oliver, who is supposed to have laid out the garden, which is now interesting for

[1] Who still lives at the advanced age of eighty-four years.

[2] Mr. Newhall's place was once the residence of Thomas Motley, father of the historian John Lothrop Motley, and of his brother Thomas Motley, the President of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, who were here born.

[3] He was son of the celebrated Dr. Downer, "the fighting surgeon," who had a personal encounter with a British soldier on his return from the battle at Concord. Their fire having missed, Downer knocked him down and then ran him through with his own bayonet, and said: "It was not ten minutes before I got another good shot." Dr. Downer was in prison in Halifax, from which he escaped; was also in the Dartmoor and the Forten prisons for a while, and was in several desperate engagements under John Paul Jones, both as sailor and surgeon. He was engaged in the expedition up the Kennebec to Canada. Massachusetts awarded him fifteen dollars for the loss of his surgical instruments. *Letter of Samuel Downer, Jr.*

[4] Mr. Downer died in the summer of 1881.

[5] [See Vol. II. p. 367. — Ed.]

its old trees and antique appearance, but more especially for the number of choice fruits and flowers, many of which have been produced from seed by the hands of its skilful proprietor.

The pear orchard of the late William R. Austin, Treasurer of the Horticultural Society, was, and is still, famous for the size and beauty of its fruit, produced by pruning his trees into the shape of a wineglass.

And here, in Dorchester, if I may be permitted to allude to it, are the experimental grounds of the writer, formerly the estate of Governor Increase Sumner, which at the time of his death, 1799, passed into the hands of his son, General William H. Sumner, one of the founders of the Horticultural Society, and finally came to its present owner. On these experimental grounds have been produced, under the personal inspection of its present proprietor, within the last fifty years, more than twelve hundred varieties of fruits; and from thence there were exhibited, on one occasion, four hundred and four distinct varieties of the pear. Here was originated, by the art of hybridization, the Camellias Wilderi and the Mrs. Abby Wilder, which received, more than thirty years ago, a special prize of fifty dollars; also the Mrs. Julia Wilder, the Jennie Wilder, and other camellias of great perfection: and from this place went to the Boston Public Garden, on its foundation in 1839, the entire collection of greenhouse and garden plants, as already mentioned.

Roxbury was noted for its interest in fruit culture at an early period, as has been seen by the statement of Chief-Justice Paul Dudley, already quoted. This town was remarkable for its production of apples and the quantity of cider manufactured. The farm of the late Ebenezer Seaver, member of Congress from 1803 to 1813, was distinguished for the culture of fruit. This estate has passed regularly down in the family line through Joshua, Jonathan, the Ebenezer Seavers, and the Parkers, lineal descendants, who now live on it.[1]

Mrs. Parker remembers several large ancient pear-trees standing on the home-lot, which were old but vigorous when she was young. An Orange, and a Minot pear-tree of great size in the trunk, and an excellent pear for cooking, still remain on the lawn, beside a Gennetin pear-tree, whose age

[1] In the account-books of Jonathan Seaver, from 1731 and on, we find that he was largely interested in the manufacture of "Sider." From 1740 to 1749, we find the Rev. Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church, annually charged with from three to five barrels of "Sider" for several years; and that on April 24, 1749, Mr. Seaver credited him with "Thirty Pounds in Cash, old tenor in part, for Sundries." The old and new cider-mills are remembered by Mrs. Parker, a daughter of "Squire Seaver," who at an advanced age still lives in the old house. Large heaps of fragrant apples lay outside of the mill in the autumn, and during the second Ebenezer Seaver's day, a little more than a hundred years ago, the bears were attracted to them from the "Rocky Wilderness Land" which lay to the southwest, towards what is now Forest Hills. Upon one occasion a bear lingered tasting till he was discovered. Mr. Seaver and his neighbors gave chase, and finally captured him on the marsh land in Dorchester, in the vicinity of what is now Crescent Avenue. The neighbors were invited to a feast in honor of the occasion, at Mr. Seaver's house, the bear furnishing the chief dish as well as a steak for each guest to take home. The Seaver estate is now covered with many fine buildings.

none can remember, and which bears two or three bushels yearly of its small early fruit. During the period of Ebenezer Seaver's service in Congress, Colonel Matlock, a gentleman whom he met there, gave him some scions from the original Seckel pear-tree, near Philadelphia. He sent them carefully home in a letter, and his son Jonathan grafted them before his return, they being the first of the kind, so far as he knew, in this vicinity.[1]

There was also where Schuyler Street now is an immemorial Iron pear-tree, so tall that the crown of the tree was usually not picked. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and during the first years of the present, the fruit of the mulberry was much esteemed, there being then few of the many small-fruits which are now cultivated. The widow of the second Ebenezer received in one season seventy dollars for the fruit sold from one large mulberry-tree which stood in front of the house, beside using much herself for the entertainment of friends. It lived till after the marriage, in 1820, of the granddaughter, who remembers it well. This farm was also celebrated for its cherries, but the trees were blown down in the gale of 1815.

The late George J. Parker had large fields of currants and gooseberries. There have been gathered in one year fifty barrels of gooseberries from bushes which he planted.[2]

Prior to the present century Judge John Lowell was a leading patron in the promotion of improved agriculture, and he was President of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, for many years. He had an orchard, garden, and one of the first greenhouses, and contributed to the fund for establishing the Botanic Garden at Cambridge.[3] This property was inherited by his son, the Hon. John Lowell, who was also president for some years of the above named society, and who stood at the head of the horticulturists and agriculturists in New England, and was styled by General Dearborn the Columella of the Northern States. He presided at the preliminary meeting which led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

Mr. Lowell received scions of fruit-trees from Mr. Knight, President of the Horticultural Society of London, and from other eminent pomologists of Europe, and so liberally distributed them to his friends that his trees were often crippled in their growth. He was also interested in the growth of exotics, and had in his collection some of the first orchideous plants of which we have any record. Among his plants sixty years ago he had a famous *Strelitzia regina*, which was then an object of great curiosity. No man in the early part of this century did more for the promotion of pomology in New England than Mr. Lowell.[4]

[1] The tree is still flourishing, and on Saturday, September 27, 1879, there were picked from it over two barrels of pears. One individual pear, by actual measurement, was eight and five-eighths inches each way round. The family had never seen one to equal it in size. The original Seckel tree is still standing in Ward 26, Philadelphia.

[2] *Letter of Miss Parker*, granddaughter of the Hon. Ebenezer Seaver.

[3] *Augustus Lowell's Letter.*

[4] This estate was next inherited by the Hon. John A. Lowell, our esteemed and venerable citizen, who added largely to its glass structures, one of which was an orchid-house, to contain

In Roxbury was the garden of General Henry A. S. Dearborn, who will ever be gratefully remembered as the first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He was also a great leader in the establishment of the Mount Auburn Cemetery, and the founder of Forest Hills Cemetery. In his garden were raised the Dearborn Seedling pear and other fruits. He gave several hundred ornamental trees to be planted at Mount Auburn, and was personally occupied in the laying out and adornment of both this and the Forest Hills Cemetery; and to him are the public more indebted primarily for the prestige and popularity of these institutions than to any other man. His labors, addresses, and communications for the press in regard to the science and practice of horticulture, and rural embellishments, have given to his name in this community an honorable standing.

Here also was the garden of the late Enoch Bartlett, one of the founders and first vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, where may now be seen the first Bartlett pear-trees imported, a variety which is more popular than any other in our country. These grounds were previously owned by Captain Brewer, and on them he had planted many fruit-trees. When Mr. Bartlett purchased this place, in 1820, he found two young trees, which on fruiting proved to be what is now known as the Bartlett. Both of them still bear fruit, the largest being over forty inches in circumference, three feet above the ground. This pear was afterward ascertained to be the Williams Bon Chrétien, an English variety.[1]

At Jamaica Plain were the garden and orchard of Captain John Prince, who was a successful cultivator of fruits and flowers. In 1825 he had eleven varieties of pears, four of plums, two of apricots, besides grapes and many varieties of apples. His greenhouse contained some of the early camellias introduced into New England, — among which was a Double White, purchased when it was only a foot high, of Joseph Barrell of Charlestown, but a few hours previous to Mr. Barrell's death.

In Roxbury, one of the most noted places during the last century for the production of fruits and vegetables was the old Williams homestead, on Walnut Avenue. This was the home of Aaron Davis Williams, who succeeded his father, and who during a long and useful life contributed largely to the advancement of the horticulture of our vicinity. His father, John Davis Williams, was celebrated as a cultivator at the close of the last century, as was probably his grandfather before him. From the orchards of this place for more than a hundred years have come to the Boston market many of the choicest fruits and vegetables. This spot is also memorable as the birthplace of the brothers John Davis Williams and Moses Williams, so well known as merchants of Boston, the latter now surviving at ninety years, in a healthful old age.[2]

the plants bequeathed to him by John Wright Boott, some of which are now at the Botanic Garden, Cambridge, to which Mr. Lowell also gave a large part of his own botanical library.

[1] *Letter of Allen Putnam.*

[2] From whom the writer has received the following letter: —

Boston, May 10, 1881.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of yesterday was received this morning. The house on Walnut Avenue, in the Roxbury

Another fine old place in Roxbury was that of Rufus G. Amory, with its long avenues, entering from Washington Street, and bordered with noble elms, which still live. He was much interested in ornamental culture, importing trees and shrubs from Europe; and, it is said, received our common Barberry bush at a high price, while he was paying men at the rate of five shillings a day to dig them out of his own grounds. This estate, "Elm Hill," was for a long time the residence of the late John D. W. Williams, but is now (1881) laid out into streets and cut up into house-lots.

The Roxbury Russet apple was a great favorite a hundred years ago, and many orchards produced from five hundred to one thousand or more barrels a year. It is believed to have originated on the old farm of Ebenezer Davis, where some trees of the original orchard still remain.

The farm of Samuel Ward, now belonging to the Brookline Land Company, was famous, fifty years ago, for its Roxbury Russet apples, often producing a thousand barrels a year; and also for cherries, of which he sent to market forty to fifty bushels daily in the season, and occasionally he despatched a four-ox team to Providence with seventy-five bushels.

Among the orchards of early times were those of the Curtises at Jamaica Plain. These have passed down to the present occupants in direct lineal descent, and from them immense crops of apples have been sent to the Boston market, in which the Curtises are the largest dealers and exporters of this fruit, shipping them by thousands upon thousands of barrels to foreign ports.[1]

Nor should we omit the ancestral home of our worthy citizen Aaron Davis Weld, in West Roxbury, so celebrated for its orchards in olden time, and during the last forty years for its famous apples and the renowned Weld Farm cider and vinegar. In addition to great crops of fruits, two hundred tons of hay are cut on it a year.

In Roxbury, too, is the splendid estate of William Gray, Jr., ex-President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. This is on the borders of Dorchester, and was formerly a portion of the celebrated estate of Colonel James Swan,[2] long imprisoned in France "for debts not of his own contracting, and who was one of those who helped throw the tea into the har-

District, where my brother, Aaron D. Williams, was born, and where he died, was originally a lean-to, two stories on the front and one story on the rear. It was inherited by my father, John D. Williams, who was baptized John, and who married Hannah Davis. After his marriage, he petitioned the Legislature and took the name of John Davis Williams. My brother, the oldest child of my father, was also baptized John, and after he became a man he likewise petitioned the Legislature for leave to take the name of John Davis Williams instead of John Williams; but, as my father was a farmer and received but few letters, my brother never signed his name *junior*, as it appears to me now that it would have been proper for him to have done However, no trouble ever arose on this account. My father and (I am almost certain) my grandfather, were born — at any rate, they lived — on the same estate where my brother Aaron D. was born, and where he died. There were no better cultivators of fruits and vegetables than my father in his day, and my brother Aaron in his. My father left an estate in 1807 of $85,000, all acquired by uncommon ability as a cultivator of fruit and vegetables. My brother Aaron made all thrive under his care, but became too rich the latter part of his life to give to cultivation his exclusive attention.

Very truly your friend,

MOSES WILLIAMS.

HON. MARSHALL P. WILDER.

[1] *Charles F. Curtis's letter*, in which he states that the receipts of apples for the season up to Jan. 29, 1881, at Boston, were over six hundred and ninety thousand barrels.

[2] [Francis S. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 136. — ED.]

bor."[1] Here Mr. Gray has offered the public fine illustrations of landscape gardening by the laying out of his beautiful grounds. From his conservatories and grounds our exhibitions have been constantly enriched with rare and costly plants, and his enterprise keeps up with the progress of the age. For the last three years he has won the $150 Silver Cup for his roses.

Roxbury, from the early part of this century, was distinguished for its greenhouses. We have mentioned those of the Lowells and others, to which we must add that of John Lemist, who was lost on the ill fated steamboat "Lexington," in 1840. This place was formerly the residence of Judge Auchmuty, Governor Increase Sumner, and Beza Tucker, and in 1824 it passed to Mr. Lemist.[2] His greenhouses and grapery, under the care of a Scotch gardener, John R. Russell, became quite noted. His collection of plants, especially camellias, gardenias, and roses, was considered as remarkable; and he often obtained one dollar or more for a cut flower of the double white camellia.

The gardens and nurseries of Samuel Walker, fifth president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, were situated in Roxbury, opposite the estate of Governor Eustis. Mr. Walker was prominent in his efforts to advance horticulture, and made his home in a garden. He was a zealous and experienced cultivator of plants and fruit-trees, bestowing great attention on the cultivation of the dahlia, tulip, and pansy. He annually gave public exhibitions of the tulip under a canvas tent erected for the purpose, and had costly varieties, such as Louis XVI. and others, valued at £10 to £15 for a single bulb. His nurseries were for many years noted for their excellence, and his fruits on exhibition were of the first-class, among which was the Mount Vernon pear, produced from seed.

On the borders of Jamaica Pond is the garden of Francis Parkman, LL. D., ex-President of the Horticultural Society, who has become almost as widely known for his experience in hybridizing plants as for his historical writings. By the process of hybridizing he obtained the *Lilium Parkmanii*, for the stock of which a florist in London made him a present of one thousand dollars.

Roxbury has been celebrated for the many varieties of fruits which have been originated within her borders. Of these may be named the famous Roxbury Russet, Williams's Favorite, and Seaver Sweet apples; the Dearborn's Seedling, Lewis, Merriam, Dana's Hovey, and Mount Vernon pears.

In Milton are numerous fine estates, which under modern horticultural skill are worthy of remembrance, — such as the summer residences of Henry P. Kidder, Francis Peabody, R. B. and J. M. Forbes, Mrs. F. Cunningham, Miss Russell, and of John W. Brooks, whose pear orchard contains six hundred trees of the Beurré d' Anjou, generally considered "the best." Nor would we omit the residence of Colonel Henry S. Russell, in

[1] *Hon Thomas C. Amory's Letter.* [2] [See Vol. II. p. 343. — Ed.]

olden time of Francis Amory, now the "Home Farm," with its world-renowned "Smuggler" breed of horses, its extensive avenues of old oaks, walnuts, elms, maples, and pines, its broad landscape and ornamental grounds.

The town of Brookline has been celebrated from an early date for the elegant residences of our opulent citizens, and for its gardens, orchards, and ornamental grounds. "Brookline was for a long time pre-eminent in the little cordon of towns which have so long constituted the exquisite environs of Boston, embossing it with rich and varied margins of lawn and lake, and meadow and wooded hill-side, and encircling its old 'plain neck,'—as Wood called it in his *New Englands Prospect*,—with an unfading wreath of bloom and verdure."[1] Here were the homes of the Amorys, the Aspinwalls, the Perkinses, Sullivans, Sargents, Lees, Gardners, Tappans; of General Theodore Lyman, Benjamin Guild, Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, John E. Thayer, and others, who have been patrons of horticultural improvement; and although the citizens of Brookline protested, in 1773, against the introduction of the leaves of the tea-plant without their consent, they have been proverbially friends of rural taste, and have done much for the adornment of their residences with other beautiful trees and plants.

In the very early part of this century the gardens and greenhouses of Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins were particularly distinguished. He and his brother, Samuel G. Perkins, inherited a love for fruits and flowers from their grandmother, Mrs. Edmund Perkins, who was Edna Frothingham of Charlestown. Colonel Perkins's residence in France and other foreign lands, where he had seen fine fruits and flowers, stimulated his natural taste, and induced him to purchase this estate in 1800, when he began to build his house, to lay out his grounds, and to erect greenhouses and glass structures for the cultivation of fruits and flowers; and until the establishment of the magnificent conservatories and fruit-houses of his nephew, John Perkins Cushing, at Watertown, his place was considered the most advanced in horticultural science of any in New England. For fifty years Colonel Perkins's estate was kept in the best manner by experienced foreign gardeners, and at an expense of more than ten thousand dollars annually. He frequently received trees and plants from Europe, the products of which were prominent at the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. In 1840 he introduced the Victoria Hamburg, West's St. Peter's, and Cannon Hall Muscat grape-vines, which were presented to him by Sir Joseph Paxton, gardener to the Duke of Devonshire.

Next to be named are the garden and fruit-houses of Samuel G. Perkins, which were presented to him by his brother, Colonel Perkins. The spot was selected on account of its being situated between the Colonel's and the beautiful estate at Pine Bank of James Perkins, an elder brother (and where now lives his grandson, E. N. Perkins), and as a favorable place where

[1] Mr. Winthrop's *Address at the Dedication of the New Town Hall of Brookline.*

Samuel might indulge his natural taste, and exercise the skill which he had acquired in horticultural science by residing in foreign lands, and by his acquaintance with experienced cultivators of both fruits and flowers. His fruit-houses were two hundred feet in length; in and around them were grown the choicest varieties of grapes, peaches, and plums; there the Golden Nectarine was produced by him from the stone. Mr. Perkins was the introducer from France of the Duchesse d'Angoulême pear, the Franconia raspberry, and other fruits.[1]

In Brookline is the old Aspinwall estate, the birthplace of our beloved citizen the late Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, where still remains the same old house[2] in which he and his father, Dr. William Aspinwall, were born. Here were planted by Dr. William Aspinwall extensive orchards of Baldwin and Roxbury Russet apples, and other fruits. A few trees are still remaining near the old house. So plenty were peaches that the pigs were turned into the orchard to eat up the surplus; and this ground is still called the "old peach orchard." On a portion of the Aspinwall estate, Mr. Augustus Aspinwall, a distinguished merchant and horticulturist, one of the first board of counsellors of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, devoted a part of his time to horticultural pursuits, erecting two extensive graperies. He was eminently successful as a cultivator of the rose, of which he made frequent exhibitions.

The most extensive and elegant estate in Brookline is that of the venerable Ignatius Sargent, whose success in grape culture forty years ago was so great that he exhibited bunches of the Black Hamburg grape weighing from four to six pounds. On these grounds is the beautiful cottage of his son, Professor Charles S. Sargent, on the site of the residence of the late Thomas Lee, who was thirty years ago much interested in the growth of rhododendrons, azaleas, and other plants. Under the supervision of Professor Sargent, this place, with its magnificent landscape, its conservatories of plants, and its extensive collection of conifers, rhododendrons, and azaleas, is every year thrown open to the public. With its extensive and rare collection of native and foreign trees and shrubs, and its wide and grand embrace of one hundred acres in extent, this estate is one of great interest for the study of landscape and ornamental culture.

General Lyman, to whom we have alluded, expended in 1842 large sums of money in the erection of his house, of which Richard Upjohn was the architect. He improved the premises by grading the lawn, planting trees, and building graperies; all of which have been further improved by

[3] *Letter of Augustus T. Perkins.* "He attended personally to the pruning and cultivation of his trees; and his success was greater than that of his brother. He usually wore a button-hole bouquet in the lapel of his coat, and was fond of surprising his brother with superior fruits. One day he came with a basket of gorgeous grapes, peaches, and apricots, and said: 'Brother Tom, I know you love fine fruit; and fearing you do not often get it, I have brought you something worth having.' — 'Thank you, Brother Sam; I try to be contented with what I have; and I certainly should be, if you were not always bursting in and giving me something that makes me envy you.'"

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 221. — Ed.]

his worthy son, Colonel Theodore, who still resides there, and whose son of the same name, a promising lad, we hope may live to perpetuate the memory of Theodore Lyman. Here remain some of the grand old trees planted by the father of our venerable citizen Jonathan Mason, who still lives at the advanced age of nearly ninety years. General Lyman was a patron of horticulture, agriculture, and moral reform.[1] He gave ten thousand dollars to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

In Brookline, also, is the elegant villa, with its splendid avenues and grounds, of the late John Eliot Thayer, left by him to Mrs. Thayer, now Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, where a most generous hospitality and cordial welcome are extended by Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop to their numerous friends both of our own and foreign lands.

Here, also, are the fine estate and extensive glass structures of John Lowell Gardner, to whom we have referred already, by whose liberality for a long course of years the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society have been graced and enriched by elegant plants and products from the hands of his experienced gardener, Mr. Atkinson. Mr. Gardner's mother was sister to the Hon. John Lowell, and he inherits the same taste for rural life and culture for which Mr. Lowell was so well known. His father, as we have seen, also possessed like tastes when he lived in Summer Street, where foreign grapes and pears were grown in open air. The Saint Germain pear was very large; and of the Brown Beurré Mr. Gardner says, "I have never seen finer specimens."

The elegant estate of the Hon. Amos A. Lawrence, at Longwood, was once the farm of Judge Sewall, on which there are relics of pear culture. One of the trees, a very large one, was destroyed by a gale several years ago. The largest which remains, though with lessened proportions, now measures, at six inches above the ground, nine feet two inches in circumference. Thirty years ago it bore what is called the Button pear, but has since been regrafted with another variety. Judge Sewall, in his diary between 1680 and 1700, mentions grafting some pear-trees at his house in Boston with "Button pears." The grafts were probably taken from this tree.[2]

Cambridge was celebrated for her gardens and the ornamental culture of her grounds even before the beginning of this present century. "At the close of the Revolution, Andrew Craigie purchased the Washington headquarters, enlarged the house,[3] and laid out the grounds in the taste of that period. On the western side of the mansion, the tall hedges and clumps of lilacs are all that remain of this early garden. Mr. Craigie had a greenhouse on the grounds, where the dormitory of the Episcopal Seminary now stands. This structure was burned about 1840. He also had an ice-house, an almost unknown luxury in those days. Some people thought

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter on "Boston under the Mayors," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] *The Hon. Amos A. Lawrence's Letter.*

[3] [See a view of it in Vol. III. — Ed.]

a judgment would befall one who would thus attempt to thwart the designs of Providence by raising flowers under glass in winter, and keeping ice under ground to cool the heat of summer; which now seem to have been the forerunners of two great institutions in Cambridge, — ice in summer, and flowers in winter."

Thomas Brattle, of whom mention is elsewhere made,[1] returning from exile in 1784, took possession of his patrimony, the house which now bears his name, and began to improve his grounds according to the taste of a century ago; and from that time until his death, in 1801, his garden, possessing a profusion of fruits and flowers, was the boast of Cambridge. His house was built by his father in 1742, when was planted, probably, the square of English lindens which so long formed a green canopy around it, but which have all fallen, the last one disappearing about fifteen years ago. Mr. Brattle, with a native taste for horticulture, and with observation of foreign lands, no doubt laid out his grounds in the latest styles of Europe, having a spring of pure water, a marble grotto, a pond for gold-fish, and a parterre for aquatic plants on a lower level, where the University Press now stands. His lawn was so velvet-like that it was said it could only be improved by combing it with a fine-tooth comb.

The most remarkable fruit garden in Cambridge during the last century was that of Bosenger Foster, who lived on the estate occupied by the late venerable and worthy Samuel Batchelder, who died a few years ago at the age of ninety-two. This estate is now occupied by Mr. Thomas P. James and his accomplished wife, the daughter of Mr. Batchelder. The garden is still partially enclosed by a brick wall, which has been a landmark on Brattle Street for the last one hundred and fifty years. Here was probably the first extensive collection of pear-trees in a region now famous for its fine fruits. Mr. Foster imported the most celebrated French pears, some trees of which attained great size; a few of them, with a most beautiful black mulberry-tree, ornament the place and still bear fruit. Here are still large hawthorn-trees which it is believed were planted by the Vassalls in 1730, and which still produce a profusion of white blossoms, and are a harbor for winter birds, who feed on the ripe haws.[2]

Cambridge has been conspicuous for the culture of fruits, especially of the pear and plum, as the exhibitions of the last fifty years have shown. Here were the experimental grounds and nurseries of Samuel Pond, Henry Vandine, and numerous gardens of fruit-trees. It has also possessed the most extensive nurseries and plant-houses of any place in New England. Here Mr. P. B. Hovey, with his brother Charles M. Hovey, established more than forty years ago, upon a piece of wild woodland, the famous nursery of Hovey & Co., for the sale of trees and plants; and here, under the supervision and direction of the latter gentleman, associated with their sons in the profession, he has supervised and carried on the raising and testing of fruits, the producing of seeds, and the hybridization and acquisition of plants, which

[1] [See Vol. III. p. 110. — Ed.]

[2] *Letter of Mrs. Isabella James.*

have given him and his brother a wide reputation as horticulturists both at home and in foreign lands. Mr. Hovey's love of nature and his ambitious and enterprising disposition have inspired him to prove under his own personal inspection everything in the way of horticulture that seemed desirable. In the department of pomology there have been fruited and proved on these grounds more than fifteen hundred varieties of fruits; and from them there was exhibited, on a single occasion, three hundred varieties of pears. Here were raised, by the crossing of the strawberry, the Boston Pine and Hovey's Seedling strawberry, — the last named being still, after almost fifty years of trial, one of our finest varieties in cultivation.

Their collection of plants contains grand old specimens, which are the result of many years of patience and toil. Some of the Chinese and other palms are fifty years old and twelve feet high. Here was early begun the hybridization of plants, by which have been produced some of the most remarkable camellias of which our country can boast, — such as the Mrs. Anne Marie Hovey, Charles M. Hovey, Charles H. Hovey, and others, for some of which they received the gold medal of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and also a first-class certificate by the London Horticultural Society. Many of these Mr. C. M. Hovey exhibited in London in person. The camellia-house of Hovey & Co. is one hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-five feet high, and it contains some of the largest camellias in the country, all planted in the ground. Here are twenty other houses for the growth of plants.

The collection of Hovey & Co. contains hundreds of species and varieties of ornamental trees and shrubs, among which are remarkable specimens of elegant and curious trees, worthy of the long life which it has taken to produce them. Mr. C. M. Hovey was for four years president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and the editor of the *Magazine of Horticulture* for thirty-four years, — the whole period of its existence. These volumes contain a vast amount of horticultural and kindred matter, and as books of reference are of very great value to all lovers of the art. Triumphing over all obstacles, and working with a zeal that never tires, he still lives to promote the great cause to which he has devoted his life.

The city of Newton, with her eight villages, and with a numerous population of active business people, has made, perhaps, as great advances in horticultural science as any other area of the same size around Boston. Here are numerous beautiful residences, with highly cultivated gardens, orchards, and well kept grounds; and just beyond, in Natick, where the Apostle Eliot planted his apple-trees, are cultivators of the rose, whose sales amount to thousands of dollars annually.

Newton and Brighton have been noted for their cultivation of fruits, trees, and plants for nearly a hundred years. The first nursery of any considerable note in New England was begun by John Kenrick, of Newton, in 1790, by the raising of peach-trees from the stone, to which he

added in a few years the apple, cherry, and other fruit-trees. In 1797 he began a nursery of ornamental trees, two acres of which were planted with the Lombardy poplar, then a most esteemed, but now despised, tree. His nurseries became the most extensive in New England. In 1823 Mr. Kenrick took his elder son, William, into partnership, and continued the business until his death in 1833. Peaches and currants were here extensively cultivated; and there were made in 1826 three thousand and six hundred gallons of currant wine. William Kenrick's nursery at Nonantum Hill, in Newton, established in 1823, continued for twenty-seven years; and for a part of this time he imported and sold more fruit-trees than any other nursery-man in New England. John A. Kenrick, brother of William, also pursued the nursery business on the old estate until his death in 1870.[1] William Kenrick was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, a zealous, enterprising citizen, the author of the *New American Orchardist*, and a public writer. He entered largely into the *Morus Multicaulis* speculation, propagating hundreds of thousands of this tree both on his own grounds and other land which he had taken up in the South.

James Hyde established a small nursery of fruit-trees about the year 1800, when he was eighteen years old. This was enlarged from time to time; and in 1842 our respected friend, James F. C. Hyde, since President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, became a partner with his father, and for many years carried on the business with success. To this day he possesses the same love of rural life and interest in fruits and flowers, especially in testing by personal experience the new varieties which come to his notice, and in writing of them for the press.

In Brighton there was a nursery established in 1816 by Jonathan Winship, also a founder of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. In 1826 he associated with him his brother Francis, and carried on the general nursery business on an extensive scale for many years. They also had greenhouses for the propagation of plants, being among the earliest growers of ornamental trees and plants for sale. They furnished the city of Boston largely for planting its Common and streets; also other cities, and many of the cemeteries, having at that time the largest collection in this section of the country; and they were among the first to send cut flowers to the Boston markets for sale. To their collection Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin made valuable donations which he gathered in Europe.[2]

The nursery and plant business was in later years carried on in Brighton by Joseph Breck and James L. L. F. Warren, and now by William C. Strong and Charles H. B. Breck & Sons. Forty years since Mr. Warren was largely interested in the cultivation of ornamental and greenhouse plants, and had public exhibitions of the tulip and other bulbous plants. Having possessed himself of the stock of the Camellias Wilderi and the

[1] *History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society*, pp. 33, 34.

[2] *Letter of Lyman F. Winship.* [See also the chapter on "Brighton," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

Mrs. Abby Wilder, he propagated them largely, and went to Europe with them, where he made considerable sales. Mr. Warren is now in California, and has been editor of the *California Farmer* for thirty years.

Joseph Breck, afterward president and one of the original members of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, had grounds in Brighton for the cultivation of ornamental plants and the production of seeds; and his name is still continued in the firm of Joseph Breck & Sons, the oldest seed-house in New England, it having existed more than fifty years, succeeding that of John B. Russell, the only survivor of the original corporators of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Mr. Breck was one of the foremost promoters of the culture of fruits and flowers, and wrote frequently for the press. He was proprietor, and for some years the editor, of the *Horticultural Register*, which passed through several volumes; and he also produced other works. His *Book of Flowers* has passed through many editions, and has a very wide circulation.

The nurseries and plant-houses of William C. Strong, ex-President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, are worthy of special notice for the enterprise and intelligence of their proprietor. Here, under one continuous roof of glass of eighteen thousand square feet, is an enclosure where plants are grown as in the open ground; where immense quantities of the rose and other flowers are daily cut for the market. The estate of Mr. Strong, about forty years ago, was possessed by Horace Gray, of whom we have spoken in connection with the establishment of the Public Garden in Boston. He erected on these grounds the largest grape-houses then known in the United States, in which were grown extensively numerous varieties of foreign grapes. For the testing of these under glass, in cold houses, Mr. Gray erected a large curvilinear-roof house, two hundred feet long by twenty-four wide. This was such a great success that he built two more of the same dimensions.

In addition to these, Brighton, in the early part of this century, was the residence of several celebrated agriculturists and horticulturists. Here were the orchards of Gorham Parsons, who also had others at Byfield; of S. W. Pomroy, Mr. Faneuil, Samuel Brooks, and others; and here for many years were held with great success the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, under the patronage and supervision of such leaders as John Lowell, John Welles, Peter C. Brooks, General Dearborn, Josiah Quincy, John Prince, and the gentlemen above named.

We owe to a Boston banker one splendid illustration of the wonderful progress of horticultural improvement, as shown in an estate in Wellesley, which may, without detraction from any other, be placed at the head of all others in New England, if not in our country. This is the property of Mr. H. Hollis Hunnewell, comprising in all, with its fields and forests, about five hundred acres, on which he began his operations about thirty years ago. The ornamental part contains about forty acres, from which

he cleared the wild growth of scrub-oaks, pitch-pines, and other worthless trees and shrubs before he began work upon it. He then laid out his splendid avenues and plots, and undertook the planting of his most interesting and instructive collection of hardy trees and plants, natives not only of our own country, but also such of California, Japan, and other lands as would endure our climate.[1]

The avenues to this estate are planted on either side with most beautiful pines, spruces, beeches, maples, magnolias, and other trees, intermixed here and there with the rarest and costliest conifers, rhododendrons, azaleas, and other flowering shrubs, — all of which have grown up within the last thirty years. Its meandering walks, also planted on either side with the rarest and newest conifer and other evergreens; its various vistas giving here and there delightful views, — are most charming. The magnificent velvet lawn in front of his house, the lovely Lake Waban in the rear, the Italian Garden, the parapets, balustrades, statues, and vases, with the clipped trees of various forms, lead one to suppose, as Mr. Henry W. Sargent says, "that we are on the Lake of Como." Here are fruit and vegetable gardens enclosed with ornamental hedges; a conservatory attached to the house; six plant-houses, and six fruit-houses; and numerous and varied illustrations of ornamental beds of flowers.[2]

Nor must we omit some record of the famous Ridge Hill Farm of William E. Baker, containing eight hundred and fifty acres, with its ten miles of avenues, its artificial lake one and a half miles in circumference, its grotto underground one fourth of a mile in length, and several greenhouses; everywhere affording, under the care of his gardener, Mr. Greaves, illustrations of the artistic bedding of plants.

And just across the water, opposite Mr. Hunnewell's, is the fine country-seat of Benjamin Pierce Cheney, whose love of horticulture and the Fine Arts induced him to contribute the grand statue of Ceres which crowns the temple of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, — Mr. Hunnewell and Mr. Charles O. Whitmore at the same time, also, presenting the statues of Flora and Pomona which adorn the corners of this building.

[1] His collection of rhododendrons and azaleas, the largest in our country, embraces many thousands of plants, to which he is constantly adding everything new and rare, demonstrating, beyond doubt, that a very large number of varieties grown in Europe may be successfully cultivated with us. Of such as are somewhat tender he has the choicest varieties, which he stores in cool pits in the winter, planting them out in the spring under an immense canvas tent of seven thousand square feet. The whole of his magnificent estate is opened to the public, once a week, gratuitously. A few years since he made, in the name of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, an exhibition of hundreds of these under an immense tent on Boston Common. The exhibition lasted for several weeks, and was visited by throngs of gratified spectators; and the income from it was generously given to constitute a fund for the Society, to be used in encouraging the growth of these plants.

[2] The whole, for twenty-seven years, has been under the charge of Mr. F. L. Harris, his gardener, and constitutes a place unsurpassed in this country for the acquisition of everything new or old in horticulture to please the eye, charm the senses, or gratify the taste; and affording also, with the contributions and benefactions of Mr. Hunnewell to the Horticultural Society, a noble illustration of his love of the objects which he has sought to promote, and which, by his untiring interest and personal attention, have been brought to the highest perfection.

Watertown and Waltham have been celebrated for the residences of wealthy citizens of Boston, as far back as the last century. Belmont, at Watertown, formerly the residence of John Perkins Cushing, now the home of Samuel R. Payson, has been and is still one of the most celebrated places in New England, if not in the United States, for its horticultural taste and improvement, having been thoroughly kept up for more than half a century. Here, for the last fifteen years, Mr. Payson has indulged his natural taste in the pleasures of rural life, by the acquisition and cultivation of the most beautiful fruits and flowers of the age.[1]

Mr. Cushing was a great lover of the works of Nature; and with lavish expenditures he improved this estate, in the highest sense of the word, by the laying out of the grounds and by the erection of numerous plant and fruit houses. He contributed largely to the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and opened his grounds once a week to the public in the summer season, making his place the most famous at that time for horticultural progress in New England.

The present estate of Mr. Payson embraces about two hundred acres, and its fine avenues bordered with old oaks, walnuts, and tulip-trees (one of the last is eighty feet in height), with other ornamental trees, rhododendrons, azaleas, and different shrubs, make it one of great interest. Here is a large conservatory, sixty feet wide, with fourteen other houses devoted to the cultivation of certain classes of plants, fruits, and vegetables. Among these houses may be named a large greenhouse, two pelargonium, two orchid, one palm, one azalea house, with several others devoted to grapes, peaches, nectarines, figs, and vegetables.

The lawn on the south of the house is magnificent, containing about twenty acres, on and around which are some of the finest purple beeches in the land. On these premises are several gnarled old oaks and a deciduous cypress of great age, and also a park well stocked with deer.

Opposite Mr. Payson's is the handsome old place of William Pratt, which has for a long course of years been kept in fine condition by his heirs, under the supervision of his son, George W. Pratt, one of the early vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and since his death Miss Mary Pratt, who still lives, at an advanced age, preserves its former reputation with good taste and enterprise. The conservatory of choice plants, the graperies, peach-house, the orchard and garden, are perpetuated from year to year in excellent order.

Near by is the elegant villa and estate of the late Alvin Adams, the founder of the great Adams Express Company. Extensive lawns and

[1] This estate some sixty years ago was the residence of Eben Preble, an old merchant of Boston, and brother of Commodore Preble. He built the brick walls still enclosing the grounds in which the present conservatories and other glass structures are located. Mr. Preble in 1805 imported into Boston one hundred and fifty varieties of fruit-trees; and so great has been the improvement in our fruits that only two of the varieties are now considered valuable. This estate passed to Nathaniel Amory, who married the daughter of Mr. Preble, in 1808; thence to R. D. Shephard about 1830; in a few years to Mr. Cushing; and after his death, about 1860, to Mr. Payson, by whose personal attention everything is kept with fine taste.

ornamental grounds, together with a valuable picture-gallery, have made this place one of the most attractive in the vicinity of Boston, where the generous hospitality of its proprietor was abundantly dispensed, as it is now by his heirs.

The orchards and gardens on this side of our city were noted a long time ago for their extent and the excellence of their fruit. Here was the home of Josiah Stickney, ex-President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, where his heirs still reside. Although a merchant in active business, he found time to plant an extensive pear orchard and a garden, from which, under his personal care, he brought forth some of the finest fruits which have been on exhibition. Before his removal from Boston, his love of flowers led him to establish a small garden on Tremont Street, north of the Masonic Temple, where, forty years ago, he cultivated the dahlia extensively, frequently carrying off prizes for the excellence of his specimens.[1]

In Waltham was the splendid estate of Governor Christopher Gore, which was considered in former times as among the most elegant in our vicinity. The Governor while residing in England, as commissioner for the adjustment of claims under the Jay Treaty, evidently imbibed a taste for the life of a country gentleman, and acquired a knowledge of the then accepted style of building and landscape gardening. His house and grounds were arranged strictly on the English model. The estate comprised several hundred acres, in the middle of which was what was called the "Home Field," where stood the mansion. The drawing-room was furnished in the gay and graceful fashion of Louis XVI.; the other rooms, with substantial rich mahogany, much of it of the old ante-Revolutionary type. A straight avenue, shaded by double rows of trees, conducted the visitor to this stately abode. Shady walks radiated from the house to the east and west, secluding it upon all sides, except that one opening permitted a view of the river a half-mile across the lawn, and of the fields beyond it. The trees which bordered the avenues and walks and ornamented the grounds were tastefully grouped, occasionally converting the walks into Gothic aisles, one of which formed a vista opposite the east window of the library.[2]

This place on the death of Governor Gore passed into the hands of William Payne, then to General Theodore Lyman, and on the latter's removal to Brookline, to Copley Greene. Now it is distinguished for numer-

[1] Desirous of promoting the cause of horticulture, he made a bequest of his estate at Watertown to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for an experimental garden; but afterward he revoked this gift, and gave the sum of twelve thousand dollars to the society, the income of which was to be devoted for thirty years for the purchase of books for its library, then to be transferred to the Lawrence Scientific School at Cambridge.

[2] The tradition is that the Governor and Mrs. Gore planted many of these trees with their own hands. The Governor was fond of agricultural pursuits, and was an ardent amateur farmer, having, in addition to his fruit, flower, and vegetable garden, extensive fields, under cultivation, and a large group of barns and farm buildings. From this elegant mansion might be seen the Governor taking an airing in his orange-colored coach, with coachman, footman, and outriders all in livery, and with a stateliness quite in keeping with his fine place. — *Letter of Colonel Henry Lee.* Of this place Fisher Ames wrote: "I do not expect to build a smarter."

ous glass structures for the growth of fruits, flowers, and vegetables, and for the excellent condition in which its grounds and their appurtenances are kept by its present owner, Mr. T. W. Walker. Waltham was much developed by the enterprise of Messrs. Lowell and Patrick Jackson. There also Dr. James Jackson had a lovely place, and Judge Jackson for a few years held the Gore place by lease.

Another place is especially worthy of notice in Waltham. "Lyman Place," the home of Theodore Lyman, one of Boston's best known merchants, where he and his eldest son, George W. Lyman, lived from 1795 until their deaths, — the latter having died Sept. 24, 1880, aged ninety-three years, ten months, — was bought in 1793, and the mansion-house erected in 1795. The first greenhouse was built about 1800 and divided into two parts, in which were raised pineapples, bananas, and other tropical fruits, and among the ornamental plants the Yellow Mimosa (acacia), which was then considered very elegant. Mr. Lyman brought over a celebrated English gardener by the name of Bell. He began by laying out and grading the grounds, which took several seasons to finish, but when completed they were in their time the finest illustration in the country of modern landscape gardening; "bearing witness," says Mr. Henry W. Sargent, "to a refined and elegant taste in rural improvement. Its fine level park, a mile in length, was enriched with groups of English limes, elms, and oaks; and masses of native wood, watered by a fine stream and stocked with deer, were the leading features of the place at that time. The oldest of these trees were set out early in this century, and are still in a healthful condition." "The peculiar thing," says Colonel Theodore Lyman, his grandson, "is that my grandfather, son of a poor country clergyman in Old York, and compelled to work hard from boyhood, should have had the tastes of a refined man of leisure in a matter of landscape gardening. Considering the immense difficulty of doing such a thing in those days, there is nobody near Boston now who is doing as much as he did." [1]

Charlestown in the early part of this century was distinguished for its good gardens and fine fruits. Here was the fine fruit garden belonging to the estate of Nathan Tufts, now occupied by the Rev. Dr. Lambert, rector of St. John's Church. Another fine residence was that of Eben Breed, now the site of Mount Vernon Street, with garden, greenhouse, and a small orchard. Among the finest places on the peninsula about the year 1800 was that of the Hon. Samuel Dexter, which afterward passed to Matthew Bridge and H. Davidson, and is now owned by Rhodes Lockwood, who occupies a part of it; it had a fine garden of fruit and ornamental trees, grape-vines, and a greenhouse. On this estate are now the handsome grounds of the Hon. T. T. Sawyer and the Hon. Edward Lawrence. The father of the Hon. George Washington Warren had a large garden of fruit-trees and plants. John Hurd and William Hurd had good gardens. Mr.

[1] *Letters of George W. Lyman and Colonel Theodore Lyman.*

James Hunnewell had a fine estate, now occupied by his son, our esteemed citizen James F. Hunnewell. This estate still retains its former size, with many of the original trees and plants.[1]

Among other gardens was that of the Hon. Charles Thompson, whose father was an experienced cultivator of fruits. It is still among the largest and best in the town. The Navy Yard has a large garden for fruits and flowers. The grounds of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict were once extensive in their orchards and shade-trees. In Charlestown, also, was the "Vineyard," under the care of David Haggerston, one of the pioneers of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and afterward the gardener of John P. Cushing at Watertown. This garden was an experimental one, and devoted almost exclusively to the testing of foreign varieties of the grape in open ground, and other small fruits; and here was first introduced from Europe the famous Keen's Seedling strawberry. Here was a greenhouse containing a fine collection of the camellia, where the writer saw this elegant plant in bloom for the first time in his life. Another garden devoted to the cultivation of fruits and flowers was that of Samuel R. Johnson, who forty years ago was one of the most successful cultivators and exhibitors of fruits and flowers.

There have been many other fine gardens in Charlestown, but most of those of which we have spoken have been built upon. Outside of the peninsula was the estate of Joseph Barrell, on the present site of the McLean Asylum, which was one of the most distinguished in our region.[2] It had large gardens and greenhouses, which cost about fifty thousand dollars, and in those days was called a "show-place." It was named Pleasant Hill, and is probably identical with Poplar Grove.

Horticulture had a cordial reception in the early days of Medford, even back as far as the building of the house of Matthew Cradock. The Royall house, once occupied by Colonel Isaac Royall, though not so old, stood in the midst of grounds laid out in elegant taste, and embellished with fruit trees and shrubbery, walks bordered with box, and a summer-house surmounted by a cupola and a statue of Mercury.[3] This estate was purchased in 1810 by Jacob Tidd, who afterward removed to West Roxbury, and exhibited at the rooms of the Horticultural Society the Horatio (or Nice) grape, weighing over six pounds to the bunch. Mr. Royall died in 1739, leaving the property to his son Isaac; and by the name of Royall it is still known. There were many fine estates in Medford in our own day. Such were those of Timothy Bigelow, Peter C. Brooks, Thatcher Magoun,

[1] Mr. James Hunnewell was an enterprising and intelligent merchant; he visited the Sandwich Islands three times during his life, spending several years there, and established there in 1826 the mercantile house which still exists; and which, though it has passed through several hands since, has still a good standing, and is, we believe, one of the oldest American houses, if not the senior, existing on the Islands. *Mr. J. F. Hunnewell's Letter.*

[2] Drake's *History of Middlesex County*, p. 177.

[3] Ibid., ii. 165. See further on this estate in Vol. III. of the present work, p. 105.

and others, who were interested in horticultural pursuits and had good gardens and greenhouses.

West Cambridge, Arlington, Lexington, Concord, Wilmington, Winchester, Woburn, Reading, Revere, and other towns in our vicinity have been prominent in promoting the science of horticulture during the present century; and from them we have derived not only fine fruits and flowers, but the choicest vegetables which are to be seen in any market of the world. From Wilmington came the world-renowned Baldwin apple, which constitutes the largest portion of the apples exported from our market, filling more than three fourths of the six hundred thousand barrels that are sent annually abroad.[1]

From Concord come some of the finest roses, strawberries, grapes, and vegetables which grace our exhibitions; but if it had produced nothing else but the Concord grape, its name, and that of Mr. Ephraim W. Bull, would have been remembered with gratitude.

One of the most conspicuous and extensive places as regards horticultural improvement and landscape gardening, and interesting also for its historic associations, is that at Lexington, of the Hon. Francis B. Hayes, President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; and did our space permit us to describe the more distant tributaries of the metropolis, we could tell the story of his fine estate with its conservatories, fruits, and flowers, and how his acres have expanded, during these last nineteen years, from the thirteen acres of the original purchase till it now includes between four and five hundred, covering the rights conveyed by forty-nine deeds.

If our space again permitted us to extend our observation we should not neglect Salem, where the tomato was first introduced; where Robert Manning's Pomological Garden did much for the pomology of New England as early as 1823;[2] where John Fisk Allen, in 1854, produced the earl-

[1] The history of this apple is as follows: * —

WOBURN, Sept. 28, 1880.

DEAR SIR, — Your note of the 26th inst. was received, asking me to give you the account which my grandfather, Samuel Thompson, Esq., gave me of the Baldwin apple. In reply I will say he was a surveyor of land, and while he was on duty one fall day in a pasture in the town of Wilmington, near a road called Butters Row Road, he came across a tree with fine looking apples thereon. The tree was hollow with decay, and a woodpecker found a place for her nest therein. He said he carried home some of the fruit and gave his brother Abijah some of it, and they were so highly pleased with it that they procured a lot of scions from the tree and set them in the trees around their homes, and they soon began to yield fruit; and they gave some to Colonel Baldwin, their neighbor, and he valued them so highly he went into them deeply and spread them around among his friends broadcast, and they had no name for them, and of course they gave them his name. While they were in the Thompsons' hands they were called Pecker apples, after the old bird. The tree stood in Wilmington, near Butters Row Road.

LEONARD THOMPSON,
92 years, 4 months.

MR. CYRUS WOODMAN.

Of the Baldwin apple, Deacon Thomas Griggs of Brookline, now in his ninety-fourth year, writes: "Seventy years ago I employed a man by the name of Tufts, to graft. He came from Woburn and brought scions called the Pecker apple. He said Mr. Baldwin, when surveying for the canal, found a tree on the edge of the wood, which was almost killed by woodpeckers, but had on it a very few nice red apples. From this tree he cut scions, and from it sprang the Baldwin apple."

[2] The most important public benefit conferred on the Pomology of New England, if not of our whole country, was the establishment of this Pomological Garden in Salem. It was for testing fruits, both native and foreign, and ascer-

* *Letter of Colonel Leonard Thompson to Mr. Cyrus Woodman.* [See note to Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. Brooks's *Medford*, p. 19, places the tree in that town, near the Woburn line. See also Ellis's *Count Rumford*, pp. 375-77. — ED.]

iest hybridized American grape, an experiment abundantly exemplified later by Edward S. Rogers; and where Joseph Sebastian Cabot possessed six hundred varieties of the tulip. Nor should we forget Lynn, and the Breeds, with their enterprising spirit.

Coming nearer on the North Shore, among the most remarkable instances of success in combating with our northern climate were the efforts of the late Frederic Tudor, at Nahant. Here he began a large garden on a spot without a tree or shrub, and by enclosing it with high double-pale fences to break the wind, he succeeded in producing many fine fruits. In the year 1849 he exhibited a basket of Louis Bonne of Jersey pears, one of which measured over ten inches in circumference, and weighed thirteen and three fourths ounces. The trees and vines of this garden, which the writer visited a few years since, were then in a healthful and productive condition. Mr. Tudor attached to the pears of which we have spoken the following note: "The whole circumference of ten fruits in this basket is eight feet, one and a half inches; weight of the same, — seven pounds, four and three fourths ounces; the tree, a dwarf, bore ninety-five fruits."

Going a little further inland to the west we find Dedham, in former days noted for many fine residences, among which were those of Fisher Ames and Edward Dowse, both of whom were much interested in horticulture, and who planted some of the beautiful elms and other trees which adorn her streets. They had orchards and gardens and ice houses, which were considered rare luxuries in those days. The estate of Mr. Dowse, by the will of his widow, became the property of her nephew, Josiah Quincy; who gave it to his youngest son, the late Edmund Quincy; who bequeathed it to his second son, Dr. Henry P. Quincy, and to his daughter Mary, who now live there.

Among others who have been engaged in the promotion of horticulture may be named Edward M. Richards, Ebenezer Wight, and Edward S. Rand, Jr., all of whom held the office of recording secretary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Dr. Wight was one of the most eminent cultivators of the apple, proving under his own observation the numerous varieties as they came to notice, and distributing scions of the same to all applicants. Edward S. Rand, Sr., promoted the advancement of horticulture by the adornment of his beautiful estate, and by his excellent collection of greenhouse and orchid plants of which we have spoken before.

taining what were adapted to our own climate. Mr. Manning opened a correspondence with the celebrated Dr. Van Mons of Belgium, with Robert Thompson, the head of the Fruit Department in the garden of the Horticultural Society of London, and with others in Europe and our own country. From these various sources he received trees and scions to carry on his work. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, prosecuting his labors with great enterprise and zeal till the time of his death, in 1842, when the collection of fruits, of which he had personal observation, amounted to more than eighteen hundred varieties. He also established a nursery, and dispensed trees and scions of such as he could recommend to our own and other lands. He was a most careful observer; and to him more than to all others in our country in his day we are indebted for the introduction of new and choice fruits, for the identification of the different varieties, the testing of their qualities, and for their correct nomenclature. His son Robert and two sisters still live on the homestead.

His son Edward possessed grounds and houses for the culture of fruits and flowers, which with his collection of orchids, and his contributions to our exhibitions, were of a notable character. The efforts of Colonel Eliphalet Stone for more than thirty years in promoting the culture of fruits, both by his nurseries and orchards, are still continued, with the love of younger years; and he dispenses now, as ever, the results of his careful experience for the benefit of the public. Dedham was the home of the Norfolk Agricultural Society, whose presidency for the first twenty years was vested in the writer, and which greatly promoted by its exhibitions the horticulture of our vicinity.

Turning to the South Shore for a hasty glance, we find that in Braintree, including what is now Quincy, some of the early occupants introduced orchards and gardens. Among these — besides the Adamses, Hancocks, and William Coddington — was the first comer of the distinguished Quincy family, Edmund Quincy. His estate originally consisted of a thousand acres. He died in 1636, at the age of thirty-three, just after he had built a house on what is now Mount Wollaston. His son of the same name, who died in 1697, inherited the estate, and planted an orchard, of which some apple-trees still remain. Judge Edmund Quincy, its next owner, dying in London, the property came to his son, Colonel Josiah Quincy, who about the year 1770 had upon it gardens and orchards, with a rich collection of French pears, and a fine lime-tree which has come down to our time. The son of the Colonel, the eminent Patriot known as Josiah Quincy, Jr., dying in early manhood, left an only son, the late honored Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, and President of Harvard University, to whom his grandfather, dying in 1784, bequeathed the estate. The president, who lived to a venerable age, devoted intervals during his public life and his retirement from it to the care, adornment, and enrichment of the three hundred and fifty acres which came to his possession. He was fond of natural beauty and of agricultural improvements, and laid out his grounds with much taste. He planted in 1790 an avenue, a third of a mile in length, of six rows of elms and two of ash-trees, still thriving, besides more than a mile and a half of hedge.[1] When President Quincy was in Congress, in 1809, he obtained from an English gardener, Mayn, established at Georgetown, D. C., plants of the American hedge-thorn (*Buckthorn*), which he set double in his avenue for a third of a mile. After flourishing many years, this hedge was eradicated in 1850. Mr. Quincy also obtained from Mayn the Burgundy, York, and Lancaster roses, the *Bignonia Radicans*, then rare in this vicinity, and other plants. He found his attempts to introduce here the principles of English agriculture very troublesome and costly. He continued his interest in fruit, and when past his fourscore years, called on the writer to purchase trees of the Winter Nelis pear. On being told that it was a slender and slow grower, he replied: "That is of little consequence to such young fellows as myself." He had a fine herd on his farm, and wrote one

[1] *Miss Eliza S. Quincy's Letter.*

of the best treatises on the *Soiling of Cattle*, which was published at the request of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. In 1849 and 1852 it was revised by Mr. Quincy, and was republished in the *Transactions* of the Norfolk Agricultural Society, of which he was a member, and it was reported upon again, in 1860, in Flint's *State Agricultural Report*. Mr. Quincy was fond of every improvement, and had one of the first mowing-machines introduced into New England. He died, July 1, 1864, in his ninety-third year, in the house and apartment of his grandfather, Colonel Josiah Quincy, leaving to his daughter, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, and to two of her sisters, life-estates in his house and grounds around it, where they now live. To his eldest son, the present Hon. Josiah Quincy, he bequeathed his farm, with a house erected in 1850, who also carried it on for a few years, and where, in 1881, he lives in a green old age, with his children and grandchildren around him.

We cannot close this chapter without recognizing with gratitude the efforts of the men who laid the foundations of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, of the American Pomological Society, and particularly of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

Fifty years ago the supply of fruits in our market, excepting apples, was limited to a few varieties and to a few weeks of use; now our markets abound with fruits for all seasons of the year. Then almost the only strawberry in our market was the wild strawberry of the field, and that limited to a short season; now we have in variety this delicious fruit, by the facilities of transportation, for two or three months, receiving from the South in a single day five thousand bushels, and from our own town of Dighton ten thousand bushels in a year. Then not a single hybridized fruit of the strawberry had been produced, so far as we know, in our land; now so great has been the increase that my register contains the names of nearly four hundred kinds of strawberries which have been under cultivation in my day. Then there were no American grapes cultivated in our gardens except here and there a vine of the Catawba and Isabella; now there are more than a hundred varieties of American grapes in cultivation. Then the cultivation of the pear was limited to a few varieties; now we have in our collection more than eight hundred varieties of this noble fruit. Then no exports of fruit of any note had been made; now Boston itself has shipped over six hundred thousand barrels of apples in a year, and the export of fruits from this country alone has amounted to nearly three millions of dollars in a year.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHARITIES OF BOSTON AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DISTRESSED OF OTHER PARTS.

BY GEORGE SILSBEE HALE.

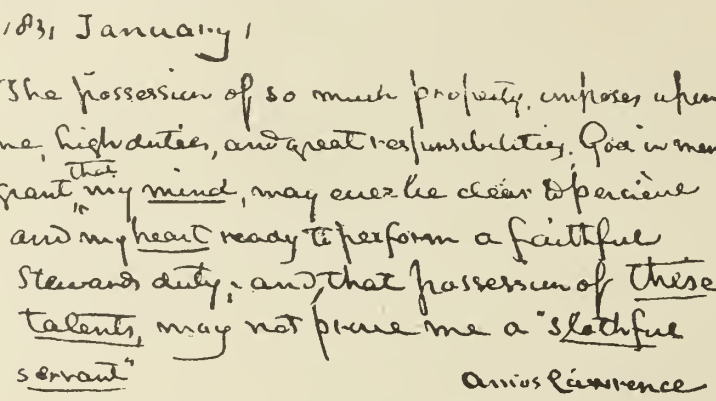
"There is a City in the World where every House hath a Box hanging in a Chain, on which is Written, *Think on the Poor.*" — *Bonifacius, or Essays to do Good*, by Cotton Mather, Boston, 1710, p. 145.[1]

THE charities of Boston cannot be adequately described or recorded in the space here allotted to the subject. The beneficence, public and private, which has filled and adorned more than two centuries of municipal existence; which has sent warmth, life, and healing to every quarter of the globe, among strangers and kindred, enemies and friends, — must yield a large part of the space which might be well employed for its story to histories of wars with savages, persecutions of fanatics, and resistance to misgovernment. It is not possible, indeed, to tell this story with completeness. It is possible to enumerate the societies, institutions, and foundations which have successively sprung up for religious, educational, and charitable purposes and to meet varied forms of weakness, want, and suffering in a community constantly increasing in numbers and wealth. It is possible to add up the figures which express part of the wealth which has been freely scattered or liberally accumulated to meet sudden calamities or constant want. It is possible to describe the means and appliances by which the highest professional skill is bestowed, as freely as light and air, upon the suffering, by which feeble infancy, prostrate manhood, and "unregarded age" are sought out and protected; but the purest, the most abundant, and the most effective streams of charity flow through secret channels, and leave no material for history or statistics.

There is, there can be, no record of the work and gifts of generous stewards of the abundance which has rewarded lives of labor; of men whom the living recall, the steady stream of whose annual beneficence was a king's ransom; of those whom the living know, whose annual gifts are an ample

[1] "There was also a book of Defoe's, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of Dr. Mather's called *An Essay to do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life." — Sparks, *Life of Franklin* (Autobiography), vol. i. p. 15. Perhaps Boston thus owes, indirectly, the Franklin Fund to Cotton Mather.

fortune; or of the "honorable women," whose lives are full of good deeds and almsgiving. It seems only an injustice to the living and the dead of a community, which has had and still has such men and women among its members, to attempt a record necessarily so imperfect.[1]


1831 January 1

The possession of so much property, imposes upon me, high duties, and great responsibilities. God in mercy grant that my mind, may ever be clear & perceive and my heart ready to perform a faithful Stewards duty; and, that possession of these talents, may not prove me a "slothful servant"

Amos Lawrence

It is not too much to say that the history of the charities of Boston begins with the earliest period of its organized existence.

It is more than one hundred and fifty years since Increase Mather said: "For charity, he might indeed speak it without flattery, this town hath not many equals on the face of the earth." [2]

This charity, indeed, fitly began at the old home in the care of matters of public concern; for, before leaving England, at "a gen^rall court holden at M^r Goffs house, on Wensday, the 10^th of Febr., 1629–30" —

"FORASMUCH as the furtherance of the plantac̃on will necessarylie require a great & continuall charge w^ch cannot w^th convenyence bee defrayed out of the ioint stock of the Comp̃ w^ch is ordained for the maintenance of the trade, w^thout endangering the same to bee wasted & exhausted, it was therfore p'pounded that a co̅mon stock should bee raysed from such as beare good affec̃ion to the plantac̃on and the p'pagac̃on therof, and the same to bee employed only in defraym^t of publique charges, as maintenance of ministers, transportac̃on of poor famylyes, building of churches & ffortyfycac̃ons, and all other publique & necessary occasions of the plantac̃on." [3]

[1] "Taking the amount of his property at various times as noted by himself from the year 1807 to 1829, a period of twenty-two years, with his known habits of liberality and habits of systematic charity, it would be safe to assert that during his life he expended some seven hundred thousand dollars for the benefit of his fellowmen. Many persons have done more; but few, perhaps, have done as much in proportion to the means which they had to bestow." — *Diary and Correspondence of Amos Lawrence*, etc., p. 312. It is hardly necessary to add that this sum was much greater in value then than now, and that large fortunes are both larger and more numerous; but it may be added that the living rival this munificence and exceed it in amount. We are forbidden to name the living, and it is impossible to name all those who are entitled to honor as examples of charity among the dead. But the names of Perkins and Lawrence, whose autographs adorn our pages, will be recognized as fit representatives of many.

[2] Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 362. "To no city has Boston ever been second in its spirit of liberality." — *Centennial Address*, 1830, by Josiah Quincy, p. 43.

[3] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Mass. Bay in New England*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

Gifts to George Munnings for the loss of his eye; to Robert Cutler for his lameness; the foundation of a school or college, to be called "Harvard Colledge;" a gratuity to "Mr. Elliot, in respect of his greate pains and charge in instructing ye Indians;" legacies to the poor; and the establishment of almshouses and granaries, — help to fill the early records of the orderly foundation of the State which has grown from this "plantation." But neither the city nor the citizen, even in those early years, confined their benevolence within the peninsula. Mr. Peters, who displayed his charity in buying up provisions and distributing them to all the towns; and the gifts of the early colonists to redeem captives in Canada and in the hands of Barbary pirates, — though the first recorded evidences, were not probably the first actual efforts of a charity which did not end at home.

The charities of a nation, a state, or a city, so far as they are openly manifested, are displayed: (1) In the provision it makes by law, or as a municipal organization, for those who need protection and care, to be found in its legal enactments and corporate action; in the public contributions of its citizens for the special and varied needs of the same classes, — intrusted (2) to public officers or (3) to private organizations, whose action and history are preserved in the records and reports which these modes of action suggest and require for the guidance and instruction of persons who are interested or solicited to aid in the undertaking; and (4) in the occasional contributions of individuals for the relief of persons near them, or "in other parts," who are suffering from sudden and great calamities or struggles. Of the latter there is no competent and satisfactory record. They must be sought with patient labor from scattered sources, and mainly from the files of public journals.

I. The Charity of the Law. — The citizens of Boston brought with them from England the system in regard to the care of the poor, begun before and largely developed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by which parishes or other municipal divisions were charged with their support, and certain officers of those localities with their care.

Within ten years after the settlement of Boston, in 1639, it was ordered, "by this Court and the authority thereof, that any shire court, or any two magistrates out of court, shall have power to determine all differences about lawful settling and providing for poor persons; and shall have power to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance and employment of such persons and families, for the ease of this country."[1]

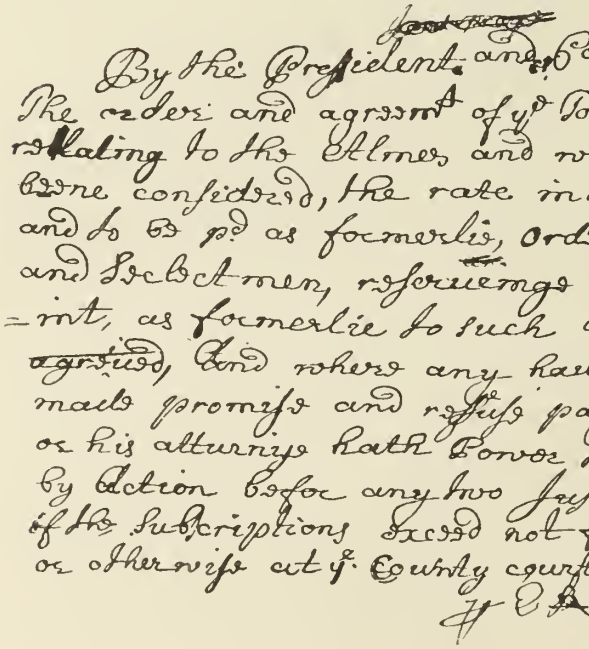
At first, in a small or thinly settled community, no public establishments or special provisions were necessary. Some of the poor received allotments for cultivation or pasturage from the common lands. Their outdoor relief came from the treasury or property of the town, and their fuel from its wood-lots. Some were maintained and lodged in the houses of

[1] *Ancient Charters*, p. 173.

their townsmen. Some were aided by special gifts of food, clothing, or money.[1]

In 1660, Mr. Henry Webb,[2] having "bequeathed £100 to y^e^ Towne to bee improoved for y^e^ use of y^e^ poore according to his will, &c., to be reserved to y^t^ end from time to time; it was ordered y^t^ y^e^ s^d^ £100 bee improved by y^e^ select men for y^e^ end afores^d^ in some building fitt for y^t^ end &c.," and "y^t^ y^e^ selectmen shall have power to make use of a piece of ground in y^e^ comon for y^e^ erecting an almeshouse upon w^th^ suitable accommodations, or to exchange a piece of the Towne's Land for a place more convenient." In 1662, "Itt is ordered that Mr. Petter Olliver is to joine with the deacons of the church of Boston in receiving of Cap't Kean's legacy^e^ of one hundred and twenty pounds given to the poore; and further hereby ordered to receive Mr. Webb's legacie of one hundred pounds, with severall other gifts that are given for the erecting of an Allmshouse;" and the selectmen were authorized to agree for its erection.[3]

This almshouse was burned; and at a public meeting of the inhabitants, Dec. 18, 1682, "to consider of rebuildinge of an Almshouse and a



By the President and Council
The order and agreem^t^ of y^e^ Towne of Boston
relating to the Almes and worke house, having
bene considered, the rate in this paper is allowed
and to be p^d^ as formerlie, Ordered by the committe
and Selectmen, reserveing liberty of compla-
=int, as formerlie to such as are oprest or
aggrieved, And where any have Subscribed or
made promise and refuse payment, The Treasurer
or his attorney hath Power to recover the same
by Action befor any two Justices of the peace,
if the Subscriptions exceed not fourtie Shillings
or otherwise at y^e^ Courty courte
by Order Secret[4]

Workehouse," it was "propounded to the Towne" and voted, "That there be a workehouse provided in some convenient place in this towne, with convenience of Lodging such Psons as shall stand in need of Almes, and be sent thither to work." A rate was levied for this building and approved by the President and Council. We find that it was still unfinished in 1686;

[1] A quotation in point, from the Bennett manuscript, is given in Vol. II. pp. 459, 490.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. xv. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. xlviii. — Ed.]

[4] Copy of a paper found in possession of the Overseers of the Poor.

but a bill against the town for supplies for the almshouse, still preserved by the Overseers of the Poor, shows that it was lighted in 1703 by candles supplied by the father of Benjamin Franklin.[1]

A system prevailed at an early period of providing grain at the cost of the town, for sale at a small advance to those of its citizens whose condition required it. As early as March, 1713–14, it was voted that the town will make provision for laying in a stock of grain. In 1715 the selectmen were directed to provide a storehouse for grain; and in 1721 it was voted that the granary be continued to be hired. Soon after, the erection of a building was considered; and in 1728 it was "voted that a grainery be built on the comon, near the Almshouse, and that the sum of not exceeding 1100 pounds, to be paid out of the money to be raised in the general town-meeting, be appropriated for this purpose."[2]

In 1692, by a colonial act,[3] the care of the poor was committed to "overseers of the poor;" or, if no persons were particularly chosen to that office, to the selectmen acting in that capacity.[4]

"The ordinary functions of overseers of the poor" were "defined by the statute of 1793 (c. 59), which repealed certain former laws . . . and left the general legislation on this subject substantially as it has since remained. This statute begins with declaring that every town and district 'shall be holden to relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully settled therein, whenever they shall stand in need thereof;' and to that end authorizes each town and district to vote and raise moneys therefor, and at its annual meeting to choose not exceeding twelve suitable persons dwelling therein to be Overseers of the Poor, and when such are not chosen, the Selectmen shall be Overseers. The second section further provides, 'That said Overseers shall have the care and oversight of all such poor and indigent persons so settled in their respective towns and districts; and shall see that they are suitably relieved, supported, and employed, either in the workhouse or other tenements belonging to such towns or districts, or in such other way and manner as they, at any legal meeting, shall direct, or otherwise at the discretion of said Overseers, at the cost of such town or district.' The act gives the overseers authority to bind out poor children, and also to set to work or to bind out to service, not exceeding one year at a time, such persons, upwards of twenty-one years of age, residing and lawfully settled in the town or district, or who have no settlement in the Commonwealth, whether married or unmarried, 'as are able of body, but have

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 271. — Ed.]

[2] [Ibid., pp. 460, 518. — Ed.]

[3] *Ancient Charters*, p. 217.

[4] "The overseers, subject to the direction of the town, made such provision for the poor as they deemed best; and in small towns the poor were not unfrequently maintained at private houses by persons who made contracts for this purpose with the towns; and these contracts were sometimes let to the lowest bidder at public auction." — *Report on Organization of the Overseers of the Poor*, City Doc. No. 70, 1864, p. 4.

no visible means of support; who live idly, and use and exercise no ordinary or daily lawful trade or business to get their living by; and also all persons who are liable by any law to be sent to the House of Correction.' They are further authorized to take proceedings against houses of ill-fame; to provide for the immediate comfort and relief of distressed strangers, and, if they die, for their burial; and also for the removal, to their legal settlement, of persons likely to become chargeable to the town.

"In the legislation of the seventy [now over eighty-seven] years since this statute was passed, some new powers have been conferred upon the overseers; but their main duties and their principal powers remained enacted in the General Statutes, c. 70, in the same words as in the Statute of 1793. They still have 'the care and oversight of all such poor and indigent persons;' and it is still their duty to 'see that they are suitably relieved, supported, and employed, either in the workhouse or almshouse, or in such other manner as the city or town directs, or otherwise at the discretion of said overseers.' They have still to provide for the immediate relief of strangers; for their removal to their places of settlement; for their burial, if they die; and for binding out poor children. But the power to bind out idle adults has been superseded by provisions more suitable to a populous country;"[1] and in Boston some of these duties and powers are assigned to other officers.

Overseers of the Poor, however, seem to have existed in Boston, before the Act of 1692, since it appears by its records that on March 9, 1690–91, the townsmen voted "that Mr. Nathaniell Williams, Mr. Benjamine Walker, Mr. William Coleman, and Mr. Symeon Stoddard be Overseers of the Poore of this Towne for the year ensueing;" and they with the Treasurer were appointed to present to the General Court proposals for the employment of the poor.

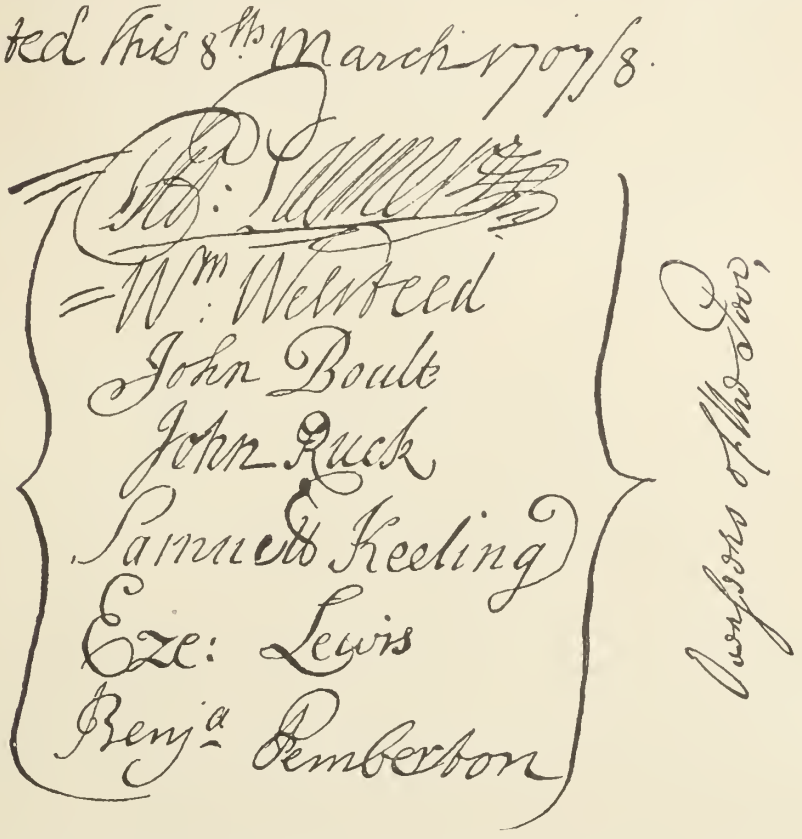
The vote referred to was probably the origin of the Act of 1692. After the passage of that, the number of overseers in Boston varied for some years. In 1736 an act was passed entitled "An Act for employing and providing for the poor of the town of Boston."[2] This act among other things empowered the town of Boston "to chuse twelve Overseers of the Poor . . . for twelve several wards respectively, into which the town is or shall be divided;" authorized the town to erect a workhouse to be under their regulation, and empowered the overseers to send idle and indigent persons to it, to bind out children and warn out intruders.[3] This house for setting "to work"

[1] *Report*, etc. pp. 5, 6.

[2] Sts. 8 and 9 Geo. IV. c. 3, *Mass. Perpetual Laws*, 277.

[3] The office of an overseer in Boston was one of dignity and importance. The Hon. Josiah Quincy (*Municipal History of Boston*, pp. 419, 420,) remarks: "Under the town government the members of the board of overseers of the poor were elected by the votes of the whole body of the inhabitants They were, consequently, always men of a high general character, known to a majority of the inhabitants, and chosen by them for their integrity, capacity, and adaptation to the service. Among them were always men distinguished for their wealth, their business talents, and charities. . . . There was another element of confidence in the Board of Overseers under the town; . . . *every vacancy in the board*

the idle and dissolute poor — the earliest provision of this kind in the city exclusively for that class — was erected in 1738 on Centry, or Sentry (now



Park) Street and remained there with the almshouse until about the close of the year 1800, when a new almshouse[1] was opened on Leverett Street and occupied till 1823, under the charge of the overseers, who also gave out-door relief to the poor, and administered the eleemosynary gifts and funds more fully described hereafter. In 1821 this building was the receptacle of persons of "all ages and colors, with various vices, misfortunes, and diseases, — subjects of an almshouse, a hospital, a lunatic asylum,

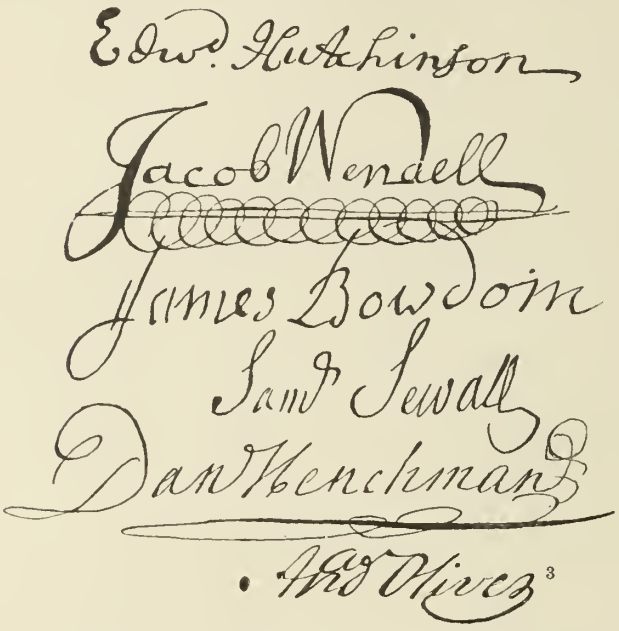
was always, in fact, filled by the nomination of the members of the board themselves. Hence the new members were always well qualified for the office and acceptable to the old members remaining as associates. When a vacancy was about to occur, it was the practice of the board to consult together and to select the individual whose name was to be inserted in the general ticket with those of the members of the board about to remain. This course was known and acceptable to the inhabitants. The individual thus selected being always one whose qualities were by them well known and approved, he was accordingly uniformly chosen, it is believed, without objection or opposition during the whole period of the town government.

"This course of proceeding gave that Board, under the town, a fixed and staid character, inviting confidence and sustaining it."

See a list of the Overseers from 1691 to 1866 inclusive, in *A Manual for the use of the Overseers of the Poor of the City of Boston*, p. 158.

[1] [See the view in Snow's *Boston*, p. 52. — Ed.]

and a prison."[1] A committee of the town reported, by Josiah Quincy as chairman, "that the accommodations provided for the poor at the almshouse in Boston are not such as comport with the honor and interest of the town." They recommended the establishment of a new almshouse, to be called the House of Industry. The town adopted their recommendation, instructed the committee to provide new buildings, and to inquire and report on the state and treatment of the poor.



The House of Industry[2] was located in South Boston and completed in 1822; and in 1823 an act was passed authorizing the establishment of a Board of Directors of the House of Industry with specified powers. A controversy arose between these directors and the overseers as to their respective authority, which was warmly waged for a time, and resulted finally, under the advice of William Prescott, Charles Jackson, and Daniel Webster, in defining and separating their jurisdiction, substantially by assigning the charge of out-door relief to the overseers, and of that administered in the House of Industry to the directors.[4] Since the vote of the town in 1821 to change the name of the Almshouse to the House of Industry, Boston has had no institution legally bearing the name of an almshouse, but has maintained a House of Industry for the poor, and for persons sentenced for sundry offences, in different buildings or parts of the same building.

Boston was the second municipality in the United States to make separate provision for juvenile offenders. New York, whose large population probably demanded this at an earlier period, established a separate institution for this class in 1825; and in 1826[5] the city of Boston was author-

[1] *Report, etc.*, p. 7.

[2] [See view in Snow's *Boston*, p. 376, and in the *American Magazine*, i, 51. — Ed.]

[3] Signatures attached to the Report of a Committee for the erecting a workhouse at the upper end of the Common, made July 27, 1739.

[4] A distinction which has since continued, and under which all out-door relief and the charge of considerable funds given to the overseers by charitably disposed persons have been entrusted to the overseers; and the care of the public institutions of the city, for the poor and criminals of all descriptions, has been given to directors or (in the case of the City Hospital) to trustees. The Temporary Home and the Lodge for Wayfarers belong to the department of out-door relief.

[5] *Special Laws*, vol. vi. p. 404.

ized to provide a House of Reformation for them under the care of the Directors of the House of Industry, or such other persons as the city council should appoint. They were at first kept at South Boston, in the building erected for a House of Correction, apart from the other inmates. In 1836 a separate building was erected for them not far from the House of Correction, where they remained until July, 1858; and in 1858 they were removed to that used for the House of Industry at Deer Island. In 1860 a separate building on the Island was provided for girls; and in 1868 one for pauper boys and girls, apart from each other. About 1849 a large building was erected on Deer Island designed to accommodate State paupers and city poor, at the time when cities and towns were required to maintain the former for a compensation paid by the State. This system was changed in 1852, when provision was made for State almshouses. In 1853 the Boston House of Industry on Deer Island was first occupied, in separate departments, by the poor and by the persons sentenced to that institution or to the House of Reformation. Now, without any change in the legal appellation "House of Industry," that term has come to be understood as designating its penal character, although there is still no institution described in our laws, bearing any other name, for the worthy poor, — a result "wholly incompatible with the original design of the town in authorizing its erection," since "the comfort, the health, the exercise, and the useful employment of the virtuous and respectable poor was the fundamental principle of the design;" and "the House of Industry was not constructed, nor had it any strong rooms and iron vaulted cells, for the restraint of sturdy rogues and vagabonds."[1] The different classes, however, have been separated and are now kept at a distance from each other. From time to time changes in the locality and number of the buildings and establishments required for these purposes have been made, to meet the increase in the number and the changes in the character of the persons to be provided for.[2]

The poor and criminals of the city of Boston are now maintained in nine separate institutions under the care of twelve Directors for Public Institutions, chosen by the city council: (1) For male paupers at Rainsford Island, and (2) for females at Austin Farm in West Roxbury, and (3) for both sexes in Charlestown; (4 and 5) the schools for boys and girls at Marcella Street, with (6) the House of Industry and (7) the House of Reformation for juvenile offenders at Deer Island, and (8) the Lunatic

[1] Quincy's *Municipal History*, p. 123.

[2] In 1839 the Lunatic Hospital at South Boston was opened. In 1872 Rainsford Island was purchased from the State, and the male paupers were removed to that place. The Austin Farm at West Roxbury was purchased in 1873, and opened for adult female paupers in 1877. In 1877 the Marcella Street Home, so called, for poor and neglected children, was opened for boys in a building formerly used as the Roxbury Almshouse, subsequently enlarged and refitted; and in 1881 the girls of that class were also placed in a neighboring building. Charlestown, Dorchester, and Brighton, as separate municipalities, each had formerly their respective almshouses. That of the first, built in 1849, is still occupied for the poor only; and the buildings used for this purpose in Dorchester and Brighton are now occupied for other purposes.

Hospital and (9) House of Correction at South Boston. To these may be added the City Hospital on Harrison Avenue for ordinary curable diseases not contagious, under the care of a separate Board of Trustees, chosen in the same manner, begun in 1861 and opened for patients in 1864.

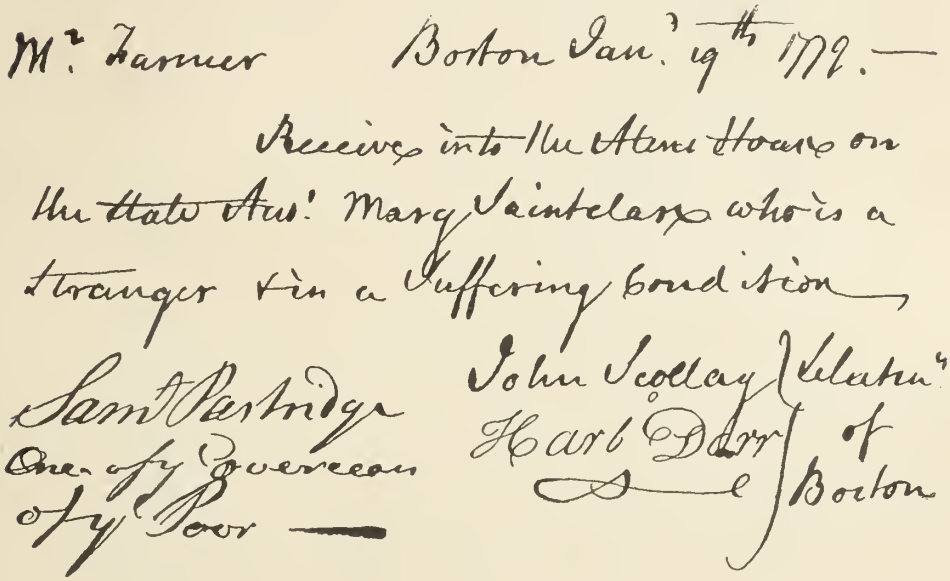
A large and convenient building designated as the Charity Bureau, on Chardon Street, the origin of which is narrated hereafter, is occupied by the overseers of the poor, the city physician, and several charitable associations or agencies. The city Temporary Home, under the care of the overseers, adjoins this building, and there meals are given to poor persons, and women and children are temporarily cared for. At the Lodge for Wayfarers, near by, on Hawkins Street, also under the care of this Board, casual persons in need are received on due examination, and provided with a bath, a neat bed, and a meal, for which they are required to perform a certain amount of labor.

The overseers of the poor were originally, and until 1864, chosen annually by the people, and after the act of 1735 one in each ward. In 1864 an act was passed providing for the choice of four each year by the city council, without regard to locality, for periods of three years; but the same powers, except by the change referred to in 1823, have been exercised by the same number of persons, and the early dignity of the office and the character of its incumbents were restored by this change in the mode of choice. None of the officials who have administered the affairs of the town or city have, for the greater part of its existence, deserved better the gratitude and good opinion of their fellow-citizens. The poor we have always with us, and they have been faithfully cared for by those who have administered the charity of its citizens, both that provided by law and levied upon the ready or reluctant tax-payer, and that of the cheerful giver, voluntarily bestowed.

Rules to determine the settlement of paupers, — that is to say, the town or other organization by which they should be supported, — were from time to time established, and provision made for the determination of disputes in reference to this subject. In 1659 it was enacted "that where any person with his family, or in case he hath no family, shall be resident in any town or peculiar of this jurisdiction for more than three months, without notice given to such person or persons, . . . that the town is not willing that they should remain as an inhabitant amongst them;" or if they remained after such notice, without an application by the selectmen to the next county court for relief, such person or persons should be provided for by that place. The county courts were to determine complaints of this nature, subject to an appeal to the Court of Assistants. If no place was so liable, the pauper was to be supported at the expense of the county by such town thereof as the county court should designate. In 1675 this provision was modified in cases where the sufferers had been "forced from their habitations through the present calamity of the war;"[1]

[1] With King Philip.

and the burden of their support, "where necessity requires, by reason of inability of relations," etc., was thrown upon "the publick treasury."[1]



As early as 1767 it was provided that the cost of removing poor persons not settled in Massachusetts but in some other province or colony, if not paid by themselves, should be borne by the province;[2] and in 1794, by a general act in regard to the "Relief and support, employment and removal of the Poor," provision was made for the removal of poor persons having no lawful settlement in the State, or their support at the expense of the Commonwealth.[3]

The laws in regard to the settlement of poor persons have led to much controversy and litigation. The natural tendency of the pauper class to the largest cities and towns has made it for the interest of Boston to oppose the easy acquisition of a settlement; but the course of legislation has tended to facilitate it. The early records of towns contain frequent evidence of the caution with which their officers endeavored to prevent new possible burdens upon their treasuries.[4] One of the early modes of obtaining a settlement was by a residence for a certain period, — first three, and afterward twelve months, without warning; and new comers were promptly and habitually warned, in a manner which seems most inhospitable. This measure was designed to protect the town from possible future liability.

[1] *Ancient Charters*, p. 174.

[2] Ibid., p. 663.

[3] Statute, 1793, c. 59. The rules of settlement have varied at different periods, becoming much more complicated and stringent than the simple provision of 1639; but where these have not designated the place obliged to support the pauper, his support, since this act at least, has been derived from the Commonwealth; and this distinction has created the two classes of State paupers and town paupers.

[4] [See Vol. I. p. 229. — Ed.]

The citizens of Boston watched with careful scrutiny those who came to reside among them.[1] None were permitted to remain without their assent, given sometimes upon assurance that the burden of supporting the new comer and his family would not fall upon the community. To protect the town he was warned out and reported to the Board of Quarter Sessions.[2] A volume still preserved in the city records contains "A list of severall ppsons returned to ye countie courts at severall times, not admitted nor aproved of by ye Selectmen of Boston to be inhabitants of ye towne." Another comprises a number of the bonds given to protect the town from risk of expenditure for the support of new inhabitants.[3] As Hubbard says, in reference to religious persecution: —

"The inhabitants of the place having purchased the country for themselves, they accounted it an unreasonable injury for any one to come presumptuously without license or allowance to live amongst them; . . . and theretofore thought themselves bound to hold out the sharp against any one that should attempt, without leave, to thrust themselves amongst them, which renders them that obstinately and wilfully would do so *felones de se*, like them that will break into a man's dwelling-house whether he will or no."

This feature of New England life deserves more attention than it has yet received. It is referred to here in connection with the system for the sup-

[1] "From about 1713, it was the custom of the overseers with one or more of His Majesty's justices, accompanied by a constable, to walk through the different parts of the town, observing the condition of the people for themselves, sometimes making an appointment to go at night. At the same time it was the duty of the constables to keep a good lookout that no strangers were allowed to gain a settlement by lack of being warned out, and that none of the inhabitants were idle or unthrifty. After the visits, when necessary, the Justices and Overseers sat as a Court to pass upon what they had observed, or what had been reported to them.

"'*Extracts from Minutes and Votes* — 1702 *and* 1703: At a Prosession of the Overseers of the Poor, July 21, 1702, Goody Crease, her circumstances Enquired into. Esther Sigsworth and her three daughters are reported not to imploy themselves in an Honest Imploy answerable to their way of liveing, and that they Entertain in their House Company dancing at night. William Gowers his Circumstances Considered. Upon Enformation that a boy of Goody Kitchens lives disorderly that case was enquired into. Henry Adams his condition was consulted.'"

Report of Constable, 1703.

"'Thare is, in Bill's hous in black hors lane, widdow Grees & her darter in law and her one darter, — her name is Mary Grees. It is said by soum of her neighbors that said Mary will stand at the door and call in Saillors as they pass by.

"'There lives in the hous that was old Stars his darter ruth harden & his grand darter ruth harden It is reported by sum that know the grand darter that she seldom works at all, and when she does it is only at making of lace.

"'Sum say that manger Arnell, in black hors lane, lives a rude, Idle life.

"'There lives neer Mr. Increase Mathers widow Clark and her darter, and Tamzen Kents darter. It is reported that they live Idle and keep bad order.'" — *Annual Report of the Overseers of the Poor*, 1876, pp. 42, 43.

The following document found among the papers of the Overseers of the Poor furnishes evidence of the medical skill of their officers as well as of their efforts to secure the repayment of expenses incurred by the town: —

Boston, ffeb. 16, 1703-4.

Whereas the town of Boston hath expended upon me the underwritten (considerably) in order to curing me of a cancer, I do hereby promis and ingage to pay to the Treasurer of the town of Boston, in behalfe of said town, the sum of five pounds curr^t^ money of New England as soon as it shall pleas God to inable me therto, and not to before.

Francis Thrasher, The mark of
Rob^t^. Calef, John ‡ Lattany.

[2] *Ancient Charters*, pp. 174, 251.

[3] The following is a copy of the first bond in the volume: —

"Witnesse these presents, that I, Edward Creeke of Boston, doe binde myself, my executors & administrat^s^, to Thomas Brattle, Treasurer of this towne, and his succesers in that office, in the penall sume of fortie pounds, that Benjamine Walter or any of his ffamily shall not be chargeable to this towne duringe his or any of their abode therein.

"Witnesse my hand, the 7th day of Aug., 1679.

"Benja. Walter. Edward Creeke."

The last bears date Oct. 9, 1700.

There were provisions also for the removal or banishment of the intruder from the town. See *Ancient Charters*, pp. 252, 662, 674.

port of the poor. They were cared for faithfully and tenderly, but great caution was exerted in admitting to the number of the townsmen those for whose benefit the risk of this burden was assumed. The obligation assumed by these sponsors was not lost sight of, as the following copy of a letter from the beginning of the volume already quoted may show: —

Boston, 3 May, 1692.

James Barbor, — the Reson of these few Lines are to acquaint you that your father, John Barbor, is come to Boston, and being by the Selectmen of Boston Demanded to give a Reson thereof, he saith you haue not been kind to him, but macketh him worcke two or three miles abrode, which is burdensoum to him, and more than he can do in his old age; the select of Boston do Require you as you will keep your Couinant which you maid with them 27 Octob. 90, To come and Tacke Caire of your ffather, or ealse you may expect wee shall prossecute the Law upon you.

These Lines are by order of the Selectmen of Boston.

Joseph Bridgham, *Record^r*.

A coppy of a
Letter to James Barbor.

The modern system of charity, which invokes for each applicant for relief the special attention and care of some voluntary moral and friendly sponsor, has brought us back in another form to the plan which our ancestors adopted as a matter of business caution.

On the "28th 6 mo. 1654," "Itt is ordered y^t^, upon the Security of Hugh Willms, Mary Hayle is admitted to reside with us, the sayd Williams ingaging y^t^ she shall not be chargeable to the towne." Three years after, Mr. Samuel Cole was most sharply reminded that, whereas he had "intertained Elizabeth Knap[1] into his house contrary to the order of y^e^ towne, and y^e^ s^d^ Elizabeth yett remaynes in this towne; itt is ordered y^t^ in case y^e^ s^d^ Elizabeth proove to bee chargeable to y^e^ towne, such charges bee required of Mr. Cole from time to time as first receiving her." And the very next month "Derman Mahoone is fined twenty shillings for intertaining two Irish women contrary to an order of y^e^ towne in y^t^ case provided; & is to quitt his house of them forthw^th^ att his perill."[2]

[1] Was this, perchance, Elizabeth Knap the "Ventriloqua" of Groton, referred to in Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences?* [See Vol II. p. 159. — Ed.]

[2] One of the cases arising in the courts under these provisions of law records a history which might have furnished a subject for a tale by Hawthorne or a poem by Whittier, and illustrates curiously the religious as well as the social history and habits of the time.

A controversy arose between the towns of Newbury and Harvard as to expenses incurred in the support of a pauper who was a granddaughter of Shadrach Ireland, a teacher of certain peculiar doctrines in religion. Ireland fled from Charlestown in 1760 to Harvard, to avoid a prosecution for blasphemy, and lived there in privacy till 1780, in the house of one of his followers named Cooper, in a retired place.

He occupied a chamber in Cooper's house, from which a string connected with a clapper passed into the room occupied by the family, and when any person approached the house the string was pulled to give him notice. He had also a place in the barn to which he occasionally retired for greater privacy, and was not called by his proper name, but sometimes "brother," "uncle," "Uncle Jewett," or "the man." Sometime after he had resided there a back lean-to was erected, in which he worked at his business of cabinet-making, and a cellar under it was connected by stairs with his chamber, so that he

In 1876 a commission of three persons was appointed by the mayor, under an order of the city council, to consider and report upon the treatment of the poor, and to ascertain what changes, if any, were desirable in reference to their relief, maintenance, and employment. This commission submitted a report in 1878, containing statements and information in regard to the manner and cost of poor-relief. They pointed out what seemed to them to be the defects in the existing system, — the want of information on important points, and the large expenditure incurred, — and recommended various changes.[1]

could go down unobserved. He never ate with the family, but alone in his chamber; and when he happened to be out of the house and a stranger was there, some one of the family was sent to tell him that he might come in privately. He often went to the house of one Willard, a neighbor and one of his followers, but always in the evening, and on approaching the house made a signal, on which some one would go out to him, and if only members of the family were in the house he would go in. His followers used to visit him, and he would converse with them and exhort them.

After he had resided there ten or twelve years he purchased a parcel of land from Willard, on which his followers built him a house, where he resided during the remainder of his life, still keeping his true name a secret, and seeing no persons except his followers.

The court were of opinion that no settlement was acquired by such concealed residence without warning, and remarked that "if a person should conceal himself in a cave like some of King Charles's judges, the town being ignorant of it, could not warn him to depart, and ought not to be charged for his support." See the case of Newbury *v.* Harvard, in 6 *Pickering's Reports*, p. 1.

[1] These were as follows: —

1. That all public agencies for the relief of the poor, both adults and children, at the expense of the city, should be placed under the supervision and control of one responsible body, — the Overseers of the Poor, — except

2. That the City Hospital, the Lunatic Hospital, if retained, and the proposed institution for inebriates, if established, should be under the control and management of one board of trustees, subject to the provisions recommended as to investigating the cases aided, and obtaining compensation whenever authorized by law.

3. That additional powers for the permanent aid and care of children should be obtained, and that they should be kept in smaller numbers and establishments, on the "family system," and instructed and trained to labor, or placed in families.

4. That out-door relief from funds raised by taxation should be administered by the overseers in strict conformity with the law, under rules substantially refusing such relief, —(*a*) to all adults, not incapacitated for labor, whose destitution is caused by their own intemperance, crime, or other fault, of which the overseers must judge; (*b*) who have for a short and fixed period required such aid to an amount exceeding some fixed and moderate sum; (*c*) even for this period, unless in the opinion of the overseers clearly advisable and not injurious; (*d*) and even to those who are unable to labor, except in cases where humanity requires temporary aid to those suffering from disease or accident, or where deserving persons, particularly the aged, may be partially and economically provided for without disturbing their family relations, or impairing the self-respect and self-dependence of those around them.

5. That when such aid is refused, however, in-door relief should be always given; but to persons able to labor, only on the performance of such labor, in some suitable place, and in an almshouse to others.

6. Provided that the income of trust-funds, given for charitable purposes, should be used, subject to the limitations imposed by the donors, for cases which require relaxation of these rules.

7. That compensation by labor should be required in all cases, as far as practicable, for in or out-door relief.

8. That the overseers should be required to investigate and record the facts in regard to all persons aided as poor in or out of any institution, to take the necessary steps to obtain compensation for the relief afforded, — (*a*) from relatives, (*b*) other places, (*c*) or the State; and to enforce the laws in regard to vagrancy in cases coming under their official notice.

9. That the persons receiving in-door relief should be separated and classified according to age, sex, character, and condition of body.

10. That the necessary means and authority should be provided for requiring labor from all those who are assisted for any length of time and are able to work, and for setting at hard labor, under restraint in a house of industry,

Since that date one of these recommendations — a provision for casuals — has been successfully adopted. An excellent establishment called the Lodge for Wayfarers, on Hawkins Street, has been provided, where the wandering poor are received, examined, cleansed, fed, kept in order, and made to work. Continued and increased efforts have been made to classify the poor and provide employment for them. The organization of the Associated Charities has aided to bring public and private agencies for relief into closer union. Poor persons, however, in and out of a public institution are under the care and management of different boards, and when they pass under the roof of a public building, although separated in locality from criminals, they are still with them under the care of the same board.

The expenditures of Boston for the poor are believed to exceed the average of those in other cities and towns in this State or elsewhere.[1] On the whole, public and private charities are more carefully and wisely administered; but the faithful efforts which have caused this improvement are still demanded.[2]

those who fall within the provisions of law as to vagrancy or misconduct themselves, under the care of the overseers.

11. That provision should be made for the temporary care of casual paupers, or the wandering poor, in some establishment where they will be cleansed, fed, kept in order, isolated, and made to work, and means adopted for registering, identifying, and tracing them if necessary.

12 That provision should be made, in order to assist both public and private almoners of charity, for the collection and registration and communication of information in regard to all means, public and private, of aiding the poor and destitute; and, in regard to the person aided, with a view to securing the systematic co-operation of all officers required, and of all private persons desirous to give such aid, in directing it to those really needy and deserving, in the most effective and economical manner.

13. That all officials charged with the expenditure of public moneys for the poor should be required to keep their accounts and make their reports so as to show as far as possible the causes of pauperism, its increase or diminution, and the effect of the system, adopted in its management, on the persons aided or the public expenditure, and the actual cost for the various leading items of the actual maintenance of the poor. *Report of the Commission on the Treatment of the Poor*, City Doc. 36, of 1878, p. 38.

[1] The average cost of the full support of a pauper for a year was as follows: —

	In Boston	*In the rest of the State*
1874	$204.12	$126.57
1875	204.81	155.71
1876	166.06	142.34
1877	167.90	134.41

It is not so easy to compare the cost of partial support or out-door relief. Full support is a definite subject of comparison, but partial support may be greater or less; so that it does not appear whether the average cost was for a greater or less amount of average relief in or out of Boston. The following would seem to indicate a smaller average cost per person aided in the city: —

Number of persons receiving partial support during the year ending March 31, 1876, by the city of Boston	18,339
Vagrants partially supported by Boston	1,952
Lodgers at police stations	60,803
	81,094
Cost of partial support	$105,586.23
Overseers' salaries and miscellaneous expenses	22,569.23
	$128,155.46
Less amount reimbursed by State and town	30,576.02
Net cost of partial support	$97,579.44
The State, outside of Boston and not including said city, gave partial support to (persons)	47,649
The State, outside of Boston and not including said city, also gave partial support to (vagrants)	146,984
Total number receiving partial support	194,633
Net cost of partial support afforded to the above 194,633 persons	$491,387.79

[2] One great want is a more thorough, complete, and accurate collection of the statistics both of public and private charity, from which the causes of pauperism may be deduced, and the amount and modes of relief given, and its distribution, be gathered. A certain reluctance is sometimes manifested on the part of excellent persons to give this information.*

Our ancestors early recognized the importance of some public control over gifts for pub-

* See p. 669.

II. Funds or Contributions Intrusted to Public Officers. — The citizens of Boston manifested at an early period their "good affection to the plantation and the propagation thereof," by contributions intrusted to the public authorities for "poor families, . . . and other public and necessary occasions."

The earliest provision of this character for the poor of Boston, of which there is any authentic record, is in the will of Stephen Winthrop,[1] dated May 3, 1658.

William Paddy's legacy of "fifteene pounds" is the first to appear upon the records of the town under the date of "29, 9, 58" (Nov. 29, 1658). Between that date and 1697 many others are specified or alluded to, such as different legacies, "with severall other gifts that were given for the erecting of an Allmshouse." The town seems to have relied upon its citizens for voluntary contributions for these purposes, although the "inhabitants" did not hesitate to levy a "benevolence" if it became necessary, since we find them voting in 1684, when "the workehouse" was "yet unfinished, . . . in regard that many that have subscribed their free contribution toward it have not paid, and others have refused to contribute at all," that "the Committee be impowered to make a rate upon the estates of them y^t^ refuse to contribute at all, and put into the said rate the subscriptione of those y^t^ have not paid." And in the act of 1735, already referred to, the town is "authorized to make purchases and receive donations for endowing the said workehouse to the value of three thousand pounds per annum; . . . the several donations to be always applied according to the will of the Donors."

In 1674 the Charlestown Poor's Fund was founded, which now amounts to about $25,000, and is administered by the two senior deacons of each regularly organized church in Charlestown and the Charlestown members of the Boston City Council. In 1701 the Stoughton Poor Fund was established for the Dorchester poor; and in 1759 a Poor Widows' Fund, now administered by the Board of Aldermen, was given by Joanna Brooker and others to the town of Boston. Donations for the poor in Boston became so

lic uses, and in 1641 * enacted "that all gifts and legacies given and bequeathed to the College, Schools of learning, or any publick use, shall be truly and faithfully disposed of according to the true and declared intent of the donors. And all and every person or persons betrusted to receive or improve any such gifts or legacies shall be liable from time to time to give account of their disposal and management thereof to the County Court of that Shire where they dwell, and where such estate shall lie, who are hereby empowered to require the same where need shall be, and to appoint feoffees of trust to settle and manage the same according to the will of the donors."

Protection and investigation are still secured for funds bequeathed to a city or town for charitable, religious, and educational purposes; † and for a short period corporations and trustees under acts of incorporation, holding funds in trust for such purposes, were required by a law of the Commonwealth * to report to the Secretary of State. These acts, however, were repealed in 1866,† and there is now no public source of information or control as to funds held by individuals or private corporations, except through the action of a Court in special cases.

[1] He was the fourth son of Governor Winthrop; recorder of the town of Boston, and, after his return to England, colonel of a regiment under Cromwell, and a member of one of his parliaments. "So much trusted by Cromwell that he designed, it is said, to appoint him successor to Major-General Harrison." — Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*, iv. 613.

* *Ancient Charters*, p. 52. † *Gen. Sts*, c. 30. * *Sts.*, 1860, c. 239; 1865, c. 271. † *St*, 1866, c. 75.

numerous that less than forty years after the act of 1735, by an act passed in 1772, reciting that many charitably disposed persons had made or were inclined to make donations for the poor, but that the overseers of the poor not being incorporated these good intentions were frustrated, the overseers were made a body politic with the power to hold and apply these and other gifts "for the benefit, advantage, and use of" the poor, limiting their right to hold property at that time to the amount of £60,000.[1]

Since that time numerous gifts for different purposes have been added from time to time, until the total amount held by the overseers on April 30, 1881, amounted to $525,827.91, including $8,087.91 in cash, the remainder in investments reckoned at their par value. Among these the generous gifts of John Boylston for aged persons, orphans, and deserted children, called the Boylston Relief and Education funds, amounting to $134,983.49; and of David Sears, for various charitable purposes, amounting to $257,502.81, — deserve particular mention.

Other charitable gifts have been intrusted to public authorities for management and control, — such as the bequest of Benjamin Franklin (1791), for loans to young married artificers, now amounting to about $250,000, in charge chiefly of the Board of Aldermen. The Boston City Hospital, mainly supported by the city, and the Chardon Street Charity Bureau, were also aided by private donations; and the Public Library is largely indebted to the generosity of Joshua Bates and others.[2]

III. Private Charitable Institutions. — In the recent *Directory of the Charitable and Beneficent Organizations of Boston*, issued by one of the societies called the Associated Charities, the different organizations are divided into twelve classes: 1. Industrial; 2. Government aid; 3. Relief irrespective of class; 4. Relief for special classes; 5. Aid for foreigners; 6. Sick and defective; 7. Fruit and flower missions; 8. Homes; 9. Reform; 10. Humane; 11. Mutual benefit; 12. Educational and religious, including churches, — comprising a total number of 487. It appears that there are 187 different charitable agencies recorded, besides 46 mutual-benefit societies, 219 churches and chapels, and 35 colleges, schools, libraries, museums,

[1] The earliest of these gifts to the overseers, mentioned on their records, has a certain romantic interest, and offers a striking illustration of the uncertainties of life. In 1760 a person, whose name remains to this day unknown, placed in the hands of the overseers a sum of money to be held by them, and "only the interest arising thereon to be by them given to such Person or Persons of good character who, by the Providence of God, have been reduced from affluence or good circumstances to Penury and Want." Twenty-five years after, the donor, in his own words, was "by the providence of God called to solicit that charity which he once little expected to want."

The Board aided him from the funds in their hands, and, respecting his reluctance to permit the disclosure of his name, recorded their gifts as made to "A. B., known by the Board to be the person who, under that signature, gave £66 13*s.* 4*d.* into the hands of the overseers, . . . he being now reduced, and is a real object of the charity which his benevolence first instituted." This donation now forms part of what is called in the overseers' accounts the "Pemberton or General Fund," and may be considered its foundation, although the gift of Benjamin Pemberton, an overseer in 1708, from whom this title is taken, was much larger. See his autograph on p. 647.

[2] [See chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

missionary and tract societies, etc., assigned to the class designated as "educational and religious." Multiplied by their different objects, — that is, counting each institution in all the classes to which it belongs, — these agencies are increased to 695.

Omitting the churches, the mutual-benefit societies, and the State and national charities, but counting some charities entered in the *Directory* as sub-headings, we find that the Charities of Boston include 176 voluntary organizations for numerous and varied purposes, in addition to 13 established funds or charities intrusted to the public authorities for administration, and 30 public institutions supported by taxes, while the churches and religious associations are also large almoners of charity. It is not easy to classify these institutions with exactness. Some which it has not been thought proper to include in this enumeration, — such as libraries and purely educational institutions, — are founded and supported largely by voluntary gifts, in part appropriated to the assistance of pupils; and are therefore fairly included in a catalogue of the good works and alms-giving of Boston.[1]

These institutions have rapidly increased with the population and wealth of the city, and the last decade, 1870–80, has given birth to sixty-six of the one hundred and seventy-six referred to. Dividing the two hundred and fifty years, which our Memorial volumes cover, into successive periods,[2] we find that these were established or founded as follows: —

Period.	Years.	Government charities supported by taxes.	Funds or gifts intrusted to the public authorities by individuals.	Private charitable institutions.	Total.
1630 — 1700	70	3	1	2	6
1700 — 1750	50	. . .	1	2	3
1750 — 1775	25	. . .	2	. . .	2
1775 — 1800	25	. . .	4	5	9
1800 — 1810	10	1	. . .	2	3
1810 — 1820	10	. . .	1	13	14
1820 — 1830	10	3	. . .	5	8
1830 — 1840	10	1	1	13	15
1840 — 1850	10	4	. . .	8	12
1850 — 1860	10	2	1	21	24
1860 — 1870	10	6	2	35	43
1870 — 1880	10	9 *	. . .	66	75
1880 — 1881	1	1	. . .	4	5
Total	251	30	13	176	219

* Including Truant School department.

Note. — The date of the removal or division of an almshouse is counted as a new institution.

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education, Past and Present," and the instances of organized charities under woman's control in Mrs. Cheney's chapter on "The Women of Boston." — Ed.]

[2] Adding the current year.

This catalogue of names, which fills over one hundred pages of the *Directory*, shows, like Homer's catalogue of the Grecian ships gathered for another warfare, how heartily and readily the men and women of Boston have joined with each other in the great siege, which has been bequeathed from sire to son, of the fortresses of poverty, ignorance, and crime. It is obviously impossible to give the briefest history of all these institutions. A few representatives only can be selected.

At a meating the 6 of January 1657

we whose names are vndermritton . being all or the most part present did agree and Conclude for the releefe of our selues and any other for the which we may see Cause (to make a box) and every one of vs to giue as god shall moue our harts whose blessing and Direction we doe from our harts desyre to haue from him (who is able to doe abundantly aboue all that we are able to ask or think) both in the beginning and managing of that which we doe intend and therefore that we may express our Intentions and become our owne Interpretors.

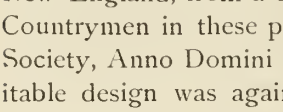
. . . . . .

we haue agreed that is to say that we whose names are Inserted in this booke doe and will by gods assistance giue as god will moue vs and as our ability will beare at our first entring but is agreed that none giue less at there first entring then twelue pence and then quarterly to pay six pence and that this our benevolence is for the releefe of our selues poore Scottishmen or for any of the Scottish nation whome we may see Cause to helpe not excluding the prudentiall.

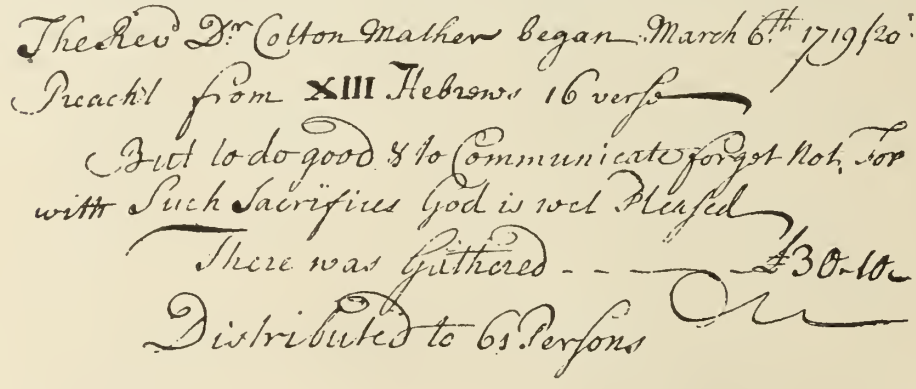
First among them in date is the "Scots' Charitable Society," which has the proud pre-eminence of a history almost coeval with the city, and preceding by sixty-three years its nearest successor. "In 1652 . . . the ship 'John and Sara' arrived, bringing two hundred and seventy-two Scotchmen who had been taken prisoners at the disastrous battle of Dunbar, where four thousand fell and ten thousand became prisoners of war to Cromwell. As the shortest way of disposing of these they were shipped off to the colonies, there to be sold for service for a longer or shorter period as the case might be.[1] Five years after, in 1657,—for its history in brief to this

[1] Address of its president at the bi-centennial celebration in 1857, in the *Constitution and By-laws of the Scots' Charitable Society*, 1878, p. 146. "In the 'Jno. & Sara,' of London, John Greene, mr for New England, Robert Rich, mrt Iron-worke, & household Stuffe, & other

date can best be given in the quaint words of its records,— Some Gentlemen Merchants and others of the Scots' Nation residing in Boston, New England, from a compassionate concern & affection to their indigent Countrymen in these parts, voluntarily formed themselves into a charitable Society, Anno Domini 1657. which did subsist some years. . . . This charitable design was again revived Anno Domini 1684; their Number and Abilities being considerably increased;" and "This Society has ever since without interruption been continued & promoted to the Compassionate and Seasonable Relief of many."[1] And now besides its annual subscription it has a permanent fund, a temporary home for its beneficiaries, and a resting-place for them after death in the cemetery at Mt. Auburn. And while its members are proud of its association with their mother-country, "it would," in the words of Edward Everett, "be doing injustice to a society of this description, though it may bear a foreign name, to regard it as an institution of foreigners;" injustice, we may add, to the city which recognizes it as its earliest organized charity, and first among the twelve associations designed especially for the relief of persons of other nations, — British, Irish, German, French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, Hebrew, Scandinavian, and Swiss.


Robert porteous[2]

The next-born manifestation of permanent and organized private charity in Boston was the "Quarterly Charity Lecture," so called, founded by a few persons who held quarterly meetings on Sunday evenings for benevolent purposes, at which some member was invited to preach. The record of these meetings begins in 1720, when it was determined to invite the ministers of the town to take their turns in this service. On March 6, 1720,


The Rev Dr Cotton Mather began March 6th 1719/20:
Preach'd from XIII Hebrews 16 verse
But to do good & to Communicate forget Not, for
with Such Sacrifices God is well Pleased
There was Gathered - - - - £30-10
Distributed to 61 Persons

Cotton Mather commenced the long succession which continued until 1860, when the quarterly lecture became annual; but the charity, its fund, and its lecture still exist, and its record bears many honored names. Eight Congregational churches, with their ministers and deacons, are associated

provisions for Planters and Scotch prisoners, free by ordinance of Parliament, dat 20th October, 1651."—*Suffolk Deeds*, lib. 1, fol. 6.

[1] *Constitution*, etc., p. 47.

[2] Autograph of Robert Porteous, the first "boxmaister" or treasurer, elected Jan. 6, 1657.

for its maintenance, and hold and distribute its charity. There are two funds for the benefit of the poor of Boston, yielding from $1,500 to $1,800 yearly, and it is required that these should be distributed at the lecture, and a collection taken up at least annually. The Charity Lecture is the earliest of nineteen private charitable institutions or funds designed for the poor in general, irrespective of class.

The Massachusetts General Hospital is the earliest establishment of that description, and the largest charity of its class in the State. It was incorporated in 1811, and up to 1881 had received at its asylum for the insane in Somerville, opened in 1818, 6,556 patients; at its hospital in Boston, opened in 1821, 64,420; and had administered relief at the latter to 235,818 out-patients. It has received donations amounting to $2,586,924, besides a subscription of nearly $100,000 for a Convalescent Hospital. Twenty-seven private and three public or government hospitals and dispensaries carry on this benevolent work for the sick and defective classes within the limits of Boston or in its vicinity. These institutions, especially the first, have not only administered relief to the sick, suffering, and poor, but have largely aided scientific discovery and professional education.[1]

Successive years record the birth, among the more important of these institutions, of the Eye and Ear Infirmary, in 1824; of the Institution for the Blind, in 1829; the Lying-in Hospital, in 1832; the House of the Good Samaritan, in 1860; the New England Hospital for Women and Children, in 1863; the various institutions of the "work of faith" begun by Dr. Cullis in 1864; and the Adams Nervine Asylum, in 1877.

The Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind deserves especial mention. It preserves the name of a citizen of Boston who was one of the first to set the example of the generous gifts which we are proud to recall,[2] and it must be forever associated with the untiring devotion of Samuel G. Howe, whose studies and labors have made philanthropy

> "On darkling man in pure effulgence shine,
> And cheer the clouded mind with light divine."

Since its foundation at least twenty-nine similar institutions, established in as many different States, have given the light of instruction to some eight thousand pupils.

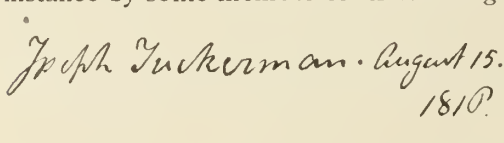
[1] It should never be forgotten that in the Massachusetts General Hospital the success of the great discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether was first established and publicly and experimentally demonstrated to the world. [See the chapter on "Medicine in Boston" in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Of Mr. Perkins, Robert C. Winthrop said, after his decease: "He was one of the noblest specimens of humanity to which our city has ever given birth, leading the way for half a century in every generous enterprise, and setting one of the earliest examples of those munificent charities which have given our city a name and a praise throughout the earth." — *Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins*, by Thomas G. Cary: Boston, 1856, p. 258. [His portrait is given on p. 118. — Ed.]

Another class is that of the Homes for the aged, for orphans, and the infirm, which take the place in private charity that the almshouse holds in public institutions. Of these the Boston Female Asylum, established in 1800, was the first; and now some thirty-three establishments of this class open their doors for those in need, from helpless infancy to homeless age. In addition to three organizations or foundations for improved dwellings for the poor, the Industrial Aid Society, 1835, and the Needlewoman's Friend Society. 1847, are the leaders of thirteen different organizations designed to assist in providing employment. There are twenty-one establishments to promote reform, like the Penitent Female's Refuge, 1818, and the Society for Aiding Discharged Convicts, 1846; and five institutions to save life or prevent suffering, like the Humane Society of Massachusetts,[1] and that for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1868. To these may be added those designed for mutual benefit, — the oldest of which is the Masonic Fraternity, — and those for educational and religious purposes.

At an early period the exertions of the charitable citizens of Boston were devoted to the object which modern charity considers the wisest mode of giving aid, — helping the poor to help themselves, by providing employment for them and making them independent of alms-giving. A society was established in 1749 for encouraging industry and employing the poor. At first it seemed to meet with no little success. It produced what was called the Spinning Craze, described elsewhere in this work,[2] and caused the erection of a building, long famous in the town; but the institution continued but a few years, and the building was finally disposed of for other purposes.

In 1827 the Young Men's Benevolent Society was established under the restriction that no relief should be given without an actual visit in the first instance by some member of its standing committee. The labors of Joseph Tuckerman for the elevation of the poor, in the "Ministry at large," and for the promotion, not merely of religious offices and instruction for the poor, but in great measure for their more judicious treatment, and the history of such establishments as the Benevolent Fraternity of churches, city missions, and free chapels deserve all the space allotted to our subject and more commendation than can be compressed into these lines.



In 1851 the Boston Provident Association was formed, designed to embrace a larger field of operation and based upon the principle of careful investigation by friendly visitation and inquiry. The city was divided into districts, to each of which a visitor was assigned, by whom a limited amount

[1] Incorporated in 1791, "for the recovery of persons who meet with such accidents as produce in them the appearance of death, and for promoting the cause of humanity by pursuing such means from time to time as shall have for their object the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries," and well known for its rewards and provisions, especially on the sea-coast, for saving life.

[2] [See Vol. II. pp. 72, 461, 462, 511 — Ed.]

of aid was given and reports made as a guide for further action. The excellent principles upon which this organization was founded, and the character of the men engaged in its administration at once secured the favor and liberal support of the community. Its managers perceived the great importance of the harmonious and concurrent action of the various charitable agencies of the city upon some system by which the knowledge and investigation of each might be made available for all; and Robert C. Winthrop, then president, early recommended that a central building should be provided for the overseers of the poor, and voluntary charitable organizations, where they might easily communicate with each other and act in concert,[1] — and ultimately such a building, finished in 1868, now designated as the "Charity Building," was erected on Chardon Street, partly by voluntary subscriptions, but mainly at the cost of the city, where the overseers of the poor, the city physician, and a number[2] of private charitable organizations or agencies have offices and easy opportunities for immediate conference. A further advance was made in 1879 by the establishment of the "Associated Charities of Boston," designed to bring all the charitable agencies of the city into closer co-operation, and especially to aid the citizens of Boston to make use of these agencies readily and understandingly. This society has already done admirable service. Its object is to help the poor to help themselves; to guide them to relief, if possible by their own exertions, but if it is necessary, and only while it is necessary, to the sources of relief which already exist in abundance, and to detect imposture and prevent pauperism.

IV. General Unorganized Charities and Contributions to the Distressed of other Parts. — An examination of the files of a Boston newspaper for the last sixty-nine years (1813–1880) displays the varied forms in which the charity of its citizens has constantly manifested itself, and illustrates its growth in the wealth which supplies the means for gifts to relieve the misfortunes and sufferings which, like this charity, know no limit in time or place.

> "By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more in meats and drinks, . . .
> . . . All maladies
> Of ghastly spasm or racking torture,
> . . . . . .
> Demoniac frensy, moping melancholy,
> And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
> . . . and wide wasting pestilence."

The voluntary gifts, in addition to the public expenditures, for education exceed those for any other special purpose. "War and soldiers" hold the next rank. Hospitals and gifts for the afflicted, — for religion, seamen, fires,

[1] In his words: "An edifice dedicated and consecrated to the care of the destitute, . . . whose object and occupation . . . give it a beauty above any architectural embellishment." ("Memorial of the officers of the Boston Provident Association.") — See *Annual Report*, 1875.

[2] Eleven, at present, are represented in the building.

famines, floods and pestilence, — are all conspicuous. The blind, the aged, the orphan, the dumb and the deaf are remembered, and no part of the world is neglected. A famine in Ireland, the Azores, or Syria; a revolution in Greece; the yellow-fever in Memphis; a rebellion in Crete; sufferings by war in France; conflagrations in the United States and elsewhere; an earthquake in Chios; a captured fugitive slave; a destitute laborer suffering from an accident; a poor woman who has lost her purse, — every form of suffering, deprivation, loss, or destitution promptly call forth the gifts of those who do not yet stay their constant contributions for science, education, or religion, or the numerous objects which demand for their support the steady flow of voluntary beneficence. To send the missionary and the schoolmaster abroad, Boston is always ready. In this mode alone there appear to be recorded —

Gifts for purposes within the city of Boston	$14,995,200
Gifts for purposes without the city of Boston	3,767,756
Total	$18,762,956[1]

Divided as follows: —

For general and miscellaneous purposes	$9,592,334
For educational purposes	5,979,036
For war and soldiers	1,863,446
For religious purposes	1,212,755
For individuals	115.384
For sufferers by fires (included in the above)	1,187.937

It gives no sufficient idea of these gifts to record these figures and the names of the givers or sufferers. The friendly rivalry, the public opinion which encourages the willing and stimulates the reluctant, the silent sympathy and the unvalued time, labor, and actual expenditure of money in obtaining and transmitting such contributions cannot be recorded; and these figures are not offered as an exhibition or even as an approximate statement of the voluntary contributions actually made, but only as a collection of those which have been, more fully of late years, thus preserved. Nor can the subdivisions thus obtained be accepted as precise, but only as approximate, and as they appear from the files to an examiner. A comparison with the table hereafter given of the amount now held for charitable purposes, and with any estimate of the addition due to a just consideration of annual expenditures and of gifts unknown and unrecorded, will illustrate these statements and assist the reader to a conclusion; but it is impossible to give a satisfactory history of such contributions in detail, and some illustrations and examples only can be given. From 1813 to 1881 contributions are recorded for thirty-one fires, — eleven in Boston and twenty in other places, four within and sixteen without the State of Massachusetts,[2] — including over four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the

[1] These figures include gifts to organized societies.

[2] While we write these lines a subscription for sufferers by recent forest fires in Michigan, not included in the above, has already reached a sum of over $58,000.

fire of 1871 in Chicago, and over three hundred and forty thousand dollars for the great fire of 1872 in Boston.

In 1871 the terrible calamity which left a large portion of the city of Chicago in ashes, and caused a loss estimated at $200,000,000, awakened the prompt sympathy of Boston. The amount given reached a total of $452,241.51,[1] — a contribution larger than that of any other city except New York. In 1872 Boston was visited with a like misfortune. The representatives of Chicago generously offered to assist the sufferers by like gifts, as well as to return a large sum which remained unexpended of this amount, and received with no little surprise the courteous refusal of the Boston committee to accept this return. The latter felt that they were only trustees of the funds they had received, and were not at liberty to divert the contributions of their fellow-citizens from their destined purpose, even to those among the latter who had suffered from a similar cause. The contributions of the citizens of Boston for the losses of its own sufferers by the great fire of 1872 amounted to $343,302.24.[2]

The contributions of Boston to the distressed of other parts have never

[1] Including interest received on collections.

[2] The great fire of 1872 was an event of sufficient importance for special notice in these volumes; and it seems proper to preserve in this place, as an illustration of the charities of Boston, the first report of the relief committee intrusted with these gifts: —

"After the immediate wants of the firemen and volunteers who were injured had been attended to, the committee made permanent provision for the families of those who had been killed or injured, by placing in the hands of Martin Brimmer, Samuel D. Warren, Avery Plumer, William Endicott, Jr., and George Higginson $81,870.90 in trust; and those gentlemen have and will continue to make liberal allowances to the families of all the members or volunteers of the fire department who suffered personal injury while on duty at the fire.

"The committee for the employment of women, located at Park Street, composed mostly of ladies, expended in aid of working women and girls, — furnishing them with clothing, food, rent, sewing-machines, and transportation, — $68,395.19.

"The committee for employment of men, located on Washington Street, expended for clothing, food, rent, and tools $19,051 33.

"The general committee (Chardon Street) furnished to families burned out, and to other sufferers, coal, wood, stoves, furniture, clothing, and other necessaries, expending therefor $74,616.35.

"The special committee of relief made loans, without interest or security, to small traders and mechanics who were burned out and desired to start again, in sums varying from $200 to $500; and in addition have loaned in several cases, upon policies of insurance, to enable the sufferers to immediately avail themselves of their insurance money. Gifts have been made to the aged and infirm who have been reduced to penury by their losses in consequence of the fire; also a donation of $2,000 in money, and clothing to the amount of $1,600, to the Boston Provident Association, and $1,000 to the Industrial Aid Society, — both of these associations affording us valuable aid in our distribution.

"As it was soon apparent that the amount of subscription from our own people would amply suffice for all reasonable wants, the committee returned to the Relief Committee of Detroit the ten thousand dollars ($10,000) sent us from the money remaining in their hands after the fire in that city in 1871; as also the sum of nine thousand dollars ($9,000) sent us by the Relief Committee of Milwaukee from similar funds. Letters were sent to Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, New Bedford, and Worcester, thanking the gentlemen and committees who had promptly visited us and proffered their sympathy and assistance. While from the liberality of the home subscriptions we were not obliged to receive from them pecuniary aid, we expressed our gratification at the promptness and heartfelt sympathy with which it was tendered and pressed upon us.

"Applications are received from day to day from persons who have struggled on until now. Where there is sickness or infirmity, the committee repeat these gifts. It is not improbable that a very considerable portion of our present means will be needed the coming winter.

"The following is a statement of the Treasurer's account to this date, Nov. 9, 1873: —

Total amount of contributions, including $825.57 for interest on deposit in New England Trust Company	$343,302.24
Expended —	
Immediate aid to families of Firemen . .	$ 1,850.00
Paid trustees of Firemen's fund, William Endicott, Jr., Treasurer	81,870.90
Paid Treasurer Fire Department relief fund	200.00
By Women's Committee, Park Street .	68,595.19
,, Men's Committee, Washington Street	19,051.33
,, General Committee, Chardon Street	74,616.35
,, Special Committee	37,245.00
Repaid to Fire Committee Detroit . . .	10,000.00
,, ,, ,, Milwaukee . .	9,098.00
Expenses, including clerk hire, etc. . .	1,576.44
Balance on hand deposited in New England Trust Company	39,099.03
Total	$343,302.24

OTIS NORCROSS,
BOSTON, Nov. 9, 1873. *Treasurer.*"

been ascertained and recorded. Now and then some single enterprise of philanthropy has been deemed worthy of a separate record; but this especially has been the charity that "vaunteth not itself." Each in his generation recalls the liberal gifts which the news of some sudden or lingering calamity in a distant city or even in another hemisphere at once suddenly elicits, the prompt organizations which frequent experience of such demands has made familiar, the voluntary committees of citizens and officials, the quick announcement to the distant sufferers of the aid already on its way, the self-devoted laborers, and the numerous forms in which ready benevolence, not ending at home, has constantly manifested itself.

Good Mr. Peters's charity in buying provisions and distributing them to all the towns; the contributions for the ransom of the captives in Canada, — of which Judge Sewall writes in his *Diary* under date of Oct. 25, 1688: "Presented my final account to his Excellency respecting the French contribution as he landed at Mrs. Gillam's Stairs, from seeing the sloops set sail with souldiers and provisions for the eastward," — are early traces of this form of charity; and Drake records: "April 12 [1636] The ship 'Charity' of Dartmouth came near being cast away as she sailed into the harbor with a heavy northwest wind. She was of one hundred and twenty tons burden, and brought a timely supply of provisions which were, at this time much needed. To prevent speculators oppressing the poor by buying up the provisions and holding them at extravagant prices, Mr. Peters bought up the whole cargo, by which operation 'he saved the country two hundred pds.' It was then distributed 'to all the towns as each town needed.' He had been laboring for some time to induce the people to establish a sort of magazine by buying up necessary articles when they were cheap, which should be well husbanded, and dealt out when they were scarce, at reasonable rates." [1]

In 1677 certain captives had been taken by the Indians at Hatfield, and agents were appointed by the General Court to go to Canada to ransom them. The governor and magistrates reported their arrival at Albany, but "that great charges would arise for their redemption," and they therefore commended their case to the people of all the towns and invited them to contribute for their relief. Trustees were appointed to receive the contributions; and three hundred and forty-five pounds one shilling and fourpence were raised, of which Boston contributed more than one hundred and nine pounds.[2]

The Greek Revolution of 1824 called forth the active sympathies of the modern Athens, and contributions large for the time, amounting to nearly sixteen thousand dollars, are recorded in its newspapers. There is no space to "enter into a detail of the proceedings by which the agents of the committees succeeded in alleviating the miseries of thousands and tens of thousands of half-starving Greeks." In these proceedings Boston, represented by Dr. Samuel G. Howe, had a large share.[3]

[1] Drake's *History of Boston*, p. 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 430.

[3] Howe's *Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, p. 447.

Boston shared largely in the contributions from America for the relief of the sufferers by the famine of 1847 in Ireland and Scotland, — the most remarkable and interesting "contribution to the distressed of other parts" in its history. The New England committee received contributions to the value of $151,007.05 from ten different States, of which Massachusetts gave $116,641.96, and Boston $52,162.94. Seven vessels, — among them two United States war-vessels, the frigate "Macedonian," and the sloop-of-war "Jamestown," granted by Congress for that purpose, — bore these gifts to their destination; the "Jamestown" being under the command of Robert B. Forbes, of Boston. They were received with the warmest gratitude, and the givers recalled the generosity with which "divers Christians in Ireland" in 1676 had contributed "for the releiffe of such as are Impoverished, Destressed, and in Nessessitie by the late Indian Warr," and sent this "releiffe" "to the distressed persons in New England by the Good ship call'd the Katherine, of Dublin."[1]

In June, 1877, St. John, New Brunswick, was visited by a most disastrous conflagration, which consumed property estimated at $28,000,000, left the most valuable portion of the city, — two fifths in area, — in ashes, and fifteen thousand persons homeless. The first expression of sympathy came from Boston, and its contributions of supplies were twice borne to the sufferers by a United States vessel, as thirty years before its gifts to the sufferers in Ireland had been committed to the "Jamestown" and "Macedonian." The total amount contributed by this city in money and supplies was over forty-four thousand dollars, — nearly twenty-seven thousand in money, and more in all than those received from any other city or town.

In 1830 Josiah Quincy endeavored to ascertain the "amounts received from the liberality of the citizens of Boston towards objects of a public nature, of a moral, religious, or literary character, chiefly within the last thirty years;"[2] and estimated them at about $1,801,273, more than one half of which, he thought, had been given within the previous ten years. Samuel A. Eliot made a like attempt in regard to the period from 1830 to 1845;[3] and including many donations for religious and educational purposes, but without taking into account collections in churches and gifts of private individuals for special objects, such as Mr. Quincy had included, he obtained a total amount, given chiefly within the previous fifteen years, of $2,938,020. F. B. Sanborn, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, 1865, collected further information, and estimated the total sum annually expended in private charity in Boston alone, including contributions in churches and public meetings, at not less than $500,000. He was of opinion that of Mr. Quincy's estimate at least two thirds, or about $100,000 per annum for fifteen years of the period he had taken, were given for the relief of pauperism alone. In 1877 the commission for the treatment of the poor in Boston made a similar attempt for the period of

[1] *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 245.

[2] *Centennial Address* (1830), p. 65.

[3] *North American Review*, July, 1845, vol. 61, p. 135.

ten years from 1867 to 1876; and — with imperfect information from the churches applied to, and none as to gifts of individuals or public meetings for special objects at home or abroad, not represented by societies or individuals from which recorded statistics could be obtained — reported a total sum for 1867 of $264,000, for 1876 of $531,300, and for the ten years of $3,838,700, expended in private relief alone. To this must be added the unrecorded gifts of which no satisfactory estimate can be made. The aggregate municipal expenditures for charitable purposes by the city of Boston for the same ten years are stated by the commissioners at $2,987,-916.28;[1] so that it is still clearly true, as stated by Mr. Eliot in reference to the period of which he speaks, "that a much larger amount has been distributed by the individual inhabitants of Boston than by the city government in the same term of time for the same or similar purposes."

An estimate from the best authority has been furnished of the amounts contributed in Boston to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since its organization in 1810. "Its receipts from the city of Boston for twenty-five years (1856–1880) were $968,451. The gifts from Brighton, Charlestown, Dorchester, and Roxbury, during the same period prior to annexation, would amount to more than $31,549; and it is therefore an under-estimate to say that Boston has given to this object $1,000,000 during the last quarter of a century. Prior to that period the receipts from Boston cannot be given separately from others without a tedious canvassing of the original acknowledgments; but if we assume that they would bear the same proportion to the total receipts before 1856 as since that time, we reach an approximate result which cannot be regarded as too favorable to Boston. On this basis the entire receipts by the Board from the city in the seventy years of its history may be estimated at $1,700,000. In fact, if the full statement could be drawn out, there is little doubt that we should have to add $100,000, and perhaps as much more, to this sum;" and it is thought that it would not "be an over-estimate to say that probably not far from $2,000,000 have been thus contributed" from this source alone for these objects, while it must be remembered that "this represents only the gifts to foreign missions from the churches and individuals connected with the Congregational churches, and that the large contributions for like purposes from other religious bodies are not included. Part of this sum is included in the contributions for religious purposes collected from the files of a Boston newspaper; but as the total of these contributions for use in and out of the city thus collected is about $1,200,000, it may be conjectured how far short the gifts so recorded are of the full measure of the charity and beneficence of Boston.

The largest missionary association of the Unitarian churches is the American Unitarian Association, founded in the year 1825. The Unitarians also support the Evangelical Missionary Society, the Society for Diffusing Christian Knowledge, and the Society for Promoting Theologi-

[1] In addition to its proportion (amounting to $1,951,122.22) of State pauper expenses.

cal Education. The accounts of the treasurers of these societies show that, in the last fifty-six years, they have contributed about $1,500,000 for missionary purposes. Of this sum rather more than $500,000 has been contributed in Boston.

The missionary contributions from Boston of other religious denominations have not been ascertained.

Three citizens of Boston have recently made bequests valued now at nearly $3,000,000 for charitable and educational establishments not yet fully in operation.

John Simmons in 1870 left a sum, amounting now to about $1,400,000, to found the Simmons Female College, for the teaching of medicine, music, drawing, designing, telegraphy, and other branches of art, science, and industry, best calculated to enable its pupils to acquire an independent livelihood.

Thomas Liversidge in 1876 bequeathed a fund, now amounting to $300,000, to found the Liversidge Institution of Industry, designed for education in Industrial Arts.

Peter B. Brigham in 1877 gave by his will $30,000 to the town of Bakersfield in Vermont, to constitute the Brigham School fund for educational purposes; and the residue of his estate, after the payment of certain legacies, at the end of twenty-five years, with its accumulations, to found the Brigham Hospital for sick persons in indigent circumstances residing in Boston. This residue is now estimated at about $1,000,000.

A renewed effort[1] has been made to ascertain the total amount of property now held in Boston, or in its vicinity, under such circumstances that it may be reckoned as the result of the voluntary liberality of its citizens, for charitable purposes. No little difficulty has been found in obtaining this information. For that purpose two hundred and seventy-seven circulars were sent to different private institutions or societies, including fifty-eight

[1] An earlier attempt is recorded in the following, taken from the *Report of the Commission on the Treatment of the Poor*, City Doc. 36, of 1878, appendix xxii.:—

	Public Institu'ns.	Private Societies.	Churches.	Total.
Circulars sent (excluding about eighty sent to Mutual and other societies)	6	104	165	275
Answers reporting figures	6	80	53	139
Answers without figures	.....	12	32	44
No answers	.....	12	80	92
Societies, etc., reporting figures—				
Out-door	2	43	.....	45
In-door	4	37	.....	41
Churches	.....	.....	53	53
Total	.....	.....	.....	139

Average number reporting in any one year: private, 83: public, 6,—total, 89.

SUMMARY.

	Invested Funds. (Including real estate held for income.)		Real Estate Used.	
	In detail.	Totals.	In detail.	Totals.
I. Industrial:				
a. Free employment bureaus	$39,000.00			
b. Industrial training and charity work	32,392.35	$71,392.35	$500.00	$500.00
II. Government Aid — *omitted.*				
III. Relief Irrespective of Class		879,004.16		35,000.00
IV. Relief for Special Classes		1,150,133.32		58,000.00
V. Aid for Foreigners		45,279.75		10,000.00
VI. Sick and Defective Persons:				
a. General				
b. Free nurses	1,998.00			
c. General hospitals	2,472,297.49		1,021,926.58	
d. Special hospitals	1,161,512.80		448,197.95	
e. General dispensaries	188,470.50		26,200.00	
f. Special dispensaries	100,458.75		100,000.00	
g. Blind	211,446.10		236,100.00	
h. Deaf and dumb				
k. Idiotic and feeble-minded	17,929.43	4,154,113.07	39,000.00	1,871,424.53
VII. Flower and Fruit Missions				
VIII. Homes:				
a. Almshouses — *omitted.*				
b. Homes for adults	749,863.64		441,400.00	
c. Homes for children	664,494.33		715,013.22	
d. Improved dwellings	17,396.63	1,431,754.60	431,959.45	1,588,372.67
IX. Reform:				
a. Adult convicts	35,598.45		18,000.00	
b. Fallen women	30,735.00		138,100.00	
c. Children	33,278.50		14,000.00	
d. Temperance	11,451.75		110,000.00	
e. Literature	590.31	111,654.01		280,100.00
X. Humane		135,800.00		5,000.00
XI. Mutual Benefit:				
a. For all classes	29,605.03			
b. For special classes and foreigners	275,262.93	304,867.96	36,000.00	36,000.00
XII. Educational and Religious:				
a. Schools, etc. (Lowell Institute only)	745,660.78			
b. Missionaries, etc.	158,882.50			
c. Free chapels (included in churches below).				
d. For special classes	1,809,213.10		364,600.00	
e. Churches	234,286.40	2,948,042.78	12,346,900.00 *	12,711,500.00
Total		$11,232,042.00		$16,595,897.20

Total Real Estate used	$16,595,897.20
Total Invested Funds (including real estate held for income)	11,232,042.00
Grand Total	$27,827,939.20 †

* From *Tax Commissioners' Report.* † Not including the Brigham bequest, p. 669.

Note. — There are some differences between the figures in this table and the public returns. Some of the property is not within the city limits, and both items and valuations as given by the societies and public authorities vary. The *Annual Report* of the Auditor of the city for the financial year 1880-81 states that, "Churches, charitable, scientific, and literary corporations hold property, exempt by law from assessment, as follows: value of land, $10,422,400.00; value of buildings, $10,352,500.00; total real estate, $20,774,900.00 Personal estate, $3,408,500.00." — p. 314.

churches supposed to hold funds for such purposes. One hundred and seventy-five answers only were received, and attempts have been made in some cases to estimate the amounts which should be added to supply these omissions; but the result of this effort and of that made by the commissioners of 1877 indicate the propriety of some compulsory system of public returns. The State is entitled to know the amount and nature of the property which it exempts from taxation, and to supervise its administration. Concealment, or even the absence of publicity, favored from good motives by the best men, is calculated to promote abuses by the worst.

The Summary on the preceding page exhibits the returns and estimates of the amounts of property held in 1880–81 for charitable and religious purposes, mostly in the city of Boston; not including the property owned by the city, or the real or personal estate of colleges, museums, etc.

If to this total sum of $27,827,939 we add real estate owned by the city, used for charitable purposes, $1,045,300; for public baths $20,000; for educational purposes $8,480,200; for the Public Library $561,000, — in all $10,106,500; and also the property of certain educational institutions in Boston and vicinity, such as the Institute of Technology, the Boston Natural History Society, the Art Museum, the Boston University, Tufts College, Wellesley College, Harvard College,[1] and the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge (which are fairly to be included in Boston charities); and other real estate used for educational, literary, and scientific purposes in Boston, not included in the foregoing, — we have a total amount of probably $50,000,000 or more (on a valuation in 1880 of $639,462,495) devoted to all these objects.

It is impossible, however, to state the total amount given or now set apart for charitable objects, even of a public nature; and the gifts of one generation are not recorded for their successors. It is safe to increase by large additions, in any estimate, the amounts which we are able to gather from any accessible sources; but "far short as this sum falls of the real amount obtained from the liberality of our fellow-citizens, it is yet enough to make it evident that the best spirit of the institutions of our ancestors survives in the hearts and is exhibited in the lives of the citizens of Boston."[2]

The space allowed for the "Charities of Boston" in this Memorial is more than filled with a sketch which cannot but seem, to those most familiar with the subject, inadequate and incomplete. Every one who has shared in them, and watched their history and development with personal interest and activity, will recall some society or institution, some fact or occurrence, some noble act or generous gift, some liberal giver of his life,

[1] The personal property of Harvard College is about $4,000,000, and its real estate is estimated as worth from $2,000,000 to $3,000,000, not including its scientific collections and library. The property of the other institutions has not been ascertained.

[2] *Centennial Address* (1830), by Josiah Quincy, p. 65.

labor, or wealth, some feature or illustration which he feels — and it is difficult to say unjustly feels — should have been included or set forth or more fully described and recorded. Imperfect and unsatisfactory as the writer finds the result of his labors, he reviews with a keen sense of pride the evidences which they present of the "good works and alms-giving" of his fellow-citizens, here set down in no boastful spirit, and solicits charity from them for the poverty of his narration.

Geo. S. Hale.

NOTE. — The following is a list of the 176 voluntary organizations and 13 charities mentioned on page 658, whose funds, so far as known, are included with those of other institutions in the Summary on page 670. The date prefixed to each indicates the year of its establishment. The *Directory* referred to on page 657 contains a more full and detailed account of these and other charitable agencies and of their objects.

1630 to 1700.

1638. Harvard College.
1657. Scots' Charitable Society.
*1674. Charlestown Poor's Fund.

1700 to 1750.

*1701. Stoughton Poor Fund.
1720. Quarterly Charity Lecture.
1737. Charitable Irish Society.

1750 to 1775.

*1759. Poor Widow's Fund.
*1760. Pemberton Fund.

1775 to 1800.

1786. Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society.
*1786. Jeffries Fund.
1786. Massachusetts Humane Society.
*1791. Franklin Fund
1794. Roxbury Charitable Society.
1794. Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society.
*1795. Boylston Funds (2).
1796. Boston Dispensary.
*1798. Mason Fund.

1800 to 1810.

1800. Boston Female Asylum.
1809. Massachusetts Bible Society.

1810 to 1820.

*1811. Dexter Fund.
1811. Masssachusetts General Hospital.
1812. Howard Benevolent Society.
1816. Fragment Society.
1816. Widows' Society.
1816. British Charitable Society.
1816. American Tract Society.
1816. City Missionary Society.
1816. American College and Educat'l Soc'y.
1816. Society for Promoting Theol. Education.
1817. Boston Fatherless and Widows' Society.
1818. McLean Asylum for the Insane (Massachusetts General Hospital).
1818. Penitent Female Refuge and Bethesda Society.
1819. Devens' Benevolent Society.

1820 to 1830.

1821. Massachusetts Baptist Charitable Soc'y.
1824. Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary.
1827. Young Men's Benevolent Society.
1829. Episcopal City Mission.
1829. Boston Seamen's Friend Society.

1830 to 1840.

1831. St. Vincent Orphan Asylum.
1831. Congregational Publishing Society.
*1832. Lucy Bullman Charity.
1832. Preachers' Aid Society of New England Conference M. E. Church.
1832. Boston Lying-in Hospital.
1833. Boston Children's Friend Society.
1833. Christian Infant School and Children's Home Association.
1835. Nickerson Home for Children.
1835. Industrial Aid Society.
1835. Boston Asylum and Farm School for Boys.
1836. New England Moral Reform Society.
1838. South Boston Samaritan Society.
1838. Lowell Institute.
1839. Benevolent Fraternity of Churches.

1840 to 1850.

1846. Episcopal Clerical Fund Association.
1846. New England Education Society.

* See p. 656.

1847. Temporary Home for the Destitute.
1847. Needle Woman's Friend Society.
1848. Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen.
1848. German Aid Society.
1849. Home for Aged Women.
1849. Children's Mission to the Children of the Destitute.

1850 to 1860.

1851. Boston Young Men's Christian Association.
1851. Boston Young Men's Christian Union.
1851. House of the Angel Guardian.
1851. Boston Provident Association.
1852. Sailors' Snug Harbor.
*1852. David Sears Charity.
1853. Congregational Library.
1853. Industrial School for Girls.
1853. New England Scandinavian Benevolent Society.
1854. Tufts College.
1855. Evangelical Baptist Benevolent and Missionary Society.
1855. Lawrence Model Lodging Rooms.
1855. Church Home for Orphans and Destitute Children.
1855. Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital.
1855. Spiritualists' Ladies' Aid Society.
1856. Roxbury Home for Children and Aged Women.
1856. Homœopathic Medical Dispensary.
1857. Washingtonian Home.
1857. Channing Home, established by Miss Harriet Ryan.
1858. Independent Order of Good Templars.
1858. North Street Union Mission to the Poor.
1859. Independent Order of Good Templars (re-organized).

1860 to 1870.

1860. House of the Good Samaritan.
1860. Home for Aged Colored Women
1860. Home for Aged Men.
1861. Boston Sewing Circle.
1861. Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
*1861. Pierce Fuel Fund.
1862. N. E. Hospital for Women and Children.
1863. Carney Hospital.
*1863. Holton Funds (2).
1864. Association for the Protection of Roman Catholic Children.
1864. Temporary Asylum for Discharged Female Prisoners (Dedham).
1864. Consumptives' Home.
1865. Willard Tract Repository.
1865. Boston Children's Aid Society.
1865. Baldwin-Pl. Home for Little Wanderers.
1865. St. Joseph's Home for Sick and Destitute Servant Girls.
1865. Winchester Home for Aged Women.
1865. Swiss Aid Society.
1865. Boston North End Mission.
1866. Boston Young Women's Christ'n Assoc'n.
1866. Massachusetts Temperance Alliance.
1867. Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society.
1867. House of the Good Shepherd.
1867. Massachusetts Infant Asylum.
1867. United Hebrew Benevolent Association.
1867. Grand Army of the Republic (Boston).
1868. Soc'y for Employment of Bible Readers.
1868. Dental College (Infirmary).
1868. Boston Musician's Relief-Fund Society.
1868. Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
1868. St. Elizabeth's Hospital.
1868. St. Mary's Infant Asylum and Lying-in Hospital.
1869. Boston University.
1869. Ladies' Relief Agency.
1869. Italian Benevolent Society.
1869. Children's Hospital.
1869. Boston Flower and Fruit Mission

1870 to 1880.

† Hospital Newspaper Society.
† Lowell School of Practical Design.
1870. Boffin's Bower.
1870. St. Luke's Home for Convalescents.
1870. Shawmut Universalist Flower Mission.
1870. Home for the Aged Poor.
1870. Museum of Fine Arts.
1870. Simmons Female College.
1870. Boston Co-operative Building Company.
1871. Moral Education Association of Boston.
1871. Association of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for Works of Mercy.
1872. Women's Educational Association.
1872. Charlestown Free Dispensary.
1872. Poor Children's Excursions.
1873. Ambulance Service.
1873. Dispensary for Diseases of Women.
1873. Dispensary for Diseases of Children.
1873. Boston Training School for Nurses.
†1874. Young Men's Hebrew Association.
1874. Women's Christian Temperance Union.
1874. Boston Industrial Temporary Home.
1874. Boston North End Diet Kitchen.
1874. Jamaica Plain Employment and Temporary Relief Society.
1874. Provident Wood-yard.
1875. Co-operative Society of Visitors among the Poor.
1875. Highland Aid Society.
1875. Free Hospital for Women.
1875. Société Franco-Belge de Secours, etc.
1875. Sea-shore Home (Winthrop).
1875. Boston South End Diet Kitchen.
1875. West Boston Relief Association.
1875. Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society.

* See p. 656.

† Exact dates not known.

1875. Wellesley College (Wellesley).
1875. Young Men's Catholic Association, Boston College.
1875. Young Men's Catholic Association, South Boston.
1875. Country Week.
1876. Spinal Home.
1876. Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women.
1876. Union for Christian Work.
1876. Society for the Relief of the Sick Poor.
1877. Temporary Home for Workingmen.
1877. Boston Deaf-Mute Society.
1877. Roxbury Young Men's Union.
1877. Shaw Asylum for Mariners' Children.
1877. Adams' Nervine Asylum.
1877. Pawn Fund.
1877. Women's Educa'l and Industrial Union.
1878. Lewis Street Mission.
1878. Christian Workers.
1878. Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
1878. N. E. Soc. for the Suppression of Vice.
1878. Miss Burnap's Home for the Aged and Friendless.
1878. Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society.
1878. Summer Street Fire Fund.
1878. Portland Street Mission.
1878. Friendly Hand.
1878. Boston Cooking School.
1879. Wells Memorial Association.
1879. Reading-Room for Newsboys and Bootblacks.
1879. Massachusetts Public Health Associa'n.
1879. N. E. Home for Intemperate Women.
1879. Girls' Friendly Society.
1879. Associated Charities.
1879. Ward VI. Workrooms.
1879. Ward XVI. Workrooms.

1880.

1880. North End Industrial School.
1880. North End Laundry.
1880. North End Nursery.
1880. West End Day Nursery.

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University Press: John Wilson & Son, Cambridge.